

The Catholic Church and the Dutch Bible

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The Catholic Church and the Dutch Bible

From the Council of Trent to the Jansenist Controversy
(1564–1733)

By

Els Agten



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Cover Illustration: Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch: "Meint gy dat gy ook wel verstaat, het gene gy leest? Hoe zoude ik dog kunnen t'en ware het iemand my verklaarde?" (Ac 8:30b–31) from *Andreas van der Schuur, Het Nieuw Testament onzes Heere Jesus Christus* (Amsterdam, 1720). Image: KU Leuven Bibliotheken, Maurits Sabbe Library, 2–023035/A. Used with kind permission from the KU Leuven Libraries.

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In loving memory of Rev. Fr. Jean Vangenechten (1944–2013)

In arando versum peragi nec strigare in actu spiritus.
(*Plinius, Naturalis Historia* 18, 177)



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Preface

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Chapter 2.1.4.2 on the translations of Costerus and Van den Leemputte is based on Els Agten, “Costerus en Van den Leemputte: twee katholieke bijbelvertalingen uit de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw,” in *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen*, ed. Paul Gillaerts, Henri Bloemen, Youri Desplenter, Wim François and August A. den Hollander (Heerenveen: Jongbloed, 2015), 395–405.

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Chapter 3.3.2 on Martinus Steyaert’s 235 rules for reading and studying scripture is largely based on Els Agten, “Martinus Steyaert and His 235 Rules for Reading Scripture in Seventeenth-Century Louvain,” *RHE* 108, no. 3–4 (2013), 780–808.

Chapter 4.1.3.2 is a further elaboration of Els Agten, “The Condemnation of Jansenist Vernacular Bibles in the Low Countries. The case of Gilles de Witte (1648–1721),” in *ETL* 91, no. 2 (2015), 271–280.

The epilogue on the translation of Wilhelm Smits and Petrus van Hove is based on Els Agten, “De bijbelvertaling van Wilhelm Smits en Petrus van Hove: een onafgewerkt project.” In *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen*, ed. Paul Gillaerts, Henri Bloemen, Youri Desplenter, Wim François, and August A. den Hollander (Heerenveen: Jongbloed, 2015), 480–489.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Periodicals, Series, Handbooks, Dictionaries and Databases

BBKL	Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium
BN	Biographie Nationale
BRHE	Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
CCCOGD	Giuseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni (ed.), <i>Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta</i> , 7 vols. Corpus christianorum. Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006–).
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CT	<i>Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collectio</i> , 13 vol., Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder and Görres Gesellschaft, 1901–2001.
DH	Henrich Denzinger, <i>Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum</i> . Original bilingual edition by Peter Hünermann; English edition by Robert L. Fastiggi and Anne E. Nash (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 2012).
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques
ETL	Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses
NBW	Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek
NNBW	Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek
STCN	Short-Title Catalogue Nederland
STCV	Short-Title Catalogue Vlaanderen

Standard Abbreviations and Sigla

c.	column
l.	line
n.	note
r.	reign
t.	time of office

Introduction

Luistert toe, gy Fablisten,
die niet anders doet dan twisten
van de Jansenistery:
Zet u daer wat op een rey.
Luistert vry met mond en ooren,
'k Zal u leeren, wilt gy 't hooren,
of gy 't mooglijk niet en wist,
wat de naem van Jansenist
by die schrandere Gezellen,
die u 't hoofd met schimmen quellen,
thans betekent en beduid.
't Is zoo quaed niet als het luid.¹



Were Catholics in the Low Countries allowed to read the Bible in the vernacular in the broad seventeenth century? And, if so, which Bibles did they read? Opinions on the permissibility of vernacular Bible reading differed greatly in this period of time. In the Low Countries,² the issue was most pressing in debates between Jansenists and their opponents, in which the former favoured the use of vernacular Bibles over and against anti-Jansenist disapproval.

In this context, for example, Andreas van der Schuur, a Dutch Bible translator with Jansenist sympathies, published a defence of Jansenism in verse form in 1688, entitled *Ware afbeelding van het gene nu by sommige fabelgeesten met den naem van jansenist of jansenisterye genoemd word* (*True Representation of What Some Controversialists Call with the Name of Jansenist or Jansenism*).³ In this work, he provided a vivid picture of the Jansenist ideas on morality,

-
- 1 Andreas van der Schuur, *Ware afbeelding van het gene nu by sommige fabelgeesten met den naem van jansenist of jansenisterye genoemd word: zijnde een nadere en ernstige onderrigting, hoognuttig voor alle de genen, welken 't hoofd door die schimme alsnog ontroerd is* (Mechlin, 1688), 1.
 - 2 In line with Pollmann, both the terms Low Countries and Netherlands will be used to refer to the areas that currently cover the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, and a part of Northern France. See Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, The Past & Present Book Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
 - 3 Fragments of Van der Schuur's poem will be integrated in this study. The 1702 reprint of the poem is included in appendix 2, p. 394.

penance, Scripture and Tradition in confrontation with the views and the ideas of his opponents, the so-called anti-Jansenists. With the title of Van der Schuur's contribution in mind, this monograph will make use of the established expressions Jansenist and anti-Jansenist, in order to identify the opposing factions under study, although it admittedly runs the risk of falling into an antithetical paradigm. Indeed, in order to emphasize the amorphous character of Jansenism, it would be more appropriate to consider an alternative, more impartial terminology or to put the terms and their derivations consequently between quotations marks or to even consider subdivisions. Therefore, in line with the central theme of this work, a basic task will be to demonstrate that the well-established dichotomy between Jansenist and anti-Jansenist might be overcome by instead distinguishing between defenders and opponents of vernacular Bible reading, respectively.

The doctoral dissertation on which this monograph is based, was written within the scope of the FWO-research project "The Bible, Augustinianism and Jansenism in the Catholic Low Countries (c.1600–1735)" that focussed on the place of the Bible in the religious life of the laity. The present study serves as an elaboration of the second area of research of this project, by aiming to examine critically the attitude of some Louvain theologians and Jansenist circles in the Catholic Low Countries with respect to the translation of the Bible in the vernacular in the broad seventeenth century. This research will particularly provide a philological analysis of both tracts and treatises of three Louvain theologians and three Jansenist-minded Bible translators, and of the prefaces and dedications of the so-called Jansenist vernacular Bibles that were produced in the Low Countries. In addition, this study will focus on the translation character of the New Testament translations of these Jansenist Bibles.

In other words, the main aim of this monograph is to study the impact of Jansenism and anti-Jansenism on the ideas regarding vernacular Bible reading and Bible production in a restricted area, namely the Low Countries. No attention will be paid to the Roman ideas and reactions on this matter. However, it is neither the intention to provide an exhaustive overview of all the discussions that took place with regard to vernacular Bible reading in the Low Countries during the period under study. Due to the abundance of primary sources on the topic, attention will be restricted to the ideas and the writings of ten protagonists (or stakeholders), dispersed into four groups within an interrelated network (see table 1). This analysis will result in a coherent image of their respective argumentation in favour of or against the practice of vernacular Bible reading. It will show that the Jansenists were stimulating the laity, with the inclusion of women and children, to read the Bible in the vernacular,

with no restrictions whatsoever. Their opponents, in contrast, adopted a more wary position.

The anti-Jansenist stand is represented by three opponents of vernacular Bible reading from the Southern Low Countries: Cornelius Hazart, Martinus Harney and Martinus Steyaert. Their counterparts are three Jansenist-minded Bible translators, namely Aegidius de Witte, Andreas van de Schuur and Philip-pus Laurentius Verhulst. The network also includes two representatives of the ecclesiastical authorities, namely Johannes van Neercassel, vicar apostolic of the Dutch Mission in the North and proponent of vernacular Bible translation, and Humbert-Guillaume de Precipiano, the anti-Jansenist Archbishop of Mechlin in the South. Finally, the Frenchmen Antoine Arnauld and Pasquier Quesnel are spokesmen of the influential Jansenist group centered in the ab-baye of Port-Royal, close to Paris. Both men resided quite a while as exiles in the Southern and Northern Low Countries.

A geographical network map with the relevant place-names was created to visualize the mutual relationships between the above-mentioned protagonists of the discussions on vernacular Bible reading.⁴ A full line on this map marks consent and agreement, while a striped line indicates polarisation and discord.

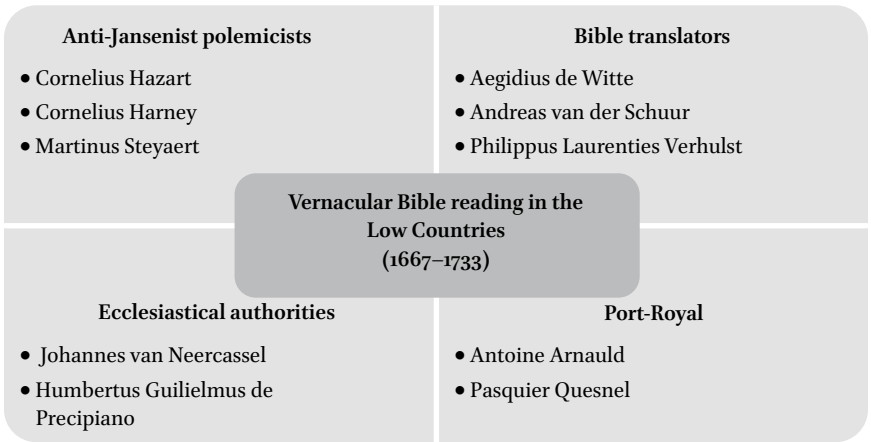


TABLE 1 The four groups of protagonists in the debates on vernacular Bible reading in the Low Countries (1667–1733)

4 See appendix 1, p. 393.

Already in the sixteenth century, the religious debates in Western Europe were dominated by the question of the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translations. Confronted with this issue in discussions with humanists and reformers, both of whom claimed to base their renewal of the Church on a direct reading of scriptural sources, the Catholic Church adopted an attitude of reluctance. At first, the Council of Trent remained silent on the question of the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translations during the fourth session in 1546. However, this conciliar silence was broken in 1564, the starting date of this study, with the publication of the *Index Tridentinus* and its ten rules. The *Regula Quarta* or Fourth Rule authorized the lay reading of vernacular biblical texts if the concerned laity was deemed capable and when it had obtained written permission from their local bishop or inquisitor. In fact, the *Regula Quarta* has often been considered a landmark in the Catholic Church's position with regard to vernacular Bible reading. Its interpretation and subsequent implementation gave rise to a multitude of discussions. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the issue of vernacular Bible reading was raked up again when the Jansenist-minded *Messieurs* of Port-Royal came to the fore and challenged the reservations of Catholics with regard to vernacular Bible reading. According to Jansenists, the specific context that led to the creation of the *Regula Quarta*, namely the rise of unreliable Protestant vernacular Bible translations in the previous century, had disappeared after about a century. Consequently, they considered the Tridentine Regulations and the *Regula Quarta* outdated. Instead, Jansenists affirmed that the Bible had to be read by all faithful. The second chapter demonstrates that this confrontation with Jansenism resulted in three general positions with regard to vernacular Bible reading and the interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* in the Low Countries and France.

The year 1667 is to be considered as an important pivotal date, as it marks the emergence of the new so-called Jansenist-inspired ideal of vernacular Bible reading. That year, after a period of intense preparation and as part of their elaborate Bible translation project, the *Messieurs* of Port-Royal published a French translation of the New Testament known as the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. This translation was not only based on the Latin Vulgate, traditionally considered the authorized version of the Catholic Church, but also included references to the Greek text of the New Testament. As such, it drew upon a rich manuscript tradition. In the prologue to the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, the *Messieurs* made clear that the reading of the Bible, and especially of the New Testament, was not only a right, but even a moral obligation for every Christian faithful, including women and children. One of the main objectives of the *Messieurs* was thus to bring the Bible to the people, providing them direct access to the biblical texts in their own language. The Port-Royal translation project

gave a powerful impetus to the promotion of vernacular Bible reading and the translation activity of the Jansenist circles in the Low Countries. Likewise, the French New Testament translation proved itself a source of inspiration for the Dutch Bible translations that were published around the turn of the eighteenth century. It comes as no surprise, then, that this new translation ideal gave rise to heated debates between the Jansenists and their opponents of vernacular Bible reading. In addition, the Roman-Catholic authorities repeatedly felt themselves forced to take a position.

The year 1733 was chosen as the closing date of this study because it marks the beginning of a new translation initiative within the Catholic Church. That year, Thomas Philippe d'Alsace, Cardinal-Archbishop of Mechlin, entrusted the Franciscan Wilhelm Smits with the task of compiling a new Catholic translation of the Bible in Dutch, based on the Vulgate, as a reaction to the Jansenist Bible translations that had been printed around the turn of the century. After the death of Smits, the project was continued by Petrus Van Hove but came to an end in 1790, resulting in an incomplete translation of the Old Testament. In this context, it is important to note that on 13 June 1757, during the papacy of Benedict XIV (t. 1740–1758), a decree was issued that “allowed translations of the Bible to be printed and owned if they were approved by Rome or furnished with Catholic notes.” In other words, anyone could buy or use a Bible in the vernacular tongue, as long as the version had been approved by authority.⁵

This monograph is divided into five chapters. By way of introduction, the first chapter provides an overview of the historico-religious and spatio-temporal events that have prepared the background for the later controversies on Bible reading between advocates and opponents of vernacular Bible reading. Attention will be paid to the influence of the Catholic Reform in the Low Countries, the creation of the *Missio Hollandica* (1592) and the strained relations between Catholics and Calvinists in the northern part of the Low Countries. In addition, the coming-about of Jansenism in Louvain in the second half of the seventeenth century and the role of the Jesuits in this process will be discussed.

The second chapter concentrates on two important factors that have dominated the discussions on vernacular Bible reading. The first section deals with the *Regula Quarta* of the Tridentine Index (1564), whose interpretation, as already stated at the outset of this introduction, gave rise to a multitude of discussions in the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

5 Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and the European Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 76. See also Franz Heinrich Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher: ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1885), 59–60.

After examining the Tridentine stand on vernacular Bible reading, the coming-about of the *Regula Quarta* and its presence in various catalogues of forbidden books issued in Rome and the Low Countries, attention will be paid to the implementation of this rule in the Low Countries in provincial councils and diocesan synods, with particular focus on the anti-Jansenist stand of Archbishop Humbert-Guillaume De Precipiano. It will become clear that the *Regula Quarta* was not so strictly observed in the Low Countries. This statement will be supported by four testimonies in theological handbooks and the discussion of two Dutch New Testament translations that were published in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The second section of this chapter focuses on the Port-Royal translation project and, more particularly, on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* of 1667, which, as already stated, proved to have an important impact on the translation activity of the Jansenist circles in the Low Countries. Particular attention will be paid to the defence of the principle of vernacular Bible reading by Antoine Arnauld and Pasquier Quesnel, two leading intellectuals of Port-Royal.

The third chapter of this study deals with three important anti-Jansenist protagonists who took a clear stand in the discussions on vernacular Bible reading, namely the Flemish Jesuit and controversialist Cornelius Hazart, the Dominican Martinus Harney and the Louvain professor Martinus Steyaert. Their works represent the theoretical part of the discussions. Each one of these anti-Jansenists discussed a different aspect of the (non)permissibility of vernacular Bible reading in their writings. In 1685, Hazart entered into a written debate with vicar apostolic Johannes van Neercassel who was known as a vehement defender of vernacular Bible reading. The works of the good friends Harney and Steyaert emphasized the ban on vernacular Bible reading for the laity and complemented each other well: the general discussions were covered by Harney in three works, while Steyaert wrote a practical treatise on the issue.

The fourth chapter presents the lives and the works of the opposing group of three Jansenist-minded Bible translators, namely Aegidius de Witte, Andreas van de Schuur and Philippus Laurentius Verhulst. These Bible translators put the Jansenist ideas on Bible reading into practice in their Dutch translations which were soon labelled as Jansenist-inspired because they reflected not only the translation principles of Port-Royal, but also because they showed to some extent affinities with the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. Three overviews, contained in the appendix, provide an overview as complete as possible of the Bible production of the three Bible translators under consideration. In addition, besides compiling Bible translations, De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst reflected their ideas and thoughts on vernacular Bible reading in

several tracts and treatises that were often directed against the ideas of the anti-Jansenists Hazart, Harney, Steyaert and De Precipiano.

The fifth and final chapter of this study aims at examining the translation character of the New Testament translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst in two short case studies. Because these three translators were working in a predominantly Protestant context, the first case study discusses five confessionally charged Bible pericopes that were at stake in the sixteenth-century debates between Catholics and Protestants. The second case study discusses whether it is right to label these Bible translations as Jansenist-inspired. In this case study, attention will be paid to the influence of the condemned *Nouveau Testament de Mons* on nine New Testament pericopes. It will be demonstrated that De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst made use of this French New Testament translation to a different extent.

The epilogue to this study discusses the above-mentioned Bible translation project of Smits and Van Hove (1733) that marked the beginning of a new era of Bible translation within the Catholic Church.

The majority of the primary sources for this study, which consist of theological tracts and treatises, Bible translations and letters, are to be found in the Maurits Sabbe Library of the Louvain Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies KU Leuven or in other KU Leuven libraries. Particular use was made of Jesuitica and Jansenistica collections from Maastricht University. In other words, the study also brings the hidden wealth of this cultural heritage to light. Additional source material was consulted in the Utrecht University Library and the Utrecht Archives during a short stay at Utrecht, which was funded by a travel grant of the FWO.

Roman Catholics and Jansenists in the Low Countries: Historical and Spatio-Temporal Context

Om nog korter uit te leggen
 Wat dat Jansenist wilt zeggen,
 't Is een deugdzaam Christe mensch,
 Maer die zig niet naert den wensch
 Van het groote Gild kan dragen,
 En daerom niet kan behagen
 Aen den ruimen Kasuist.
 Zulken hiet men Jansenist.
 Daer 's 't Mysterie in beslooten.
 En schoon nog de Bondgenooten
 Stadig zingen 't oude lied,
 Jansenist is anders niet.
 't Is een naam om zwart te maken
 All' de genen die zy laken:
 Wie die Mannen niet en roemt,
 Word straks Jansenist genoemd.¹



The discussions on vernacular Bible reading between Jansenists and their opponents in the Low Countries in the period 1667–1733 were profoundly influenced by the movement of Catholic renewal of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This revival had come as a reaction against the rise of Luther, Calvin and other Protestant reformers who, just like the humanists, advocated a return to the scriptural sources of the Church as a basis for the much-needed ecclesiastical reform. The reformers considered the Bible as an important weapon in their struggle with the Catholic Church and as the only reliable source of instruction in opposition to the Catholic teachings, doctrines and customs.

Thanks to the invention of the printing press and the subsequent increase of (Protestant) vernacular Bible translations, the Bible was directly accessible.

¹ Van der Schuur, *Ware afbeelding*, 6.

The mediation of priests or preachers of the Catholic Church was no longer needed. Confronted with these 'heretic' translations, the Church adopted not only an attitude of reluctance vis-à-vis any personal reading and interpretation of the Bible, but also elaborated a program of Catholic reform largely based upon late medieval reform movements. In addition, the establishment of new religious orders, like the Society of Jesus in 1540, the decisions of the long awaited Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the reorganization of the dioceses in the Low Countries in 1559 contributed to the shaping of this climate of Catholic reform.

By way of introduction, this chapter provides an overview of the historico-religious and spatio-temporal events that prepared the way for the later discussions on vernacular Bible reading between Jansenists and anti-Jansenists in the Low Countries. The first paragraph focuses, by way of introduction, on the influence of the above-mentioned process of Catholic revival. The following section largely deals with the relation between Catholics and Calvinists in the Northern Netherlands. Finally, the third part of this chapter discusses the theological climate in the seventeenth-century Southern Netherlands, the coming-about of Jansenism in Louvain, and the influence of the Jesuits in this process.

1.1 Catholic Revival and Episcopal Reorganisation in the Netherlands

The comprehensive project of Catholic revival and transformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also designated as the Counter-Reformation,² the Catholic Reformation or Tridentine Catholicism constituted the much-needed Catholic answer to the Protestant Reformation, instigated by Luther's movement of protest, reform and renewal. Various instances, mainly clerical and institutional, were involved in this massive undertaking, namely "the Council of Trent, the papacy and its administration, most of the religious orders, including, of course, the Jesuits, as well as the episcopate and the parish priesthood".³ The long awaited Council of Trent, the nineteenth ecumenical

2 Notwithstanding the terminological discussions, the terms 'Catholic reform', 'Catholic reformation', 'Counter-Reformation' and 'Tridentine Catholicism' will be used as synonyms in this study. Parker prefers the term 'Counter-Reformation' of the "contention that the oppositional force of Protestantism became a critical element in the renewal of the Roman Church in the Northern Netherlands." See Charles H. Parker, *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 16, n. 48. For a discussion on the other terminology, see John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That. Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

3 Michael A. Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999), x–xi.

Church Council, constituted an important catalyst in this process. It was solemnly opened on 13 December 1545 in the city of Trent in the presence of 31 bishops and 48 theologians and canonists to assist them. After eighteen years, a span of time during which the Council Fathers gathered in 25 sessions spread over three periods, the Council closed on 4 December 1563.

The conciliar agenda was dominated by two important goals. First, the Council proposed to define the 'right' or 'genuine' Catholic doctrine by formulating an appropriate answer to the doctrinal issues raised by Luther, his German followers, and other reformers. The Council Fathers convened to examine and to condemn these errors and heresies which would continue to spread without any general Church Council. A second important issue on the agenda was the reform in head and members of the Church, particularly that of the discipline and the inner life of the Church and the Christian people, in order to remove the numerous abuses that had developed in the course of time. Special attention was paid to the office of the bishops and the pastors. Instead of accumulating benefices, they had to focus themselves on their main job, namely the care of souls.⁴ The resulting Tridentine decrees and canons dealt with various topics related with Catholic reform, including not only ecclesiastical discipline and pastoral care on various levels, but also grace, free will and justification, the relation between Scripture and Tradition, as well as the offices of teaching and preaching Scripture.

In this section attention will be paid to three factors that affected the massive undertaking of Catholic revival, namely the role of the Jesuits, the reorganisation of the episcopal hierarchy, and the influence of the Habsburg regime. The study of these factors seems to demonstrate that this process of Catholic renewal, also known as Tridentine Catholicism, was mainly a success in the Southern Low Countries.

1.1.1 *The Jesuits in the Low Countries*

Both the Capuchins, who focussed on the task of preaching, and the Society of Jesus, who put an emphasis on education and instruction, were important propagators of the project of Catholic revival and renewal in the Low Countries.⁵ These orders were successful because they managed to mobilize lay support, not only for a general show of Catholic strength, but also for membership

4 John W. O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 12–17.

5 This section on the Jesuit presence in Louvain is based on Jan Roegiers, "Akward Neighbours. The Leuven Faculty of Theology and the Jesuit College (1542–1773)," in *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540–1773)*, BETL 251, ed. Robertus Faesen and Leo Kenis (Louvain: Peeters, 2012), 153–175. See also Ronnie P. Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770*,

of new elites in which new bonds between clerics and laypeople were being forged, and in which laypeople were given a meaningful role in the fight against heresy.⁶

The Jesuits were established by St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and formally approved in 1540 by Pope Paul III (t. 1534–1549) through the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*. They were led by a Superior General and took a solemn fourth vow of obedience to the Pope with regard to the missions. Moreover, Mullett states that “going against the general trend of Catholic reformism, especially at Trent, to subject the religious orders to episcopal control, in 1545 Paul [III, *sic*] exempted the Jesuits bishop’s authority, allowing them to administer the Sacraments and to preach without needing the permission of parish priests or bishops”.⁷ In other words, there was a special alliance between the Jesuits and the papacy, which would later be at stake in the struggle with Jansenism in the Low Countries.

The first Jesuits arrived at Louvain in 1542, only two years after Paul III had authorised the establishment of their order. Compelled to break off their studies in Paris because of the war between France and Charles v, they came to Louvain to continue their education. At that time, this University town fell under the rule of Charles v. The Jesuits established themselves in a residence and soon began to recruit new members. In a short period of time, they were able to convince several students and members of the Louvain clergy to join the Society. Moreover, the Jesuits were active as preachers, confessors and spiritual advisors. It is therefore not surprising that the first conflicts were not long in coming. However, when the Jesuits were accused of taking over the work of preaching and confessing of the parish clergy, they received support of the Louvain professors, particularly of Ruard Tapper (1487–1559).⁸

New approaches to European history, 24, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA : Cambridge University press, 2005), 31–33; Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, 74–100; Alfred Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas: établissement de la Compagnie de Jésus en Belgique et ses développements jusqu’à la fin du règne d’Albert et d’Isabelle*, vol. 1 *Histoire générale*, Académie royale de Belgique. Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques. Mémoires. 2^e série 21 (Brussels: Lamertin, 1927–1928).

6 Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 147.

7 Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, 90.

8 Ruard Tapper was born in Enkhuizen on 15 February 1487, studied in Louvain and was admitted to the academic senate on 22 December 1511. He obtained a licentiate in theology on 3 June 1516 and a doctorate in theology on 16 August 1519. Next, he became professor of theology and canon of Saint Peter’s. In 1535, after the death of Nicolas Coppin, Tapper became dean of Saint Peter’s and chancellor of the university. He was several times elected dean of the Faculty of Theology and also served two terms as rector. In addition, the anti-Protestant Tapper was Inquisitor General for the Low Countries and attended the Council of Trent in

In 1556, fourteen years after their establishment in the Low Countries, the Jesuits obtained their official recognition of King Philip II (1527–1598),⁹ the pious son of Charles V, in spite of opposition from various sides which resulted in a series of restrictions to the privileges granted them by the Popes. Roegiers states that until 1584, the Jesuits “were not fully exempted from episcopal authority and their possibility for the acquisition of real property needed a special permission from the local authorities”.¹⁰ When the City Council of Louvain lifted its objections in 1565 after several interventions of the Louvain professors, the Jesuits could at last establish a college in the city. The Louvain Jesuit College became the philosophical and theological seminary for the whole Province of the Order, but was transferred to Tournai in 1569. Students received their basic formation in the Arts Faculty and in supplementary courses taught at the college, including theology among others. Notwithstanding the fact that the work of the Jesuits seemed to be appreciated, the first conflicts with the Faculty of Theology had already arisen in the 1560s. These conflicts “had nothing to do with doctrine or ideas, but with juridical problems, the right to dispense public teaching *in ordine ad gradus*”, meaning that the Jesuits asked for the right “to organize public teaching of philosophy and theology and to grant academic degrees to their students”.¹¹ In this context, the Jesuits also invoked the papal privileges enjoyed by their order.

1.1.2 *The Reorganisation of the Episcopal Hierarchy*

In the meantime, several plans had been forged for the reorganisation of the Netherlandish dioceses. King Philip II was a vehement supporter of this undertaking, not only because an update was much needed, but also because he aimed at reducing the influence of foreign bishops on his territory.¹² On 12 May

the period September 1551–April 1552 where he participated actively in the discussions on penance and the mass. Tapper died on 2 March 1559 in Brussels. See Ilse Guenther, “Ruard Tapper,” in *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1987), 3:308–309.

9 Philip II had moved the royal court from Brussels to Madrid and endorsed the reforms of the Tridentine Council.

10 Roegiers, “Akward Neighbours,” 157. See also Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1:118–130.

11 Roegiers, “Akward Neighbours,” 158–159.

12 The main sources for study of the erection of the new bishoprics are Gert Gielis, “*Utinam magnam eorum copiam haberemus*. Franciscus Sonnius en de oprichting van de nieuwe bisdommen in 1559,” *Communio: Internationaal Katholiek Tijdschrift* 34, no. 3–4 (2009), 194–207; Joannes M. Gijzen, “De inrichting van achttien bisdommen in de Nederlanden in 1559–1570,” *Communio: Internationaal Katholiek Tijdschrift* 34, no. 3–4 (2009), 171–193;

1559, Pope Paul IV (t. 1555–1559) approved the creation of new bishoprics in the Low Countries through the promulgation of the papal bull *Super Universas*. He ratified the bull on 31 July 1559, but died on 18 August, and thus left the implementation of the bull to his successor Pius IV (t. 1559–1565).¹³ *Super Universas* was the result of an age-long endeavour, as the reorganisation of the episcopal hierarchy in the Low Countries had already been considered by emperor Charles V and his government in the 1520s. Moreover, the issue had also been negotiated in the margins of the second period of the Council of Trent in April 1551–April 1552, through the intercession of the delegation of Louvain theologians.

Pollmann affirms that the Low Countries previously had “a poorly developed ecclesiastical superstructure”.¹⁴ Indeed, before 1559, the Low Countries had consisted of five bishoprics, dating back from the early Middle Ages and covering extensive areas: Utrecht in the northern part of the territory and Tournai, Cambrai, Arras and Thérouanne – until its destruction in 1553 – in the French-speaking south-western regions. The independent Prince-Bishopric of Liège, ruled by the Prince-bishop, also had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over certain regions of the territory, among others in Louvain, although the Prince-Bishopric itself was in fact a state of the Holy Roman Empire.

With the bull *Super Universas*, Pope Paul IV aimed not only at responding to the rise of Protestantism, but also at suppressing the abuses and malpractices of some members of the clergy. *Super Universas* consisted of five parts.¹⁵ The first section clarified the main reasons for the drafting of the bull. The above-mentioned division into five bishoprics was considered outdated and was said

Folkert Postma, “Nieuw licht op een oude zaak: de oprichting van de nieuwe bisdommen in 1559,” *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 103 (1990), 10–27; Michel J. Dierickx, *Documents inédits sur l'érection des nouveaux diocèses aux Pays-Bas (1521–1570)*, Académie royale de Belgique. Commission royale d'histoire. Publications in 8, 3 vols. (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1960–1962); A. Graafhuis, “Bulla *Super Universas* 12 mei 1559,” *Oud-Utrecht* 32, no. 4 (1959), 38–49; Michiel J. Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II 1559–1570* (Antwerp: Standaard; Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1950); Ludovicus J. Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16^e en 17^e eeuw*, vol. 1, (Amsterdam: Urbi et Orbi, 1945), 201–259. See also Paulus W.F.M. Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, vol. 1 *Van missionering tot herstel van de hiërarchie in 1853* (Bruges: Tabor, 1992), 245–89.

13 Gielis, “*Utinam magnam eorum copiam haberemus*,” 201–203; Postma, “Nieuw licht op een oude zaak: de oprichting van de nieuwe bisdommen in 1559,” 23–26; Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen*, 49–62; Graafhuis, “Bulla *Super Universas* 12 mei 1559,” 42–44.

14 Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 34.

15 For the Latin text of *Super Universas*, see Gisbert Brom and Antonius H.L. Hensen, *Romeinsche bronnen voor den kerkelijk-staatkundigen toestand der Nederlanden in de 16de eeuw*, Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën. Grote serie, 52 (’s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1922),

to date from a period during which the territory of the Low Countries had been thinly populated. In the meantime, however, the population had grown significantly and the faithful had to be protected against the spreading heresies of Protestantism. In addition, there was an important language problem that harmed religious education. The second part of the bull made clear that the Pope aimed at reducing foreign interference in state affairs by withdrawing dioceses from the jurisdiction of the Archbishoprics of Cologne and Reims, an important requirement of the Habsburgs.

The third section clarified that the old episcopal structures were replaced – although not without resistance¹⁶ – by a new division into three ecclesiastical provinces¹⁷ consisting of eighteen dioceses in total: the province of Cambrai in the South comprised the dioceses of Arras, Tournai, Namur and Saint-Omer; the dioceses of Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, 's-Hertogenbosch, Ypres and Roermond came under the jurisdiction of the province of Mechlin;¹⁸ finally, the province of Utrecht included Deventer, Groningen, Haarlem, Leeuwarden and Middelburg.¹⁹ The new dioceses were staffed by various important and influential bishops who were deemed to spread the new ideal of Tridentine Catholicism, albeit with varying success. The province of Mechlin was designated as archdiocese, and its Archbishop became primate of the Low Countries.

The fourth part of the bull affirmed that King Philip II and his successors received the privilege of proposing nominees for all the episcopal sees, except that of Cambrai, where the Pope could directly appoint candidates without

62–157; Aubertus Miraëus and Joannes Franciscus Foppens, *Opera diplomatica et historica*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1723), 472–76. For a Dutch translation, see Pieter C. Bor, *Oorsprongk, begin, en vervolg der Nederlandsche oorlogen, beroerten, en borgerlyke oneenigheden (...)*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1679), 24–26. For a discussion of the content of the bull, see Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen*, 62–69; Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 1:215–217.

16 See also in this regard Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 75–80.

17 “Cameracensem vero & Collegiatam S. Rumoli Opidi Mechliniensis & Trajectensem Ecclesias in Metropolitanas, ac Cameracenses & Trajectenses Sedes Episcopales in Archiepiscopales, easque & ipsam Ecclesiam S. Rumoldi, Metropolitanorum Praesulum Sedes ac Provinciarum Capita, scientia, consilio & potestatis plenitudine similibus, auctoritate & tenore praemissis, etiam erigimus & instituimus.” See Miraëus and Foppens, *Opera diplomatica et historica*, 1:474.

18 For an overview of the events surrounding the implementation of *Super Universas* in these dioceses, see Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 1:347–419.

19 For an overview of the events surrounding the implementation of *Super Universas* in these dioceses, see Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 1:260–346.

interference of the government.²⁰ An important prerequisite in this regard was that the episcopal candidates had to hold an academic degree in theology or canon law.²¹ The Pope, however, still preserved the right of appointment. Obviously, this decision confirmed the King's authority over the Church in the Low Countries.²² The fifth and final section of the bull made some provisional statements on the dotation of the new bishops which were in fact only transitional arrangements pending a final solution for the dotation problem.²³

1.1.3 *The Influence of the Habsburg Regime*

However, starting from the 1560s, the resistance against the centralizing policy of Philip II grew and was caused, among others by the above-mentioned ecclesiastical reorganization, the implementation of the Council of Trent, and the various measures that had been taken against the Reformation.²⁴ In 1566, Margaret of Parma (1522–1586), the sister of Philip II and Governess of the Low Countries from 1559 to 1567, was explicitly asked to stop the religious

20 Hans Cools, "Bishops in the Habsburg Netherlands on the Eve of the Catholic Renewal, 1515–1559," in *Episcopal Reform and Politics in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Jennifer Mara DeSilva (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2012), 52.

21 Henceforth, bishops were no longer recruited exclusively from the ranks of the nobility who obviously took offence at this decision. See Cools, "Bishops in the Habsburg Netherlands," 55.

22 "Eidem autem Philippo Regi, ejusque Successoribus, qui pro tempore ejusdem Regionis in temporalibus Domini extiterint, *jus nominandi* persona idoneas, in Theologia Magistros, aut in Decretis Doctores seu Licenciatos, Nobilium Universitatem more, diligenti examine, promotos, ad Mechliniensem, Anverpiensem, Trajectensem, Atrebatensem, Tornacensem, Harlemensem, Ruremundensem, Namurcensem, Gandavensem ac Brugensem, Daventriensem, Buscoducensem, Leovardiensem, Gruningensem, Middelburgensem, Ecclesias praedictas, tam in hac prima vice, quam quotienscumque illas pro tempore vacare contigerit, nobis & Romano Pontifici, qui pro tempore fuerit, per nos & eundem Pontificem in Archiepiscopos & Episcopos earum, ad nominationem ejusmodi instituentos, de eodem consilio & scientia ac auctoritate praemissis, in perpetuum reservamus atque concedimus, ac irritum & inane, si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari, decernimus." See Miraeus and Foppens, *Opera diplomatica et historica*, 1:475.

23 Graafhuis, "Bulla Super Universas 12 mei 1559," 45; Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 1:215–217.

24 This section is based on Hans C.H. Blom and Emiel Lamberts (ed.), *Geschiedenis van de Nederlanden*, 5th ed. (Baarn: HBUitgevers, 2010), 104–125; Joris van Eijnatten and Fred A. van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis*, 2nd ed. (Hilversum: Verloren, 2006), 148–155. See also Catherine Secretan and Willem T.M. Frijhoff, *Les Pays-Bas au siècle d'or: de l'Union d'Utrecht à la Paix d'Utrecht (1579–1713) Dictionnaire* (Paris: CNRS, 2018); Jean Delumeau, Thierry Wanegffelen and Bernard Cottret, *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme*, 11th ed. (Paris: PUF, 2012), 233–247; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 80–123.

persecutions. Her decision to suspend the edicts against Protestantism caused rumours of religious freedom for the Protestants and eventually led to the turbulent events of the 1566 “Wonder Year”, which saw the emergence of Calvinist preachers, the eruption of iconoclastic riots, and the start of the revolt against the Spanish Catholic monarch.

As a consequence, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1507–1582), Duke of Alba and representative of the Spanish court, was sent to the Low Countries and was tasked with governance of this region between 1567 and 1573, as a substitute for Margaret of Parma. In addition, Alba was to restore order and to enforce, without delay, attempts to re-Catholicize the country according to strict rules. He also installed the Council of Troubles, a special court that was charged with prosecuting the heretics. In these years, however, the political, religious and economical basis for the resistance only increased, and the newly appointed bishops even asked Alba to mitigate his rigorous policy. In spite of Alba's military actions and efforts, the political situation in the Low Countries did not turn in favour of the Spanish crown. In addition, during this period, Catholicism and sympathy for Spain became almost synonyms. Eventually, Alba returned to Spain in 1573 and was replaced by the more moderate Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga (1528–1576) who died suddenly in 1576. The new Governor Alexander Farnese (1545–1592), Duke of Parma, successfully brought the Southern Netherlands again under the control of Philip II in his struggle against the Dutch Revolt. As a consequence, the Southern Low Countries were characterised by “a remarkable Catholic religious homogeneity once they were restored to Spanish rule by Parma from the 1580s”.²⁵

On 26 July 1581, the Seven United Provinces in the North, which would become the Dutch Republic, withdrew from the authority of Philip II of Spain by signing the Act of Abjuration or *Plakkaat van Verlatinghe*. Henceforth, the northern part of the Netherlands was predominantly Protestant, although there were still many Catholics that met faithfully in clandestine churches in barns and attics. The southern part, also called the Spanish Low Countries or Southern Low Countries, remained Catholic. The lines of demarcation between the two parts fluctuated, however, for some years. Confronted with this situation, and particularly with the acute shortage of priests in the North, Pope Clement VIII (t. 1592–1605) decided to declare the Northern Low Countries to be a mission area in 1592, as will be demonstrated in the second section of this chapter.

²⁵ Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, 173.

In the South, on the contrary, the Habsburgs and the Catholic Church managed to regain control over the public sphere after 1585 and the 're-Catholicization' could take off. The Catholic revival turned into a means of legitimation for the Habsburg regime.

The regime presented itself as the protector of faith, and, together with its subjects, set out to fight the enemies of the Church and free the land from the sins that had brought so many afflictions.²⁶

The Duke of Parma offered reconciliation agreements to the various cities that he had conquered in order to bring them back to obedience. In addition, Protestants who were living in these cities, for instance Antwerp, were offered the possibility to make peace with the Catholic Church, be it during a limited 'grace period'. This decision resulted in a process of confessional cleansing, while at the same time many Protestants left the Southern Low Countries with their capital and expertise and headed to the North. The bishops in the South launched a campaign for ecclesiastical reconstruction and implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, in spite of the persisting economic and security problems. However, slowly but surely, there were signs of a restoration of Catholic life.²⁷

Once the Southern Netherlands were again under Spanish rule thanks to Alexander Farnese, the Jesuits in Louvain considered the time ripe to have their legal situation modified, and again sought an official permission for public teaching *in ordine ad gradus* in the beginning of the 1580s.²⁸ In spite of a negative judgment of the Louvain University, the government formally granted to the Jesuits the full exercise of all their privileges in May 1584, except the right for graduation. However, both the Jesuits and the University were not happy with this compromise and began to question each other's teachings and orthodoxy in order to be put in the right.²⁹ In the following years, the conflicts and disputes between both parties regarding the University's monopoly over public teaching of philosophy and theology intensified, particularly in the confrontation with Jansenism, as will be demonstrated in the third part of this chapter.

²⁶ Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 159.

²⁷ Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 126–128.

²⁸ Roegiers, "Akward Neighbours," 159. See also Poncelet, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1:327–337.

²⁹ Roegiers, "Akward Neighbours," 160.

In 1596, Philip II appointed Archduke Albert (1559–1621) as regent of the Low Countries, a function that Albert would hold until his death. In spite of the many wars and conflicts that characterised his term of office, Albert and his wife Isabella (1566–1633) revealed themselves as vehement supporters of the Catholic renewal. Under their reign, the Southern Netherlands regained a strong Catholic identity. “Having grown up in an atmosphere of Counter-Reformation spirituality, they (the Archdukes, *sic*) considered their personal devotion as a key investment in the welfare of their new lands”.³⁰ Their major decisions went hand in hand with devotions: their marriage was for instance dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In addition, Albert and Isabella put their personal piety into practice by stimulating the cults of various saints, by attending processions and religious services everywhere in their territory, and by attaching much value to the sacrament of the Eucharist and the presence of holy relics. In 1615, for instance, they sent out a mission to the Dutch Republic to recover the bones of the Martyrs of Gorcum, a group of nineteen Catholic Dutch clerics and friars who had been hanged by the *Geuzen* in Den Briel on 9 July 1572 and to whose intercession many miracles were ascribed.³¹ In addition, the Archdukes were patrons to the new religious orders of the Catholic Reformation, among others the Jesuits, the Capuchins and the Recollects, and they had influential Jesuit preachers at court.

This collaboration between the secular and the clerical authorities resulted in the creation of a Catholic society that was tightly connected to Madrid (Royalism) and Rome (Catholicism). The monarchy assisted the clerical authorities through their interventions in matters of faith, for instance by disciplining recalcitrant clergy and laity, or by issuing ordinances against clerical concubinage, blasphemy, sorcery, and other offenses. According to Parker, Pollmann rightly pointed out the importance of the clerical collaboration with laity in her work.

Catholicism eventually triumphed in the Southern Netherlands and perhaps in other places as well, because clergy actually engaged laypeople, giving them reasons to reject heresy, providing them the means to develop their spiritual lives, and restoring to them a sense of sacred community.³²

30 Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 164.

31 Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 159–165. See also Luc Duerloo, “*Pietas Albertina*. Dynastieke vroomheid en herbouw van het vorstelijk gezag,” *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 112 (1997), 1–18.

32 Charles Parker, Review of *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, by Judith Pollmann, *The Catholic Historical Review* 98, no. 2 (2012), 567–568.

There were of course other factors that influenced the success of the Catholic reform in the Southern Low Countries: Antwerp printed devotional and polemical books in various languages for the entire Catholic world; the Universities of Louvain and Douai received Catholic exiles from England, Ireland and the Northern Netherlands; many young men became missionaries.³³ In other words, the Southern Low Countries emerged as “the model of the Tridentine Reformation in northern Europe, providing [...] enviable glimpses of what a public Catholic establishment meant.”³⁴

1.2 A Minority Church in the North: The Creation of the Dutch Mission (1592) and the Vicariate Apostolic

The promulgation of the bull *Super universas* in 1559 had resulted in the creation of three new ecclesiastical provinces in the Netherlands, namely Cambrai, Mechlin and Utrecht. This reorganization and the intended renewal of Catholic life found a ready reception in the Southern part of the Low Countries, especially in the French-speaking province of Cambrai. In Mechlin, it took some time to implement the new episcopal hierarchy, particularly because of the war conditions and internal oppositions. Eventually, Catholic life received a new élan in the archdiocese under the rule of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. In the northern part of the territory – *grosso modo* in the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht – the new episcopal structures could not be implemented at all: an organised Catholic life was made quasi-impossible because of the Dutch Revolt. The first appointed Archbishop of Utrecht, Frederik Schenck van Toutenburg (1503–1580), was considered a loyal servant to the King, but had a questionable way of life. In spite of the efforts of the Duke of Alba to suppress the revolt and to impose the new ecclesiastical organisation in the North, the political conflict grew into a religious war resulting in the fierce introduction of Calvinism as the official privileged confession in society.³⁵

This section focuses on the relationship between Catholics and Calvinists in the Northern Netherlands. This relation was characterised by a fluctuating process of toleration and accommodation, as demonstrated in the first part. The

33 Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770*, 65–68.

34 Mullett, *The Catholic Reformation*, 173.

35 Wietse van de Velde, “De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland: geschiedenis,” in *De Oud-Katholieke kerk van Nederland: leer en leven*, ed. Angela Berlis, Koenraad Ouwens, Wietse van der Velde, Jan Visser, and Jan-Lambert Wirix-Speetjens (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 2000), 18–21; Petrus J. Maan, Koenraad Ouwens, and Frederik Smit, *De Oud-Katholieke kerk van Nederland: leer en leven* (Hilversum: Gooi en Sticht, 1979) 9–11.

second part describes the complete reorganization of the Catholic Church in the northern Dutch Republic at the end of the sixteenth century with the installation of the *Missio Hollandica* and the subsequent problems and challenges. The final part of this section provides an overview of the various vicars apostolic of the *Missio Hollandica*.

1.2.1 *Religious Coexistence in the North: Toleration and Accommodation*

The relationship between Catholics and Calvinists in the civic space of the North was characterised by a fluctuating process of toleration and accommodation that was “continually subject to disruption, negotiation, change, or evolution”.³⁶ In other words, after the Capture of Brielle in 1572, it was impossible to predict how the social, political, and religious climate in which the Holland Catholics lived and worshipped, would evolve, whether it was in the direction of toleration, repression, or persecution.³⁷ In 1573, the States of Holland issued an edict that forbade the public practice of the Catholic cult in any form on their territory on pain of fines, imprisonment, or banishment. Religious meetings in private houses and gatherings of lay and clerical Catholics were no longer allowed for fear of conspiracy and treason. This way, the States established the monopoly of the Reformed Church on public religiosity and Calvinism became the official and privileged confession. Everyone who occupied a public function in Holland had to renounce the Spanish King and to swear an oath of allegiance to the States. Moreover, Catholics in the Republic were forbidden to send their children to universities that stood under influence of the Spanish King on severe penalties. The 1573 edict was regularly refined and elaborated, and was later also applied to the entire Republic. Kooi concludes that “the guarantee of freedom of conscience permitted them [the Holland Catholics, *sic*] to believe privately as they wished, but their right to act on or express those beliefs was completely proscribed. Their religion had, in effect, been privatized”.³⁸

In 1579, the northern provinces of the Netherlands joined themselves in an alliance against Spain by signing the Union of Utrecht. This treaty also integrated some religious statements, including two stipulations concerning the religious regime of the new state, namely (a vaguely defined) freedom of conscience and local regulation of Church affairs. These two conditions served as the basis of religious coexistence in the public space of the Republic and

36 Christine Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age: Heretics and Idolaters* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 91.

37 Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age*, 92.

38 Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age*, 95.

“provided the skeletal constitutional framework within which the Dutch Republic’s religious pluralism would be managed for most of its history”.³⁹

After the death of Archbishop Frederik Schenck van Toutenburg in August 1580, the episcopal see of Utrecht was no longer occupied by a bishop because, according to the stipulations contained in the bull *Super universas*, the Spanish King had to appoint a successor, which obviously proved to be impossible given the war circumstances. In addition, this prerequisite was unacceptable for the insurgents in the North. Schenck van Toutenburg was succeeded by the dean of the cathedral chapter of Utrecht, Jan van Bruhesen (1527–1600), who held the function of *vicarius capitularis* until his death on 10 September 1600. In 1583, however, Van Bruhezen delegated his office to Sasbout Vosmeer (1548–1614), who was to become the first vicar apostolic of the Dutch Mission. In addition, the dioceses of Middelburg (1573), Leeuwarden (1580), Haarlem (1587), Deventer (1591), and Groningen (1594) were no longer provided with bishops.⁴⁰ Around 1580, the adjective ‘Catholic’ turned into a byword for Spanish-minded, particularly after the rigorous briefs that Pope Gregory XIII (t. 1572–1585) had issued in July 1578. In these briefs, the Pope forced the clergy in the

39 Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland’s Golden Age*, 94.

40 The see of *Middelburg* became vacant after the death of Nicolaas van der Borch (also known as Nicolaus a Castro) in 1573. Two other bishops were named in Middelburg, namely, Johan van Strijen (t. 1576–1594) and Charles Philip de Rodoan (t. 1600–1603), but they never took possession of their see. In *Leeuwarden*, Remigius Driutius (Drieux) (t. 1561–1569) never took possession of his see. The see became vacant after the death of his successor Cuneris Petri (t. 1569–1580) in 1580. In *Haarlem*, Godfried van Mierlo (t. 1570–1587) succeeded the first bishop Nicolaas van Nieuwland (t. 1559–1569) after his nomination in Utrecht. The see became vacant after Van Mierlo was appointed bishop of Deventer in 1587. In *Deventer*, Johannes Mahusius (t. 1561–1568) was named bishop in 1561 but his nomination was not undisputed and therefore he could not take possession of his see. He was succeeded by Aegidius de Monte (t. 1570–1577) who stayed in his diocese and died after a short disease in 1577. Shortly thereafter, Deventer was taken over by the Dutch States Party. In 1587, after the recapture of the city, the third bishop of Deventer, Godfried van Mierlo, was ordained but he died before arriving in his diocese. Philip II named Gijsbertus Coeverinckx as his successor in 1589 but this nomination was never confirmed by the Pope and in 1591 the city definitively fell in the hands of the Dutch States Party. Johannes Knijff (t. 1561–1576), the first bishop of *Groningen*, only reached his diocese in 1567. His successor Jan van Bruhesen (t. 1589–1592) was named bishop of Groningen by Philip II but his nomination remained dead letter. Arnold Nijlen (t. 1593–1603) was the third bishop of Groningen but he had to leave after only one year when the town was taken over by the Dutch States Party. Nijlen moved to Brussels where he died in 1603. See Van Eijnatten and Van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis*, 182–183; Bastiaan A. van Kleef, *Geschiedenis van de Oud-katholieke Kerk*, Van Gorcum’s historische bibliotheek, 42 (Assen: Van Gorcum), 49–52; Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 2:5–7.

Netherlands to support the Spanish King.⁴¹ The rupture from the Spanish crown in 1581 marked the formal end of the episcopal hierarchy in the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht. The consequences of the repression and the dismantlement of the Catholic Church in the North were not long in coming: not only the Catholic ecclesiastical infrastructure collapsed, but also a considerable part of the ecclesiastical staff disappeared. Many priests and pastors fled from the territory or joined the civil society as farmers, traders, teachers or even as Reformed pastors. On 20 December 1581, an anti-Catholic edict, one of the many to come, was issued at the expense of the States of Holland by William of Orange (1533–1584). This edict specifically aimed at the public religious practices of Catholics.⁴² The following years, this stipulation, together with many others, was repeatedly sharpened and extended, but they were hardly observed in this period of confessional confusion, apart from some financial-economical measures, for instance in the form of recognition money.⁴³ Kooi testifies of the relative laxity in enforcing these measures when she states that “the governments of Holland’s major towns enforced the edicts entirely as they pleased” and that “much also depended on the disposition of local law officers”.⁴⁴ In other words, the enforcement of the anti-Catholic edicts was a local issue.⁴⁵

The Reformed Church in the Dutch Republic never became the state church, but was the official privileged confession that preached the ‘true’ religion and that dominated civic space. However, up until the beginning of the seventeenth century, no citizen was actually compelled to join the Reformed

41 Mathieu G. Spiertz, “De katholieke geestelijke leiders en de wereldlijke overheid in de Republiek der Zeven Provinciën,” *Trajecta* 2, no. 1 (1993), 3–20, there 3–4.

42 The edict stipulated that Catholics were no longer permitted to assemble in churches or houses for religious practices because “lightelyck eenige onrust en oproer soude mogen rysen, ende eenige heymelijcke verstant met den Vyandt gehouden, ende listige aenslagen soudén mogen te wege gebraght worden.” See Willem P.C. Knuttel, *De toestand der Nederlandsche katholieken ten tijde der Republiek*, vol. 1 (’s-Gravenhage, 1892), 14.

43 Catholic priests or congregations paid yearly sums to local officers to keep them from disturbing Catholic gatherings. Some of the edicts prescribed punitive fines, to which sometimes a dimension of bribery was added. Recognition money became a regular and even mundane practice at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In other words, Catholic communities bought toleration as a respite from prosecution. According to Kooi, this practice “managed” religious difference by carving out a place for Catholics as a confessional subculture, by allowing them to be officially unseen within civic space.” See Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland’s Golden Age*, 104–105. See also Frederik Smit and Jan Jacobs, *Van den Hogenheuvél gekomen: bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de priesteropleiding in de kerk van Utrecht, 1683–1723*, Scripta van het Katholiek documentatie centrum en het Katholiek studiecentrum te Nijmegen, 6 (Nijmegen: Valkhof, 1994), 23.

44 Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland’s Golden Age*, 103.

45 Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 2.

Church because of the vaguely defined concept of freedom of conscience in the 1579 Union of Utrecht.⁴⁶ Janssen states in this regard: “In the northern Dutch Republic the revolt created a more ambiguous Catholic identity, in which loyalty to an officially Protestant state could coincide with commitment to the Church of Rome”.⁴⁷

1.2.2 *The Dutch Mission and Its Problems and Challenges*

Although Catholic belief and praxis were relegated to the (invisible) private realm, there were still Catholic enclaves present in the Dutch Republic that remained faithful to the religion of their forbearers. They met faithfully in clandestine churches in barns and attics, the so-called shelter churches (*schuilkerken*), often thanks to the commitment of individual priests and pastors. These Catholics enjoyed reasonable freedom, but there were variations in the regime, ranging from religious tolerance over financial stipulations in exchange for protection, to even occasional violence. Parker therefore affirms that “one of the intriguing paradoxes of Dutch society is that it was multiconfessional and, from the point of view of Catholics, a persecuting society at the same time”.⁴⁸

Confronted with this situation, and particularly with the acute shortage of priests, Pope Clement VIII decided to declare the northern part of the Netherlands to be a mission area in 1592, although without clearly defining the statute of this mission. This decision led to a complete reorganization of the Catholic Church in the northern Dutch Republic. Henceforth the Church would no longer be conducted by a bishop appointed by the Spanish King, but by a vicar apostolic who received his authority from the papal nuncio and thus depended directly on the Holy See.⁴⁹ The Catholic missionary work of the vicar apostolic was described in the documents of the Roman Curia as a *Missio Hollandica* or a Dutch mission. The vicars apostolic displayed “an extraordinary concern with pastoral issues and devoted enormous energy (with the possible exception of

46 Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age*, 100–101.

47 Geert H. Janssen, “*Quo Vadis?* Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566–1609,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2011), 472–499, there 472.

48 Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 13.

49 Basic information on the various vicars apostolic can be found in the following works: Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 24–66; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:245–289; Pontianus Polman, *Katholiek Nederland in de achttiende eeuw*, vol. 1 *De Hollandse zending, 1700–1727* (Hilversum: Brand, 1968), 3–31, 157–187, 253–268; van Kleef, *Geschiedenis van de Oud-katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 45–96, 104–112; Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 2:23–84, 100–340.

Jacobus De la Torre) to delivering pastoral care to lay Catholics".⁵⁰ The name *Missio Hollandica* gives, however, a distorted picture of the situation. Although the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht, consisting of six dioceses, no longer possessed any bishops or church buildings, and only disposed of a few funds, a large part of the population had remained faithful to the Catholic Church. In addition, given the uncertain outcome of the war, many of them had postponed their confessional choice.

Both the secular and the regular clergy were active in the Dutch Mission. Especially the number of Jesuits working in the care of souls in the North increased significantly in the seventeenth century.⁵¹ There were often conflicts and tensions between the vicar apostolic and the secular clergy on the one hand, and the regular clergy with the Jesuits in the lead on the other. The ideas of both groups on authority and hierarchy strongly diverged. Both groups were theoretically subordinated to the authority of the local bishop (c.q. the vicar apostolic) but, in practice, the regular clerics relied rather on the guidance of the Pope and their superior. Particularly the Jesuits declared that the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Dutch Church no longer existed and that they only had to give account for their actions to the central instance, c.q. the Pope. This way, they went right against the opinion of the vicar apostolic. In addition, the fact that the Jesuits and Rome continued to denote the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht as a missionary area in Rome in the course of the seventeenth century contributed greatly to the strained relations between the two groups.

Despite the conflicts, the successive vicars apostolic tried to hold on to the old ecclesiastical structure in which the bishops governed the Church in close contact with the priests, deacons and faithful.⁵² However, sometimes agreements were concluded with the regular clergy. In 1610, for instance, the first vicar apostolic Sasbout Vosmeer, although he considered the Jesuit missionaries as intruders and competitors for the secular clergy in his territory, concluded an agreement with the General of the Jesuits. These so-called *Articuli*

⁵⁰ Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 32.

⁵¹ Parker affirms: "In terms of numbers, by 1629 there were 321 total priests in the Holland Mission of which 71 belonged to religious orders, with the Society of Jesus claiming half (34) of that number. And, at mid-century 142 out of 442 priests were regulars, 62 of whom were Jesuit." See Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 39. In 1700, the Dutch Mission consisted of 379 missionary stations, of which 275 were staffed by regular clerics and 104 by regulars. See Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:257–258.

⁵² Gian Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen: bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663–1705)*, *Cultuurgeschiedenis van de Republiek in de 17de eeuw* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2003), 192–200; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:249–250; Maan, Ouwens, and Smit, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 14–16; van Kleef, *Geschiedenis van de Oud-katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 68–70.

allowed the Jesuits to administer the sacraments of baptism, marriage and anointing of the sick under strict conditions. In 1624, Philippus Rovenius (1573–1651), Vosmeer's successor, concluded another agreement with the regulars, known as the *Concordia*, which would last only a short time. This concordat reaffirmed the authority of the vicar apostolic over the Dutch Mission and stipulated where and how many regulars could serve. The vicar apostolic, however, was not recognized as a resident Archbishop or bishop.⁵³

On the occasion of the establishment of the apostolic vicariate in 1592, the old structure of the dioceses with their chapters was not restored, but the longing for the old episcopal hierarchy remained. The important role of the chapters in the episcopal elections had been pushed into the background in 1559 by the stipulations of *Super Universas*. Their right to vote had been reduced to the formality of simply approving the candidates that were presented by the King. However, their power had not been broken and they undertook initiatives through which the Catholic Church could make headway, for instance in Haarlem. The chapter of Haarlem, founded in 1561 on the occasion of the creation of the diocese of Haarlem, insisted on its independence and managed to convince vicar apostolic Rovenius in 1616 to acknowledge that independence and to confer the canons their part in the governance of the old diocese. Henceforth, the Haarlem chapter recognised the vicar apostolic as a legal authority for all dioceses, while the vicar apostolic acknowledged the chapter as a legal institution. In Utrecht, the situation was different: the old chapter was protestantised and therefore only reformed could obtain a seat in it while Catholics could no longer rely on this institution. However, in November 1633, Rovenius founded the vicariate in Utrecht that consisted of eleven prominent priests. Although it did not carry the title of chapter, the vicariate acted as counterpart of the Haarlem chapter. Both the chapter of Haarlem and the vicariate of Utrecht attempted to guarantee continuity of governance by appointing other candidates for the episcopal tasks in case of a *sede vacante*. However, the relation between the two instances was not always excellent.⁵⁴

The largest problem that the Dutch Mission had to face was the shortage of priests and, to a lesser degree, the insufficient knowledge of the remaining clergy, caused by the lack of good educational possibilities.⁵⁵ The vicars apostolic of the Dutch Mission soon came to understand the importance and the

53 Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 34–46; van de Velde, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 24; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:261–266; Maan, Ouwens, and Smit, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 13–14; Polman, *Katholiek Nederland in de achttiende eeuw*, 1:91–106.

54 Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 2:85–99, 106–110.

55 Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:257.

urgent need for a decent (biblical) training of the clergy, not only to face the controversies with the Protestants, but also to reinforce the position of the Catholic Church and to guarantee the continuity of the Catholic care of souls.⁵⁶ Ackermans rightly adds: “Being a good preacher was an essential prerequisite for a good priest, especially because Dutch Christians occasionally attended the services of other denominations and listened to the sermons”.⁵⁷

In the course of the seventeenth century, future priests and pastors of the Dutch Mission had roughly four possibilities to receive a decent theological education. First, candidate-priests could reside in colleges or communities in university centres abroad, especially in Cologne and Louvain, but also in the *Seminarium Marianum* of Douai (1662)⁵⁸ and in the *Collegium Urbanum* of the *Propaganda Fide* in Rome,⁵⁹ which had been established in 1627 by Pope Urban VIII (t. 1623–1644) as a training college for missionaries and which welcomed students from the Northern Low Countries starting from 1668. Second, future priests and pastors could go to diocesan seminaries that had been founded in the aftermath of the Council of Trent. In the Southern Low Countries, the cities of Roermond (1581) and Antwerp (1605) disposed of a seminary in line with the Tridentine regulations. However, these seminaries had varying success dependant on the context and the bishop in charge. There were also candidates that went to one of the seminars in the German dioceses. Third, the study houses for secular priests of the *Oratorium Domini Jesu Christi*, founded by Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629) in France and the Southern Low Countries, accommodated future priests and pastors of the Dutch Mission. Fourth, and to a lesser degree, future-priests could be received and taught by priests in their houses.⁶⁰

56 Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 75; Smit and Jacobs, *Van den Hogenheuvel gekomen*, 25.

57 Gian Ackermans, “Good Pastors in the *Missio Hollandica* in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century,” in *The Pastor Bonus: Papers Read at the British-Dutch Colloquium at Utrecht, 18–21 September 2002*, Dutch Review of Church History, 83, ed. Theo Clemens and Wim Janse (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 265.

58 The Douai college of Our Blessed Lady was founded in 1662 for the benefit of Dutch priest students pursuant to the testamentary dispositions of two professors of the Douai University, namely Georgius Colvenerius and Theodorus van Couverden. The students of this college were probably employed in various places in the eastern part of the Northern Low Countries. See Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 2:246–248.

59 For detailed information on the *Collegium Urbanum*, see Gian Ackermans, “Propagandisten in de *Missio Hollandica*,” *Trajecta* 6, no. 3 (1997), 233–262, there 235–241.

60 Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen: bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663–1705)*, 72–76; Smit and Jacobs, *Van den Hogenheuvel gekomen*, 9–10; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:258–260.

Two institutions in the Southern Netherlands were particularly popular with the candidate-priests coming from the North:⁶¹ the *Collegium Alticollense* (1612) in Cologne (which moved to Huissen in 1673 and to Louvain in 1683) and the *Collegium Pulcheriae Mariae Virginis* or College of Saint Pulcheria,⁶² which was also surnamed the Holland College (1617), in Louvain. This preference for Louvain can be explained by the position of the University vis-à-vis the main theological issues of the seventeenth century concerning grace and free will. Moreover, the Louvain Faculty of Theology was known to teach the method of positive theology based on the Bible and the Church fathers, Augustine in particular, as will be demonstrated in the next section of this chapter.

- 61 More information on these colleges can be found in Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 67–109; Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen: bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663–1705)*, 72–76; Ackermans, *Propagandisten in de Missio Hollandica*, 234–235; Smit and Jacobs, *Van den Hogenheuvel gekomen*, 9–11, 31–65; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:258–260; Emile J.Th.A.M.A. Smit, “Neercassel en Huissen (1675–1679),” *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 17 (1975), 203–225; Mathieu G. Spiertz, “Les relations de Neercassel et des théologiens de Louvain Van Vianen et Huyghens concernant la formation des prêtres,” in *Actes du colloque sur le jansénisme organisé par l’Academia Belgica*, BRHE, 64 (Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1977), 51–60; Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 2:37–46, 97–100, 244–252. For a comparison of the curricula in Rome and Louvain, see Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen: bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663–1705)*, 81–87.
- 62 Rogier states that the name of the college was a contraction of the Latin words *Pulcher/Pulchra* and *Maria* and explicitly referred to the fine statue of Mary that was located in a niche above the entrance gate. See Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 2:98–99. However, Roegiers and Hamans state that this story is not correct. Already in a letter to Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, dated 9 March 1617, Cornelius Janse-nius had called the new college *Pulcheria* (*Collegium Divae Pulcheria*) and he explained that this name referred to Saint Pulcheria (399–453). She was a daughter of the Eastern Roman Emperor Arcadius and Empress Aelia Eudoxia and was regent over her younger brother Emperor Theodosius II in the period 414–416. When Theodosius II died, Pulcheria married Marcian in November 450 and the couple was proclaimed Emperor and Empress of the Eastern Roman Empire. Pulcheria died in 453 and because of her great influence over the church and theological practices of her time, among other anti-pagan policies, church building projects and the convocation of the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451), she was later made a saint. In addition, in the eighteenth century, this reference to Pulcheria was made clear by the inscription above the gate: *Collegium Hollandicum Divae Pulcheriae Sacrum Renovat[um] Anno 1757*. See Jan Roegiers, “De avonturen van Pulcheria. Een beknopte geschiedenis van het Hollands College te Leuven,” in *Onderwijs en kennisoverdracht in de Oude Nederlanden, 1500–1800*, Publicaties van de Vlaams-Nederlandse Vereniging voor Nieuwe Geschiedenis, 11, ed. Eddy Put and Werner Thomas (Maastricht: Shaker publishing, 2012), 100; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:259, n. 35. See also Rebecca Krawiec, “Pulcheria,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*, vol. 3, ed. Bonnie G. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 537.

1.2.3 *Vicars Apostolic of the Dutch Mission*

On June 3, 1592, Ottavio Mirto Frangipani,⁶³ papal nuncio in Cologne and later, in 1596, nuncio for Flanders in Brussels, appointed the above-mentioned Sasbout Vosmeer as the first vicar apostolic of the *Missio Hollandica*.⁶⁴ Vosmeer, a

63 Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, born into an aristocratic family in Naples in April 1544, graduated as doctor 'in both laws' (*doctor in utroque jure*) at the university of Naples under the guidance of Jean Fabri. In 1565, at the age of 21, Frangipani was appointed secular abbot of the abbey of St. Benedict in Capua. This was the start of a lifelong ecclesiastical career during which Frangipani found favour with the higher ecclesiastical circles in Rome and which was characterized by a particular zeal to impose the canons of the church. Frangipani was ordained bishop of Caiazzo on 9 November 1572. In June 1587, Pope Sixtus v named him papal nuncio to Cologne. He arrived in Cologne in August of that same year. In his capacity of nuncio of Cologne, Frangipani also had to keep an eye on the situation in the Southern Low Countries and the Dutch Republic. In this task, he was helped by several diplomatic agents and informers that were sent by the Holy See, among others Innocent Malvasia and Alexander Malaspina. In June 1588, Frangipani was asked to intervene in a conflict on grace and free will at the Louvain University between the Jesuits and the Faculty of Theology. At that time, the Southern Low Countries were considered to be an important international observatory for the situation in Western Europe. In the meantime, Pope Clement VIII appointed Frangipani bishop of Tricarico on 9 March 1592. One of the main achievements of Frangipani in Cologne was the establishment of the vicariate apostolic of the Northern Low Countries in 1592. On 22 July 1596, he was transferred to Brussels where he was asked to set up a new nunciature in the political centre of the Southern Low Countries. Frangipani's transfer to Brussels fitted in with Pope Clement VIII's political and diplomatic maneuvers to bring about a Franco-Spanish reconciliation and to put an end to the civil wars in France. The nunciature of Brussels also served as a diplomatic post for the Holy See, evidenced by the fact that Frangipani was asked to keep an eye on the political as well as the religious situation in Habsburg Burgundy, the Northern Low Countries and the neighbouring countries, in particular England, Scotland and Ireland. During his career, Frangipani maintained an extensive correspondence with Rome in order to keep the Holy See informed about the situation in his nunciature. He also conducted a lively correspondence on various themes with several learned men of his time within the ecclesiastical circles, the political and military circles. On 20 June 1605, Frangipani was appointed Archbishop of Taranto. He left the nunciature of Brussels in October 1606 and was succeeded by Decio Caraffa. Frangipani died in Taranto on 9 August 1612 at the age of 68. See Els Agten, "Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, First Papal Nuncio to Flanders (1596–1606) and his Thoughts on Book Censorship," in *Church Censorship and Reform in the Early Modern Habsburg Netherlands*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 101, ed. Violet Soen, Dries Vanysacker and Wim François (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2017), 73–96; Stefano Andretta, "Frangipani, Ottavio Mirto," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 50, ed. Alberto Ghisalberti (Rome: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1998), 249–252; Armand Louant, *Frangipani (Ottavio Mirto)*, in *DHGE* 18 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1977), 1002–1009; Alfred Cauchie and René Maere, *Recueil des instructions générales aux nonces de Flandre (1596–1635)* (Brussels: Librairie Kiessling et Cie, 1904), xxiv–xxviii.

64 Vosmeer took over Frangipani's jurisdiction over "Holland, Zeeland, and all remaining regions of Low Germany that had seceded from Catholic faith and from the obedience to

priest working in and around Delft under the pseudonym of Bonifatius, had already governed the archdiocese since 1583 after the departure for abroad of vicar-general Jan van Bruhesen, the then dean of the Utrecht cathedral chapter, as mentioned above. In doing so, Frangipani delegated his authorities for the Northern Netherlands to Vosmeer. In the following four years, the apostolic vicariate fell under the authority of the papal nuncio of Cologne. When the Cologne nunciature was divided in 1596, the territory of the Northern Netherlands came under the authority of the nuncio of Brussels. This arrangement lasted until 1622, when the vicariate was included under the range of duties of the newly founded *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* or the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome. Ultimately, in 1627, the responsibility of the apostolic vicariate passed down to the internuncio in Brussels.⁶⁵

In his capacity as vicar apostolic, Vosmeer was a bishop without a diocese, without 'own' rights and with only delegated authorities of the Pope through the agency of the papal nuncio. He was assigned the difficult task to guide all Catholics of the entire Republic. In 1602, Vosmeer was ordained Archbishop of Philippi *in partibus infidelium* ('in the lands of unbelievers') with the permission of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella.

Philippus Rovenius,⁶⁶ the second vicar apostolic of the Dutch Mission after Vosmeer's death in 1614, was ordained titular Archbishop of Philippi *in partibus infidelium* in Brussels on 8 November 1620. He played an important role in establishing the structure of the missionary church in the Northern Netherlands, together with the chapter of Haarlem and the vicariate of Utrecht.

Kooi states that in the period 1620–1660, which coincides with Rovenius's time of office, Calvinists and Catholics were delineating and sharpening the confessional boundaries between their respective denominations. The Dutch Mission successfully reviving Catholic worship, the Reformed considered this undertaking as a threat to their orthodoxy and it caused them to increase their anti-Catholic rhetoric.⁶⁷ It should be pointed out that the policy in the Generality Lands or Common Lands (*Generaliteitslanden*), mainly Catholic territories of the Northern Low Countries that were directly governed by the States-General and that were not represented in the central government, was marked

their lawful King" (English translation mine). See Smit and Jacobs, *Van den Hogenheuvel gekomen*, 24.

65 See Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 32; Van Eijnatten and Van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religie-geschiedenis*, 183; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:247–248.

66 For information on Rovenius and his works, see Jan Visser, *Rovenius und seine Werke: Beitrag zur Geschichte der Nordniederländischen katholischen Frömmigkeit in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1966), 7–80.

67 Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age*, 110.

by clear (regional) differences. These Generality Lands had come (or had remained) under the control of the Dutch Republic in the period 1629–1637 during the Eighty Years' War with Spain. The territories included, amongst others, States-Brabant, States-Flanders, and States-Limburg, and remained under the authority of the respective bishops of 's-Hertogenbosch, Antwerp and Roermond.⁶⁸ Local rulers, Protestant or Catholic, were in charge. In the barony of Breda and the Land of Cuijk, the religious policy was considered relatively tolerant while in the eastern part of the Generality Lands, Catholics were less obstructed than in the west.⁶⁹

After Rovenius's death in 1651, the Dutch Mission was successively led by Jacobus de la Torre (1608–1661) in the period 1652–1661⁷⁰ and by Boudewijn Cats (1601–1663) in the years 1662–1663.⁷¹ Both men did not leave a deep impression, contrary to the new vicar apostolic Johannes van Neercassel (1626–1686)⁷² who had studied in Louvain at the time of the conflict between the

68 Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, xiii. See also Ludovicus J. Rogier and Pierre Brachin, *Histoire du Catholicisme hollandais depuis le xv^e siècle* (Paris : Aubier Montaigne, 1974), 46–52.

69 Janssen, 'Quo Vadis?', 475, 482, 492–493; Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 9–14, 46–58; Van Eijnnatten and Van Lieburg, *Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis*, 184–185; Ackermans, "Good Pastors in the *Missio*," 261–262; Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland*, 1:457–476.

70 Jacobus de la Torre was appointed titular Archbishop of Ephesus in *partibus infidelium* in 1647. In 1649, he was lifelong banished from the territory of the Republic as a result of which he stayed in Brussels. At the end of his life, De la Torre appears to have suffered from a mental illness, probably Alzheimers or dementia. See Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 35; van de Velde, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 28–29; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:253, n. 16; Maan, Ouwens, and Smit, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 18–19; van Kleef, *Geschiedenis van de Oud-katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 73–75.

71 In 1655, Boudewijn Cats had already been appointed coadjutor of the vicar apostolic but he declined the honour. On 24 June 1662, he was named vicar apostolic and appointed titular Archbishop of Philippi in *partibus infidelium*. In fact, Johannes van Neercassel, Cats's later successor, assumed the governance of the Dutch Mission because Cats suffered already from a mental illness at the time of his appointment as vicar apostolic. See Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 35; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:253, n. 17; van Kleef, *Geschiedenis van de Oud-katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 77–78.

72 According to Spiertz, Johannes (Baptista) van Neercassel was born in Gorcum, also called Gorinchem, in the spring of 1626. His father Govaert van Neercassel was a rather wealthy beer brewer and was also alderman of the city of Gorcum. Van Neercassel probably received his first formation from his uncle Johannes Hortensius van Wevelinchoven who was a pastor. He continued his studies in the Latin school of the Crosiers in Cuijk. In the period 1642–1644, Van Neercassel studied philosophy in Louvain and resided in the Holland College. Around the same time, the dogmatic conflict between the Louvain Faculty of Theology and the Jesuits flared up in the aftermath of Cornelius Jansenius's death and

Louvain Faculty of Theology and the Jesuits and who was supported by both the chapter of Haarlem and the vicariate of Utrecht. Contrary to their predecessors, Van Neercassel and his successor Peter Codde (1648–1710) succeeded

the publication of his *Augustinus*. Van Neercassel must have been acquainted with this dispute. On 28 September 1645 he joined the Oratorians in Paris who were known as loyal collaborators of the bishops and defenders of the episcopal authority. Van Neercassel excelled in his exegetical knowledge of the Bible. In 1646, he continued his theological formation in Saumur, where he also taught philosophy in the period 1647–1650. He was ordained a deacon on 16 April 1650 in Paris. Probably a few months later, he was ordained a priest. From 1650 until the beginning of 1652, Van Neercassel taught philosophy in the newly established seminary of the Oratory in Paris. In 1652, he left for the Oratory in Louvain and became lector of theology in the Major Seminary of Mechlin. There he became friends with Jean Morin, a former Huguenot who had converted to Catholicism and who informed Van Neercassel about Protestantism. That same year, Van Neercassel was offered a position by the vicariate of Utrecht, but he did not accept the offer. After the school year 1652–1653, he worked as chaplain in Rotterdam and Utrecht for a short period of time. In 1653, Van Neercassel became vicar-general of the *Missio Hollandica* as collaborator of Jacobus de la Torre. On 23 June 1662, he was appointed coadjutor with the right of succession of Boudewijn Cats, whom he would succeed as vicar apostolic on 18 May 1663. On 9 September 1662, both Cats and Van Neercassel were ordained bishop by Marcus Gallo, the internuntius of Cologne. Van Neercassel became bishop of Castorie *in partibus infidelium*. In 1670, Van Neercassel made his first trip to Rome in order to defend the interests of the secular clergy of the Dutch Mission against the claims of the regular clergy, particularly the Jesuits, and those of the Spanish ambassador. He was well received and signed the anti-Jansenist Form of Pope Alexander VII. During the French occupation of Utrecht in 1672/1673, Van Neercassel grew into semi-official Archbishop of Utrecht, but after the retreat of the French, he went to Antwerp for safety reasons. Suspected of Jansenist sympathies and because of his defence of an impious Protestant child, Van Neercassel relocated to Huissen in the county of Cleves at the beginning of 1675. Thanks to a letter of safe-conduct, he was able to undertake several visitation journeys in Gelderland, Utrecht and Holland. In Huissen, Van Neercassel gathered collaborators round him and founded a Latin school in September 1676. Moreover, several candidate priests came to Huissen to finish their formation. In 1679, Van Neercassel left the city and moved again to Holland. He died during a visitation journey in Zwolle on 6 June 1686. See Cornelis P. Voorvelt, “Enkele minder bekende facetten van het leven van de apostolisch vicaris Johannes van Neercassel (1663–1686),” *Trajecta* 5 (1996), 44–55; Spiertz, “De katholieke geestelijke leiders en de wereldlijke overheid,” 6–12; Cornelis P. Voorvelt, “L’évêque Jean de Neercassel, ami lointain de Port-Royal,” *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 32 (1983), 151–160; Mathieu G. Spiertz, “Johannes van Neercassel, pasteur et polémiste,” in *Jansénisme et le jansénisme dans les Pays-Bas. Mélanges Lucien Ceyssens*, BETL 56, ed. Tarcisius Jan van Bavel and Martijn Schrama (Louvain: Peeters, 1982), 126–132; Spiertz, “Les relations de Neercassel et des théologiens de Louvain Van Vianen et Huyghens,” 47–49; Mathieu G. Spiertz, “Jeugd-en vormingsjaren van Johannes van Neercassel, apostolisch vicaris (1663–1686),” *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de katholieke kerk in Nederland* 18, no. 2 (1976), 169–197, particularly 197, n. 1; Smit, “Neercassel en Huissen (1675–1679),” 203–225; G.W. Janssen, “Neercassel, Johannes Baptista van,” in *NNBW* 4, edited by Philippus Molhuysen, Petrus Blok, and Friedrich K.H. Kossmann (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1918), 1019–1023.

in establishing and maintaining good relations with the non-Catholic authorities of the States whom they fully accepted. However, this attitude created suspicion, particularly in the eyes of the Holy See.⁷³

On the occasion of his nomination on 18 May 1663, Van Neercassel was not granted with all the powers that his predecessors had received. The new vicar apostolic was appointed bishop of Castorie *in partibus infidelium* in 1662, while all his predecessors had been archbishops. Van Neercassel was subject to the authority of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* and held his office on the basis of mandates that were granted to him. It is beyond doubt that the Holy See in this period aimed at consolidating its centralising influence on the local churches. Contrary to his predecessors Vosmeer, Rovenius and De la Torre, Van Neercassel could move relatively freely in the Northern Low Countries and was not banished. This fact seems to coincide with Kooi's statement that by 1660, the Reformed and the Catholic confession "understood clearly – both with each other and the civil power – which theological and which socio-political line could not be crossed". She added that "rules and confines allow coexistence to work in civic space".⁷⁴ Indeed, Van Neercassel adopted a law-abiding and respectful attitude towards the States-General resulting in a less rigid policy towards Catholicism.⁷⁵

Van Neercassel played an important role in the further history of the Dutch Mission, particularly for the education of the secular clergy⁷⁶ and was an important advocate of vernacular Bible reading, as will be demonstrated in the third and fourth chapter of this study. He was in close contact with the Jansenist-minded theologians of Louvain and several *Messieurs de Port-Royal*, like Sébastien-Joseph of Pontchâteau, Antoine Arnauld, Pierre Nicole or Pasquier Quesnel, up to the point of being considered a Jansenist himself. In the years 1680–1682, for instance, Van Neercassel granted asylum to Arnauld when he had to leave France. The group of Port-Royal especially played an important role in the coming-about of Van Neercassel's *Amor Poenitens* (1683), a two partite theological work on the Catholic doctrine of penitence and the practice of confession.⁷⁷ Van Neercassel also published several other works during his life,

73 Spiertz, "De katholieke geestelijke leiders en de wereldlijke overheid," 3–6.

74 Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age*, 126.

75 Willem Frijhoff, "Katholieke toekomstverwachting ten tijde van de Republiek: structuur, en grondlijnen tot een interpretatie," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 98 (1983), 430–459, there 441–442.

76 Spiertz, "Les relations de Neercassel et des théologiens de Louvain," 49–51.

77 Johannes van Neercassel, *Amor poenitens, sive De divini amoris ad poenitentiam necessitate, et recto clavium usu, libri duo* (Emmerik, 1683). See also Cornelis P. Voorvelt, *De Amor poenitens van Johannes van Neercassel (1626–1686): ontstaansgeschiedenis en lotgevallen*

not only to encourage and to help his fellow believers in their struggles against Protestantism, but also to contribute to the conservation of Christian morality and sacramental discipline.⁷⁸

When Van Neercassel died in 1686 during a visitation journey in Zwolle, there was no coadjutor to succeed him. As a consequence, the governance of the Dutch Mission belonged to the Roman *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, which delegated its authority to the internuncio in Brussels. The internuncio appointed two provicars, namely Peter Codde, provicar of Utrecht, and Jozef Cousenbant, provicar of Haarlem, who were both granted with the necessary administrative authorities. Because the Pope still had to appoint a new vicar apostolic, the chapter of Haarlem and the vicariate of Utrecht drafted a list with the names of four potential candidates for the position and sent it to Rome on 29 July 1687. These candidates were Hugo Franciscus van Heussen, Petrus Codde, Jozef Cousenbant and Willem Schep, a Haarlem canon. In addition, in 1688, they decided to send Theodorus de Cock (1650–1720) as a delegate to Rome. De Cock was a Leiden missionary and former student of the college of the *Propaganda*, the *Collegium Urbanum* in Rome.

The first person on the list, Van Heussen, was considered unsuitable because of his Jansenist sympathies, and therefore Codde was appointed vicar apostolic in 1688, although he too had Jansenist sympathies and maintained intense contacts with the French Jansenists Arnauld and Quesnel. A year later, in 1689, Codde was ordained Archbishop of Sebaste *in partibus infidelium* in Brussels by Archbishop Alphonse de Berghes of Mechlin (t. 1671–1689). During this period, the supporters of Jansenism were increasingly accused and Codde entered into a long-lasting conflict with the Jesuits who openly accused him of Jansenist sympathies, the quick spread of Jansenism on the territory of the Dutch Mission, and the pernicious influence of the foreign refugees on the local clergy. As a result, Codde had to justify himself vis-à-vis Rome in 1694. Pope Innocent XII (t. 1691–1700) appointed a commission of ten cardinals, presided by Cardinal Francesco Albani, the later Pope Clement XI (t. 1700–1721), in order to investigate the accusations. Although the commission

van een verhandeling over de strenge biechtpraktijk (Zeist: Kerckebosch, 1984); Cornelis P. Voorvelt, "L'évêque Jean de Neercassel," 151–160.

78 Van Neercassel wrote among others the following works: *Bevestigingh in 't geloof, en troost in vervolgingh*, Brussels (1670); *Tractatus de sanctorum et praecipue beatissimae Virginis Mariae cultu*, Emmerik (= Utrecht) (1675); *Tractatus de lectione scripturarum in quo protestantium eas legendi praxis refellitur; catholicarum vero stabilitur. Accedit dissertatio de interprete scripturarum*, Emmerik (= Utrecht) (1677); *Gods Woord verdedigd ofte bemerkingen over zeeker boexken, uytgegaen op de naam van Antonius Suivius, onder dezen tytel; Het schaedig lezen der H. Schrifture etc*, Antwerp (1685).

concluded that they were groundless, a second accusation followed in 1697. Codde was explicitly summoned to go to Rome in 1699 to defend his case.⁷⁹ He managed to delay the trip to Rome until the end of 1700 and he appointed in the meantime four substitutes in spite of the fact that he had been temporarily suspended as vicar apostolic and the anti-Jansenist Theodorus de Cock had been appointed as his substitute. Pope Clement XI definitively suspended Codde in May 1702, mainly because he did not intend to subscribe to the so-called (anti-Jansenist) Form of Alexander VII, which will be discussed in the following part of this chapter. As a reaction, Codde published various defences.⁸⁰

Codde was succeeded by De Cock, but this replacement caused discord among the Catholic clergy in the North because they refused to accept De Cock. The civil authorities intervened with the help of the Delft archpriest and canonist Joannes Christiaan van Erkel (1654–1734) and issued an edict that forbade De Cock to hold his office. Moreover, all priests were forbidden to acknowledge De Cock, and Rome was no longer allowed to intervene in issues related to the Dutch Mission. This way, the appointment of any future vicar apostolic by Rome became impossible because a vicar apostolic had not only to be elected by the chapter of Haarlem and the vicariate of Utrecht, but also had to be acknowledged by the Calvinist States-General. Two groups were formed within Dutch Catholicism, namely an anti-Jansenist Rome-oriented faction on the one hand, and a faction with Jansenist and national sympathies on the other. As a consequence, the resistance against Rome and De Cock grew increasingly leading De Cock to resign from his office at the demand of Rome in order to prevent a schism among the Catholics.⁸¹

79 Details about this trip and a translation of the diaries of Codde and his companions can be found in Dick Schoon, *Een aartsbisschop aangeklaagd in Rome: De dagboeken van aartsbisschop Petrus Codde en zijn metgezellen Jacob Krijs en Benedict de Waal over hun reis naar en hun verblijf in Rome, 1700–1703* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2019).

80 Mathieu G. Spiertz, "Anti-Jansenisme en Jansenisme in de Nederlanden in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw," *Trajecta* 1 (1992), 144–167, there 239–241.

81 Parker, *Faith on the Margins*, 36–37; van de Velde, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 38–41; Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:282–290; Maan, Ouwens, and Smit, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 23–24; van Kleef, *Geschiedenis van de Oud-katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 88–96; G.W. Janssen, "Cock, Theodorus de," in *NNBW* 4, ed. Philippus Molhuysen, Petrus Blok, and Friedrich K.H. Kossmann (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1918), 438–442.

82 Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:290–291; G.W. Janssen, "Potkamp, Gerardus," in *NNBW* 4, ed. Philippus Molhuysen, Petrus Blok, and Friedrich

At the suggestion of the Jansenist faction, Gerardus Potkamp (1641–1705) was appointed vicar apostolic in 1705, but he died already that same year.⁸² His successor Adam Daemen (1670–1717), a friend of De Cock, was considered an accomplice of the Jesuits and was exiled from the Dutch Republic in 1709 because he had not been elected by the chapter of Haarlem and the vicariate of Utrecht. Daemen resigned from his office as vicar apostolic in 1711 and asked Rome repeatedly to be dismissed. Eventually Rome complied with his request in 1717. In the meantime, the Dutch Mission was governed by the papal nuncios in Cologne and Brussels.⁸³ On the advice of Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace (t. 1716–1759), the then Archbishop of Mechlin, Johannes van Bijlevelt (1671/1672–1727) was appointed vicar apostolic in 1717 but he was also exiled in 1718.⁸⁴

In 1723, the vicariate of Utrecht elected Cornelis Steenoven (1661–1725) as the first Archbishop of the Church of Utrecht. He was ordained by the French Jansenist-minded missionary bishop Dominique Marie Varlet (1678–1742), without consent from Rome and without any assisting bishops.⁸⁵ The election and the ordination were therefore not recognised by Pope Benedict XIII (t. 1724–1730). However, a large number of the Catholic clerics from the dioceses of Haarlem and Utrecht supported Cornelis Steenoven. They lay the cradle of the Utrecht schism and the creation of the Roman-Catholic Church of the Old Episcopal Clergy. However, a majority of the faithful seem to have remained loyal to Rome, as can be deduced from lists of priests and communicants mentioned in the work Polman.⁸⁶ In 1725, Steenoven was succeeded by Cornelius Johannes Barchman Wuytiers (1692–1733). Later, the sees of Haarlem (1742) and Deventer (1758) also received their own bishops.

K.H. Kossmann (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1918), 1096–1097; Maan, Ouwens, and Smit, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 25.

83 Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:292–295; G.W. Janssen, “Daemen, Adam,” in *NNBW* 4, ed. Philippus Molhuysen, Petrus Blok, and Friedrich K.H. Kossmann (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1918), 489–491.

84 Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:295–296; G.W. Janssen, “Bijlevelt, Johannes,” in *NNBW* 5, ed. Philippus Molhuysen, Petrus Blok, and Friedrich K.H. Kossmann (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1921), 61–66.

85 J.C.E. Bartelds, “Steenhoven, Cornelis,” in *NNBW*, vol. 7, ed. Philippus Molhuysen, Petrus Blok, and Friedrich K.H. Kossmann (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1927), 1177.

86 Hamans, *Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, 1:296–300; van de Velde, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 43–45; Maan, Ouwens, and Smit, *De Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland*, 28–29; Polman, *Katholiek Nederland in de achttiende eeuw*, 1:322–325.

1.3 Jansenism in the Southern Low Countries

1.3.1 *Jansenism(s)?*

The term Jansenism,⁸⁷ which is considered polemic, refers to a general spectrum of ideas pertaining to grace and free will and takes its name from Cornelius Jansenius (1585–1638), Louvain theologian and later bishop of Ypres. Adversaries of the Jansenists, the so-called anti-Jansenists, presumably used the term for the first time in 1641.⁸⁸ Jansenists were typecasted as traditionally conservative and Augustinian. They were associated with a pessimistic view on the possibilities of post-lapsarian man to have any positive contribution to the Redemption. It was held against them that they considered God's grace as the only sanctifying power and that they defended a rigorous moral. However, Jansenism never emerged as an explicitly organised doctrine, and the so-called Jansenists never labelled themselves as such. In 1686, for instance, the French Jansenist Antoine Arnauld wrote a work entitled *Phantôme du jansénisme, ou justification des prétendus jansénistes* (*Phantom of Jansenism, or Justification of the Alleged Jansenists*). Most of the Jansenists simply considered themselves Catholics who appealed to the legacy of Augustine, the Latin Church father and bishop of Hippo (354–430), and who tried to present an image of Christianity that was faithful and loyal to its origins.

The term Jansenism and its derivations were repeatedly used in polemical contexts. It is therefore not surprising that the term received a negative, heterodox and anti-Roman connotation and soon morphed into an invective. Depending on the region, the period and even the group under study, the concept

87 As stated at the outset of this monograph, the established expressions Jansenist and anti-Jansenist will be used to designate the opposing factions under study without, however, the intention of creating an antithetical paradigm. Lucianus Ceyssens O.F.M. wrote various articles in which he discussed the terms of Jansenism and anti-Jansenism: Lucianus Ceyssens, "Que penser finalement de l'histoire du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme?," *RHE* 88, no. 1 (1993), 108–130; Lucianus Ceyssens, "Pour une histoire plus poussée et plus explicite de l'anti-jansénisme," in *Actes du colloque sur le jansénisme organisé par l'Academia Belgica*, *BRHE* 64 (Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1977), 1–25; Lucianus Ceyssens, "Les débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme à Louvain," in *Facultas S. Theologiae Lovaniensis 1432–1797. Bijdragen tot haar geschiedenis. Contributions to its History. Contributions à son histoire*, *BETL* 45, ed. Edmond J.M. Van Eijl (Louvain: Peeters, 1977), 381–431; Lucianus Ceyssens, "Diepere gronden van het jansenisme," *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 6 (1966), 395–420; Lucianus Ceyssens, "Le jansénisme. Considérations historiques préliminaires à sa notion," *Analecta gregoriana* 71 (1952), 3–32. See also Philippe Sellier, "Qu'est-ce que le jansénisme (1640–1713)?," in *Port-Royal et la littérature*, vol. 2 *Le siècle de Saint Augustin, La Rochefoucauld, Mme de Lafayette, Sacy, Racine*, *Lumières classiques* 34 (Paris, Champion, 2012), 56–69.

88 Ceyssens, "Le jansénisme. Considérations historiques préliminaires à sa notion," 5–6.

of Jansenism received various meanings and connotations. In France, for instance, those who condemned the policy of Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) or King Louis XIV (1638–1715), or those who were in favour of a rigorist moral stand, were considered Jansenists. In other cases, a Jansenist was simply somebody who did not like the Jesuits. In the Low Countries, and more particularly in Louvain, Jansenism received its own interpretation in the debates involving the Jesuits, the University and the Church, as will be demonstrated in the following section. The term had a completely different (political) connotation in eighteenth-century Italy or Austria.

It can therefore be called into question whether the term Jansenism should not be considered as a collective noun for different ideas that were used to discredit the adherents of these ideas.⁸⁹ Indeed, it is hard to attribute an unequivocal meaning to the term and the classical perception of Jansenism as a certain theological doctrine, followed by a definable group, has become unsustainable. It would be better to speak of various 'Jansenisms' according to the spatio-temporal context.⁹⁰ In other words, Jansenism is an umbrella term that refers to a general and elaborate spectrum of ideas pertaining to theology, pastoral practice, lay spiritual discipline, Bible reading and catechism, in line with the Counter-Reformational doctrines of the Council of Trent.

It follows from this that Jansenism in its essence revolves around a conflict between a Jansenist and an anti-Jansenist faction within the Catholic Church. The very origins of this struggle are to be situated in a long theological debate on grace and free will, dating back to the fifth century when Augustine argued against the Pelagians. The Latin Church father discussed the existence of original sin, a fundamental doctrine of the Church that presumed the need to

89 Ceyssens stated for instance: "Le jansénisme, c'est le contraire de l'antijansénisme." In other words, he considered Jansenism as a creation of the anti-Jansenists who were opposed to a set of ideas that they considered Jansenist. See Ceyssens, "Le jansénisme. Considérations historiques préliminaires à sa notion," 28.

90 Toon Quaghebeur, "Katholicisme op kruissnelheid (1648–1689)," in *Het aartsbisdom Mechelen-Brussel, 450 jaar geschiedenis*, vol. 1 *Het aartsbisdom Mechelen van de katholieke hervorming tot de revolutietijd, 1559–1802*, ed. Jan De Mayer, Eddy Put, Jan Roegiers, André Tihon and Gerrit Vanden Bosch (Antwerp: Halewijn, 2009), 161–62; Mathijs Lamberigts, "Het jansenisme als poging tot katholieke hervorming in de Nederlanden," in *Geloven in de Lage Landen. Scharniermomenten in de geschiedenis van het Christendom*, ed. Peter Nissen (Louvain: Davidsfonds, 2004), 133; Monique Cotret, "La querelle janséniste," in *L'Âge de raison (1620/30–1750)*, *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours* 9, ed. Marc Venard (Paris: Desclée, 1997), 351–407; Jan Roegiers, "Jansenisme en katholieke hervorming in de Nederlanden," in *Geloven in het verleden. Studies over het godsdienstig leven in de vroegmoderne tijd, aangeboden aan Michel Cloet*, ed. Marie Juliette Marinus, Hans Storme and Eddy Put (Louvain: Universitaire Pers, 1996), 44–47; Ceyssens, "Le jansénisme. Considérations historiques préliminaires à sa notion," 27–29.

believe in Christ and his mission to die for the sins of humankind. In the sixteenth century, and later on in the seventeenth century, the debates on grace and free will resurfaced not only within the Catholic Church, but also in the confrontation of the Church with the Protestant movement. Thanks to the increased literacy, the discussions were henceforth conducted in the public sphere. The central discussion point remained the question of God's grace and its efficaciousness in relation to the possibilities of human freedom and free will. Even though faith in God implied belief in both grace and free will, the inexistence of human freedom could also be assumed. When an individual accepted God's absolute control over humankind, then man's individual works were beyond his own control. In other words, belief in God's grace led to the assumption that human freedom was virtually non-existent. By contrast, the assumption that human freedom existed, would give people the power to make moral decisions, without relying exclusively on God's grace and thus without the involvement of God. In this view, God's grace was not efficacious *in se*. It is thus not surprising that these ways of reasoning constituted the starting point of vehement debates.⁹¹

From a theological point of view, the Council of Trent had adopted a middle course: on the one hand, it agreed with the Augustinian line of thought when it emphasized that sinful human beings should expect salvation thanks to God's grace. On the other hand, however, Trent also supported the point of view that human nature had not been completely depraved after the Fall and was capable of good deeds, albeit under God's grace, and as such contributed to salvation. Nevertheless, Trent left room for discussion. Consequently, adherents of several tendencies made a strong appeal to the authority of the Tridentine decisions to be put in the right.⁹² In Louvain, these differences led to a severe conflict opposing the Faculty of Theology that represented at first the Augustinian line of thought, to the Jesuits who were in favour of the humanistic ideas.⁹³

91 Michael C. Thomsett, *Heresy in the Roman Catholic Church: a History* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011), 213–15.

92 P. Sellier, "Qu'est-ce que le jansénisme (1640–1713)?," 85–86; Ackermans, *Herders en huurlingen: bisschoppen en priesters in de Republiek (1663–1705)*, 101–2; Mathieu G. Spiertz, "Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690," *Trajecta* 1 (1992), 144–167, there 145.

93 Information on Jansenism in the Southern Netherlands and seventeenth-century Louvain can be found in: Roegiers, *Akward Neighbours*, 153–75; Toon Quaghebeur, "Quelques caractéristiques de la querelle entre l'Université de Louvain et le Saint-Office sur le jansénisme louvaniste du XVII^e siècle," in *Controverses et polémiques religieuses: Antiquité-Temps modernes*, Structures et pouvoirs des imaginaires, ed. Ralph Dekonick, Jeanine Desmulliez and Myriam Watthee-Delmotte (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007), 87–96; Jan Roegiers, "Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle," in *Zeger-Bernard Van Espen at*

1.3.2 *A Favourable Theological Climate in Louvain*

Spiertz distinguishes three phases in the development of Jansenism in and around the Netherlands.⁹⁴ Both the period before 1640, which he considers a preparatory phase, and the first phase of Jansenism, spanning the period from 1640 until 1660, were characterised by an ardent defence of the *doctrina Lovaniensis* or the Louvain ideas on grace, free will and predestination in the Louvain University, and by extension that of Douai. During the second phase, from 1660 until 1690, these dogmatic discussion points were pushed into the background and attention was shifted to the spiritual and moral-theological ideas of the Jansenists and anti-Jansenists on the sacraments, penance and the authority of the Pope. At that time, both the Louvain University and the abbey of Port-Royal in Paris were considered important centres of Augustinianism and Jansenism. At the end of the third and final phase of development, from the last decade of the seventeenth century until the period after the promulgation of the papal bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius* in 1713, Jansenism had developed into a broad and versatile movement, which was opposed against the centralism in the Church and which focussed on ecclesiology and political ideas.⁹⁵

The origin of the Augustinian tradition in Louvain is rooted in the broad humanistic movement that was characterised by a return to the sources of faith, leading to new critical studies on the Bible and the writings of the Church fathers, particularly Augustine. In this context, the new method of positive theology, which consisted of an historical and philological approach to Scripture and the other sources of revelation, including the writings of the Church fathers, gained importance in Louvain in opposition to the older scholastic tradition. The new method provided not only new insights, but also constituted an important aid in the controversies with Protestantism. Louvain theologians like Jacobus Latomus (1475–1544), Johannes Driedo (ca. 1480–1535) or Ruard Tapper aimed at defending Catholic tradition against the erroneous interpretation of Augustine's authority by the Reformers, each according to their own

the Crossroads of Canon Law, History, Theology and Church-State Relations, BETL 170, ed. Guido Cooman, Maurice Van Stiphout and Bert Wauters (Louvain: Peeters, 2003), 1–17; Roegiers, "Jansenisme en katholieke hervorming in de Nederlanden," 43–64; Mathijs Lamberigts, "Il giansenismo nei Paesi Bassi meridionali nel xvii secolo," in *Storia religiosa di Belgio, Olanda e Lussemburgo*, Europa ricerche 6, ed. Luciano Vaccaro (Gazzada: Centro Ambrosiano, 2000), 281–314; Lucianus Ceyssens, "Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730," in *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 8, edited by Dirk Peter Blok, Walter Prevenier, and Daniel Jeen Roorda (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1979), 418–438; Ceyssens, "Les débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme à Louvain," 381–431.

94 Spiertz, "Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690," 144.

95 Sellier, "Qu'est-ce que le jansénisme (1640–1713)?," 65–67; Spiertz, "Anti-jansenisme et jansenisme in de Nederlanden in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw," 235–39.

way. The Louvain edition of Augustine's complete works in ten volumes by the Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin (1520–1589) in 1577 constitutes an additional proof of the Louvain admiration for the bishop of Hippo.⁹⁶ In addition, Plantin was known for his Bible editions, for instance his edition of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1569–1572).⁹⁷ Moreover, the struggle against Protestantism resulted not only in the redaction of a Catholic Profession of Faith and an Index of forbidden books, as will be demonstrated, but also in the production of vernacular Bible translations and increased inquisitorial activity. In other words, the Louvain Faculty of Theology set the bar high for the Catholic reform, particularly after the Council of Trent.⁹⁸

The Augustinian attitude of the Faculty and the new method of positive theology were already manifest in the works of Michel de Bay or Michael Baius (1513–1589) who occupied the royal chair of Sacred Scriptures for almost four decades, starting from 1552. Baius was known for “underpinning his theological views regarding the radical depravity of human nature and the necessity of God's grace with ample references to the Bible and Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings”.⁹⁹ However, Baius's (extreme) ideas soon encountered opposition in Louvain, mainly because he seemed to have deviated from orthodoxy. In 1567, Pope Pius V (t. 1566–1572) issued the bull *Ex Omnibus Afflictionibus* in which he condemned 79 propositions taken from Baius's writings¹⁰⁰ and this bull was

96 Lucianus Ceyssens, “Le ‘Saint Augustin’ du XVII^e siècle: l'édition de Louvain (1577),” *XVII^e siècle* 34 (1982), 103–120.

97 The Antwerp Polyglot Bible, also called the Plantin Polyglot, the *Biblia Regia* or the King's Bible, was an edition of the Bible in five languages (Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Syriac and Hebrew), subdivided in eight volumes and realised under the scientific direction of Benito Arias Montano and with the support of the Spanish King Philip II. See Francine de Nave, “Christophe Plantin et le monde ibérique. Introduction à l'exposition,” in *Christoffel Plantijn en de Iberische Wereld / Christophe Plantin et le Monde Ibérique*, Publikaties van het museum Plantin-Moretus en het Stedelijk prentenkabinet, 22, ed. Carl Depauw, Francine de Nave and Dirk Imhof (Antwerpen: Stad Antwerpen, 1992), 14–15.

98 Roegiers, “Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle,” 3–5. See also Ceyssens, “Que penser finalement de l'histoire du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme?,” 109–10; Ceyssens, “Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730,” 418; Ceyssens, “Les débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme à Louvain,” 371–73; Ceyssens, “Diepere gronden van het jansenisme,” 396–401; Ceyssens, “Le jansénisme. Considérations historiques préliminaires à sa notion,” 29–30.

99 Wim François, “Augustine and the Golden Age of Biblical Scholarship in Louvain (1550–1650),” in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, Library of the Written Word 20; The Handpress World 14, ed. Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 247.

100 See in this regard Toon Quaghebeur, “Sed illud intactum reliquerit’ Une virgule mal bif-fée: le *comma pianum*, la bulle *Ex omnibus afflictionibus* du St-Office et la lecture du cardinal de Lugo,” *RHE* 98, no. 1–2 (2003), 61–79.

republished by Pope Gregory XIII in 1580. The Faculty explicitly wished to remain faithful to Augustine's ideas. Therefore, in 1586, Johannes Lensaeus, also known as Jean de Lens (1541–1593), summarized the Faculty's official doctrine in a *Corpus Doctrinae* in which he also indicated the differences with Baius's propositions. When both the apostolic nuncio and the Roman authorities favourably received this declaration, the Louvain Faculty was above all suspicion of Baianism, although rumours about the heterodoxy of the Faculty persisted.¹⁰¹

In 1587, another doctrinal conflict, this time between the Faculty and the Jesuits, caused commotion in Louvain. The relations between these two parties had already been disturbed in 1583, when the Jesuits had expressed the desire not only to open a college in Louvain to teach philosophy and theology, but also to grant academic degrees, known as public teaching *in ordine ad gradus*. The University continued to offer resistance, stating that its monopoly of higher education, officially recognized by Emperor Charles V, was attacked. The conflict dragged on until 1627 when the University was put in the right. This severe doctrinal conflict finally resulted in the Faculty's official censure of 34 propositions originating from the teachings of the Jesuit Fathers Leonard Lessius (1554–1623) and Joannes Hamelius (1554–1589). Their propositions were considered as *dogmata peregrina, offensiva et periculosa* because they were contradictory to the Augustinian doctrine that had been universally accepted by the Church.¹⁰² This censure is known as the *Censura Lovaniensis*. The University of Douai followed the lead of Louvain and published its own

101 Roegiers, *Akward Neighbours*, 160; Wim François, "Exégèse biblica agustiniana en Lovaina en el siglo XVI," *Augustinus* 54 (2009), 199–217, there 206–207; Roegiers, *Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle*, 5–6; Jean Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres (1585–1638)*, Études augustiniennes. Série Moyen Âge et Temps modernes 22 (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1989), 28–33. See also Ceysens, *Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730*, 429; Ceysens, *Les débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme à Louvain*, 373–74.

102 The Jesuit professors Leonard Lessius (1554–1623) and Joannes Hamelius (1554–1589) had entered into heated discussion with the Louvain theologians because of the propositions they had advanced in their lectures on Scripture, grace and predestination. Therefore, in 1587, the Louvain Faculty of Theology censored 34 propositions taken from Lessius's *Theses theologicae* as semi-Pelagian. The censure of the Douai Faculty followed a year later in 1588. Among several other ideas, Lessius's thoughts on the inspirational character of the Bible were condemned by the Louvain theologians in three propositions. The Jesuit had suggested the idea of subsequent inspiration, meaning that a book written without the assistance of the Holy Spirit, might become Holy Scripture, if the Holy Spirit afterwards would declare that the book in question did not contain anything false. The proposition read as follows: "Liber aliquis (qualis forte est secundus Machabaeorum) humana industria, sine assistentia Spiritus S. scriptus, si Spiritus S. postea testetur nihil ibi esse falsum, efficitur Scriptura sacra." See *Censurae Facultatum Sacrae Theologiae Lovaniensis ac*

Censura Duacensis, which was even more severe than the Louvain version. Rome asked Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, the papal nuncio of Cologne, to come to Louvain in order to intervene in this dispute. The nuncio “ordered both parties under threat of *excommunicatio latae sententiae* to stop censures and apologies, to abstain from further controversies, reproaches and condemnations until Rome would make a final decision”.¹⁰³ However, Rome never reacted and both parties could continue to teach their ideas.¹⁰⁴

The following year 1588, a controversy arose in Spain opposing the Jesuits and the Dominicans as a result of the publication of the work *De concordia liberi arbitrii cum divinae gratiae donis* of the Jesuit Luis de Molina (1535–1600). In Louvain, the convictions of both Molina and Lessius were put into the same category and received the label of ‘Molinism’. Molina offered in his book an optimistic and speculative doctrine with regard to grace and free will, and he was of the opinion that the human free will was able to obtain salvation and that it had to play an important role in this process. If humankind contributed to the grace that had been bestowed on them by God, so Molina postulated, this grace could become efficacious.¹⁰⁵

The Roman authorities decided to take action in order to put a stop to the discussions that threatened to divide the Catholic Church. The *Congregationes de auxiliis divinae gratiae*, which gathered in Rome from 1595 to 1605 under the guidance of Pope Clement VIII (t. 1592–1605), received the difficult task to solve the controversies on grace on the basis of the pure writings of Augustine, considered as the *doctor gratiae* par excellence. However, after the death of

Duacensis super quibusdam articulis de Sacra Scriptura, gratia & praedestinatione Anno D. 1586. Lovanii scripto traditis (Paris, 1641), 14–15, 41–47. See furthermore Edmond J.M. van Eijl, “La controverse louvaniste autour de la grâce et du libre arbitre à la fin du XVII^e siècle,” in *L’augustinisme à l’ancienne faculté de théologie de Louvain*, BETL III, ed. Matthijs Lamberigts and Leo Kenis (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1994), 207–298; François, “Augustine and the Golden Age of Biblical Scholarship in Louvain (1550–1650),” 278–79.

103 Roegiers, *Akward Neighbours*, 161.

104 Toon Quaghebeur, “La *pax innocentiana* et la Faculté de Théologie de Louvain selon les archives du Saint-Office,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique belge de Rome* 74 (2004), 273–343, there 283–284; Roegiers, “Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle,” 6–7; Van Eijl, “La controverse louvaniste autour de la grâce et du libre arbitre,” 208–55; Orcibal, *Jansénius d’Ypres (1585–1638)*, 33–39; Ceyssens, “Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730,” 418–20; Ceyssens, “Les débuts du jansénisme et de l’antijansénisme à Louvain,” 374–75; Ceyssens, “Le jansénisme. Considérations historiques préliminaires à sa notion,” 19.

105 Spiertz, “Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690,” 145–47. See also Ceyssens, “Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730,” 420–21; Ceyssens, “Diepere gronden van het jansenisme,” 401.

Clement VIII in 1605, his successor Paul V (t. 1605–1621) disbanded the congregation in 1607 and he ordered the theologians to remain silent and forbade them to publish anything related to the issue. It was announced that a decision would follow shortly thereafter; however, no decision has been communicated up to this day.¹⁰⁶

It is around this period of time that Cornelius Jansenius started his studies in theology¹⁰⁷ in Louvain in an intellectual environment profoundly marked by anti-Protestantism, Augustinianism, anti-Baianism, anti-Jesuitism, anti-Molinism, and – above all – by the new method of positive theology, in favour of an historical and philological approach to Scripture and the Church fathers, which stood in opposition to the old method of scholasticism.¹⁰⁸ Because of the unsure outcome of the *Congregationes de auxiliis*, the defenders of Augustinianism in Louvain were threatened from two sides, both from inside and

106 Ceyssens, “Que penser finalement de l’histoire du jansénisme et de l’antijansénisme?,” 110–11; Spiertz, “Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690,” 147; Orcibal, *Jansénius d’Ypres (1585–1638)*, 41–45. See also Ceyssens, “Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730,” 420; Ceyssens, “Diepere gronden van het jansenisme,” 401–5; Ceyssens, “Les débuts du jansénisme et de l’antijansénisme à Louvain,” 376–77.

107 Jansenius was born in Leerdam in the Northern Netherlands on 3 November 1585 and spent his youth at the neighbouring village of Acquoy. For his secondary education, he attended the *Sint-Hiëronymusschool* of Utrecht. In 1602, he came to Louvain to receive his higher education in the prospect of priesthood. He was admitted to the Pedagogy of the Falcon (*Paedagogium Falconis*), one of the four *paedagogia* of the university town of Louvain. Here the courses of the *artes liberales*, elementary education, were being thought. The other *paedagogia* were those of the Castle (*Paedagogium Castri*), the Pig (*Paedagogium Porci*) and the Lily (*Paedagogium Lili*). Jansenius was a good student, for in 1604 he received first prize in the general exam that was organized between the four *paedagogia*. In the same year, he commenced his theological studies while residing in the Pope’s College, which was at that time led by Jacobus Jansonius (1547–1625), a student of Michael Baius (1513–1589), who was also, just as the latter, a great admirer of the Church father Augustine. During his studies, Jansenius became close friends with Henry Calenus of Beringen (1583–1653) and Libert Fromundus of Haccourt (1587–1653). These two men would publish Jansenius’s life work *Augustinus* posthumously in 1640. Jansenius received the degrees of *baccalaureus biblicus* (1607), *baccalaureus sententiaris* (1609) and *baccalaureus formatus* (1609). In 1614, he was ordained a priest. In 1617, Jansenius received his doctorate in theology and the same year he became ordinary professor of theology at the university. See Henri Schmitz du Moulin, “Jansénius, Cornelis Janssen, dit Cornélius,” in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, Dictionnaires et références 11, ed. Jean Lesaulnier and Anthony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2004), 539–42; Orcibal, *Jansénius d’Ypres (1585–1638)*, 57–84; Lucianus Ceyssens, “Cornelis Jansenius,” NBW (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1981), 9:393–417; See also Ceyssens, “Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730,” 421–22.

108 See also in this regard François, “Augustine and the Golden Age of Biblical Scholarship in Louvain (1550–1650).”



ILLUSTRATION 1 Cornelius Jansenius (1585–1638), seventeenth-century engraving
 KU LEUVEN BIBLIOTHEKEN, MAURITS SABBE LIBRARY, COLLECTION
 ÉMILE JACQUES. USED WITH PERMISSION

outside the University. On the one hand, they had to face the advocates of a scholastic renewal who acted under the guidance Jean Wiggers (1571–1639), a convinced Thomist and professor at the Faculty. On the other, they were confronted with the upcoming Molinist-minded Jesuits who still challenged the University's monopoly of higher education in Louvain and whose ideas found expression through for instance the 1610 work *De gratia* of Lessius.¹⁰⁹

In 1609, Jansenius moved to Paris for a long-term stay abroad where he hoped to study the sources of theology in a more skilful way than in Louvain. In Paris, he befriended Jean Duvergier de Hauranne (1581–1643), a Basque from Bayonne who was later on better known as the *Abbé de Saint-Cyran*. Both men maintained a life-long friendship and correspondence. Duvergier de Hauranne proved to have a profound influence on Catholic reform in France when he transformed the abbey of Port-Royal into an important centre of Jansenism, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter. Together with Duvergier de Hauranne, Jansenius initially studied in Paris, and from 1611 onwards in Bayonne. Their attention mostly went to the method of positive theology and to the study of the sources of Christianity, not only the Bible and the councils of the ancient Church, but also the Church fathers, particularly Augustine. During his five-year stay in Bayonne, Jansenius was appointed *principal* of the municipal college until 1614. On one occasion, in the summer of 1614, he returned to the Low Countries because of his father's illness. He was ordained a priest in September of that same year in Mechlin. Jansenius left Bayonne for good in 1617 after the death of his father.¹¹⁰ In 1617, he obtained his doctorate in theology at the Louvain University and became ordinary professor of theology at the University in the spring of 1618.

It is not surprising that Jansenius, encouraged by his good friend Duvergier de Hauranne, got involved in the broad defence of the Louvain heritage of ideas. In his capacity of the first president of the Holland college (1617–1624), he actively contributed to the reform of the priestly formation, as had been urged by the Council of Trent. As already stated, candidate-priests of the secular clergy often went to the Southern Low Countries, and more in particular to the Louvain University due to the lack of an organised priestly formation in the North.

109 Roegiers, *Akward Neighbours*, 165–66; Roegiers, *Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVIIe siècle*, 7–8; Ceyssens, *Diepere gronden van het jansenisme*, 404–5; Ceyssens, *Les débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme à Louvain*, 377–78.

110 Orcibal, *Jansenius d'Ypres (1585–1638)*, 69–75.

In 1618–1619, the dispute on grace and free will that previously had opposed the Faculty of Theology and the Jesuit Lessius was brought again into prominence. This time, Jansenius was awarded an important role. In 1615, the Archdukes had confirmed all the privileges of the Jesuits, including those on theological education *in ordine ad gradus*.¹¹¹ Two years later, in 1617, the University adopted new rules in the aftermath of a ten-year visitation. At this point, the Jesuits were afraid that the new rules would exclude those students of graduation who had attended the course of theology at the Jesuit College and therefore they asked an assurance that this would not be the case. The University refused and things were heated up again. Both groups tried to convince the Archdukes that they were right. In 1622 and 1624, the Jesuits again tried to obtain permission to establish a college in Louvain. In the meantime, however, Archduke Albert had died and the Southern Netherlands had returned under Spanish rule. In 1624, Jansenius incurred the wrath of the Jesuits when he accepted to defend the interests and privileges of the University at the royal court in Spain. However, in 1625, the Spanish King Philip IV (1605–1665) assigned the Jesuits the right to occupy an extraordinary chair at the Faculty of Theology, much to the distaste of the Louvain theologians. Jansenius left one more time for Spain in 1626 and was able to announce the decision of the royal court, which was in favour of the Louvain Faculty, in the fall of that year. While residing in Spain, Jansenius visited the universities of Alcalá, Salamanca and Valladolid to ask for support in the struggle against the Jesuits and he received a positive answer from the institutions of Alcalá and Salamanca. In 1629, Jansenius also attacked Protestantism after the capture of 's-Hertogenbosch and became famous as a vehement controversialist.¹¹²

In 1630, Jansenius became royal professor of Sacred Scriptures in Louvain. He turned out to be an excellent teacher and many students followed his courses. It does not come as a surprise that Jansenius was pressed to publish his lectures.¹¹³ When the Louvain printer Jacob Zegers did so after Jansenius's death, his commentaries on the Gospels (*Tetrateuchus sive Commentarius*

111 This passage is based on Roegiers, "Akward Neighbours," 166–168 and François, "Augustine and the Golden Age of Biblical Scholarship in Louvain (1550–1650)," 278–279. See also Spiertz, "Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690," 147–148; Orcibal, *Jansénienus d'Ypres (1585–1638)*, 131–156.

112 Roegiers, "Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle," 8; Orcibal, *Jansénienus d'Ypres (1585–1638)*, 193–205. See also Mathijs Lamberigts, "Voetius versus Jansenius," in *De onbekende Voetius. Voordrachten wetenschappelijk symposium Utrecht 3 maart 1989*, ed. Cornelis Graafland, Mathijs Lamberigts and Johannes van Oort (Kampen: Kok, 1989), 147–167.

113 For more information on Jansenius's classes and his Bible commentaries, see François, "Augustine and the Golden Age of Biblical Scholarship in Louvain (1550–1650)," 279–285.

Sancta Jesu Christi in Evangelia, 1639) and the Pentateuch (*Pentateuchus sive Commentarius in quinque libros Moysis*, 1641) became a great success. The *Te-trateuchus* was reprinted approximately 25 times, even as late as in the nineteenth century, in places such as Louvain, Paris, Rouen, Lyon and Brussels. The *Pentateuchus* in turn was reprinted about five times. In 1644, this work was supplemented with the *Analecta Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Sapientiam, Habacuc, Sophoniam*, probably records of Jansenius's lecture notes as an ordinary professor in this period. These biblical works were approved by the apostolic book censor Jacobus Pontanus.¹¹⁴ Apart from his teaching job, Jansenius was also involved in the organization of the University library and archives in collaboration with Peter Stockmans and Valerius Andreas.¹¹⁵

In France, Jansenius could not count on much sympathy of Cardinal Richelieu after he had been identified as Alexander Patricius Armacanus, the writer of *Mars Gallicus* (1635), a pamphlet that criticized the policy of Richelieu. The Cardinal had formed an alliance with the Dutch Protestants and the Protestant princes of Germany against Spain, and Jansenius saw herein a negation of the Catholic renewal as propagated by the Council of Trent.¹¹⁶ In October of that same year 1635, Jansenius was appointed bishop of Ypres by the Spanish King. On 30 November 1636, he had his joyous entry into Ypres, where he finally died of the plague on 6 May 1638.¹¹⁷

Jansenius spent an important part of his life at the compilation of his famous *Augustinus*. This tripartite work discussed the doctrine of grace and free will on the basis of Augustine's ideas and was intended as a reactivation and a contribution to put an end to the unsettled debates of the *Congregationes de auxiliis*. Already during his stay in Bayonne, Jansenius had started the preparations of this work. He studied consequently all the works of Augustine according to the method that Pope Clement VIII had indicated and also included the Tridentine stipulations and the papal bulls of Pius V and Gregory XIII that had condemned Luther, Calvin and Baius. Following the wish that Jansenius had proclaimed at his deathbed, his friends Henry Calenus of Beringen (1583–1653) and Libert Fromundus of Haccourt (1587–1653) published the

114 Bernard Chédozeau, "Aux sources de la publication de la Bible catholique en français: C. Jansénius, L. Froidmont, Saint-Cyran," in *L'image de Jansenius*, BETL 79, ed. Edmond Van Eijl (Louvain: University Press, 1987), 93–103.

115 Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres (1585–1638)*, 177–91; Ceyssens, "Les débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme à Louvain," 378–379.

116 Roegiers, "Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle," 8–9; Roegiers, "Jansenisme en katholieke hervorming in de Nederlanden," 46; Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres (1585–1638)*, 228–43.

117 Orcibal, *Jansénius d'Ypres (1585–1638)*, 245–270.

work posthumously in Louvain in 1640. The work became a success and was reprinted in Paris in 1641. However, it also met with resistance and was heavily criticized in countless disputes. The Jesuits, for instance, had managed to seize some proof sheets of the book and had started a campaign to prevent its publication. They considered the work as a pure and simple provocation at the occasion of the centenary of their order and they attacked both the content of the work and its author. Their anti-Jansenist program quickly spread through the network of the Jesuit colleges and they could also count on the support of Richelieu.¹¹⁸

Jansenius's ideas and his interpretation of Augustine were condemned, mainly on a dogmatic level since the disciplinary measures had not turned out to be successful. The most essential question, namely whether Jansenius had properly understood and rendered the ideas of Augustine, was not asked by his opponents.¹¹⁹ Pope Urban VIII condemned the *Augustinus* in the first papal bull *In Eminenti*, which was issued in March 1642, but which was only officially published in June 1643. The University of Louvain reacted immediately by sending two professors to Rome, namely John Sinnich and Cornelius de Pape, to give and to receive additional explanations. However, the bull was published in the Southern Netherlands in 1646. This condemnation was the first in a line of many. In 1653, Pope Innocent X (t. 1644–1655) again forbade the *Augustinus* in the papal bull *Cum Occasione* in which he condemned five erroneous propositions said to be found in the *Augustinus*.¹²⁰ Right from the beginning, the

118 Roegiers, "Akward Neighbours," 169–170; Quaghebeur, "Quelques caractéristiques de la querelle," 87–88; Thomsett, *Heresy in the Roman Catholic Church*, 214–15; Spiertz, "Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690," 148. See also Ceyssens, "Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730," 425–426; Ceyssens, "Les débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme à Louvain," 377–379.

119 Roegiers, "Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle," 10.

120 The five propositions, supposed to have been taken from the *Augustinus*, are the following: (1) It is impossible to keep several commands of God because despite the will and best efforts of just men, they lack the grace that makes obedience possible; (2) In the state of man's fallen nature, he cannot resist interior grace; (3) To be deserving or undeserving in a state of fallen nature, it is not necessary that man possesses a freedom exempt from inner necessity; it suffices that his freedom of choice be exempt from restraint; (4) Semi-Pelagians admitted the necessity of an inner grace preceding every particular action and for faith to exist; they were heretical for stating that the human will could resist or obey this grace as it wished; (5) It is semi-Pelagian to say that Christ died and offered His blood to cover the sins of all humanity. See Brian Eugene Strayer, *Suffering Saints: Jansensists and Convulsionnaires in France, 1640–1799* (Eastbourne: Sussex academic press, 2008), 68. See also Joseph A.G. Tans and Marinus Kok, *Rome-Utrecht: over de historische oorzaken van de breuk tussen de rooms-katholieke en de oud-katholieke kerken en de huidige beoordeling van die oorzaken* (Hilversum: Brand, 1966), 75.

advocates of Jansenius acknowledged that these five condemned propositions were reprehensible, but they firmly denied that they were contained in the *Augustinus*.¹²¹

The condemnation of the five propositions gave occasion to the famous distinction between *droit* and *fait*, introduced by Antoine Arnauld. In short, Arnauld stated that the propositions had to be accepted as a matter of law (*droit* or *right*), but not as a matter of fact (*fait* or *fact*). In other words, Arnauld agreed that the doctrines condemned in the papal bull were erroneous, but he was not bound to accept the empirical fact, determined by the Pope, that these doctrines were actually contained in the *Augustinus*. Rome soon realised that the *droit/fait*-distinction would have serious consequences for the ideas of papal primacy and infallibility. In 1656, Pope Alexander VII (t. 1655–1667) issued the bull *Ad Sanctam* in which he stated that the abovementioned five propositions had been excerpted from Jansenius's *Augustinus* and that they had been condemned according to the meaning that Jansenius had attributed to them.¹²²

These allegations meant an intensification of the debates about Jansenism and marked the beginning of the second phase of Jansenism in the period 1660–1690 during which the dogmatic focus on grace and free will was pushed into the background. The increased opposition between Jansenists and anti-Jansenists was now characterised by dissensions on the pastoral, spiritual and moral-theological level, including probabilism against probabiliorism and tutiorism, laxism against rigorism, or attritionism against contritionism.¹²³ In

121 For a detailed discussion on the five propositions, see Toon Quaghebeur, "La condamnation des Cinq Propositions selon les archives du Saint-Office," *ETL* 81, no. 1 (2005), 130–151; Lucianus Ceyssens, "L'authenticité des cinq propositions condamnées de Jansénius," *Antonianum* 55, no. 3 (1980), 368–424, there 377–379, 422–424.

122 Ceyssens, "Que penser finalement de l'histoire du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme?," 116–126; Spiertz, "Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690," 149–52; Ceyssens, "Les débuts du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme à Louvain," 378–419; Ceyssens, "Diepere gronden van het jansenisme," 405–419.

123 Lucianus Ceyssens, "De Leuvense deputatie te Rome (1677–1679)," in *Jansenistica. Studiën in verband met de Geschiedenis van het Jansenisme*, vol. 1, ed. Lucianus Ceyssens (Mechlin: St. Franciscus, 1953), 171–172. Probabilism is the moral system holding that in those cases where question exists concerning the lawfulness or unlawfulness (or licitness or illicitness) of an action, it is permitted to follow an opinion that is solidly probable in favour of liberty, even when the opposing view against liberty is more probable. Probabiliorism is the moral system holding that in case of a doubt concerning the lawfulness or unlawfulness of an action, it is lawful to accept the opinion favouring liberty only when that opinion is more probable than the opinion favouring the law. Tutiorism, also frequently called extreme rigorism, is the moral system which holds that in any case of moral doubt, only the most rigorous of any probable courses of ethical action should be taken. Laxism is the moral system which holds that in case there is doubt about whether a law exists or is

1665, on the occasion of the bull *Regiminis Apostolici*, Pope Alexander VII even went one step further by requiring the subscription of a form, the so-called Form of Alexander VII in which was explicitly stipulated that the five propositions were considered heretical, and that they were in fact contained in the *Augustinus*. Every true and orthodox Catholic had to sign this form. This way, the Pope affirmed the Church's authority to establish dogmatic truths. Arnauld and the Jansenists objected by stating that the Pope was not infallible when dealing with empirical facts.¹²⁴

Confusion arose in Louvain among the defenders of Augustinianism after the promulgation of these papal bulls. They held on to their conviction that the ideas of Augustine had to be defended against the threats of Molinism, but they were willing to declare that they had abandoned Jansenius's interpretation of Augustine. The Holy See supported their stand by declaring repeatedly that only Jansenius's ideas had been condemned, and not those of the Augustinian line of thought, as emerged from a papal brief dated 7 August 1660 that approved the Faculty's Augustinian-Thomistic line of thought. In other words, the Holy See not only recognised the traditional doctrine of the Louvain Faculty of Theology, but also armed it against the allegations of the anti-Jansenists. This doctrinal issue being put aside, the Faculty agreed on signing a shortened version of the Form in which only the propositions were condemned as heretical (*droit*). The Faculty remained silent on the question if the propositions were contained in Jansenius's work (*fait*).¹²⁵

The series of papal bulls and the subsequent commotion in the Catholic world concerning the *droit/fait*-distinction were followed by a truce, the 'Peace of the Church' or 'Clementine Peace', named after Pope Clement IX (t. 1667–1669) and proclaimed in 1669. The conflict within the Church between Catholics and Jansenists was put on a hold for almost one decade and the Holy See concurred in accepting a respectful silence. This meant that the Jansenists

applicable to a situation, and if there is the slightest hint of freedom, one may decide against the law. Attrition is the desire not to sin anymore because of one's sincere love for God. Contrition is the sorrow for sin that comes from a fear of punishment or repulsion at what sin is rather than from love of God. See also Ian A. McFarland, "Contrition," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. David A.S. Fergusson, Karen Kilby, Ian A. McFarland and Iain R. Torrance (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 115; Ralf Strohm, "Probabilism," in *Religion Past & Present: Encyclopedia of Theology and Religion*, vol. 10, ed. Dieter Betz, Don S. Browning, Bernd Janowski and Eberhard Jüngel (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 401; Ceyssens, "Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730," 426–427.

124 Roegiers, "Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle," 11–12; Ceyssens, "Le jansénisme. Considérations historiques préliminaires à sa notion," 26–27.

125 Roegiers, "Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle," 12; Spiertz, "Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690," 151.

would not be prosecuted under the express condition that they would not openly express their objections. In other words, the question of accepting the empirical fact that the five propositions were contained in the *Augustinus* was put aside. The Jesuits, who had not been involved in the negotiations, objected but never formally refuted the decision.¹²⁶

Also at the Louvain Faculty, there was a period of relative rest for almost two decades. The attention was now focused on the moral and pastoral discussions between the rigorists (c.q. Jansenists) and the laxists (c.q. Jesuits) who defended probabilism. Already in 1665 and 1666, the Holy See had condemned various laxist propositions that had been denounced by the Faculty. In the spring of 1677, a Louvain delegation went to Rome to consult the Holy See in order to defend Louvain Augustinianism and to reject the opposing doctrines. This delegation consisted of three official deputies, namely the Augustinian friar Christian Lupus (1612–1681) and the Louvain professors François Van Vianen (1615–1693) and Martinus Steyaert (1647–1701), who was the secretary of the delegation. They were joined by the Dominican Martinus Harney (1634–1704), Petrus Lambertus Ledrou (1641–1721) and Judocus (Josse) Van der Linden (?–1684). The Louvain moral stand was characterised by a radical defence of contrition as a necessary prerequisite for penitence and absolution, and was opposed to the Jesuit defence of attrition. This visit resulted in an official condemnation of 65 laxist propositions of their opponents by Pope Innocent XI (t. 1676–1689) on 2 March 1679 and an oral approval of the *Censura Lovaniensis*.¹²⁷

Reactions to the success of the Louvain delegation from the anti-Jansenists, and particularly the Jesuits, were bound to come. Around 1680, they founded a secret society with a view of accusing their Jansenist adversaries. This society was led by the Louvain anti-Jansenist Nicolas Du Bois (1620–1696),¹²⁸ who was

126 Philippe Dieudonné, *La paix clémentine: défaite et victoire du premier jansénisme français sous le pontificat de Clément IX (1667–1669)*, BETL 167 (Louvain: Leuven university press, 2003); Joseph A.G. Tans, “Verspilde mogelijkheden,” in *Voordrachten bij de uitreiking van de Mgr. dr. Andreas Rinkelprijs en de Blaise Pascalprijs aan Prof. dr. J.A.G. Tans en Mgr. M. Kok (Maior Caritas)*, ed. Koenraad Ouwens (Amersfoort: Stichting Oud-Katholiek Seminarie, 1997), 15; Spiertz, “Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690,” 152.

127 Quaghebeur, “La pax innocentiana et la Faculté de Théologie de Louvain,” 283–86; Roegiers, “Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle,” 13; Ceyssens, “Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730,” 429; Ceyssens, “De Leuvense deputatie te Rome (1677–1679),” 167–253.

128 Nicolas Du Bois was born in 1620 in Vergnies in the province of Hainaut. He received his first Latin lessons in his native village, but soon went to Mons where he obtained a scholarship to study in the college of Houdeng. Next, Du Bois studied philosophy in the College of the Pig in Louvain where he became Master in Arts on 14 November 1641. He received a

professor at the Faculty of Theology, with the assistance of some Jesuits, Irish Franciscans and discalced Carmelites. Du Bois was in fact a straw man for the

scholarship for the House of the Poor, founded by Jan Standonck (1453–1504). One of the prerequisites for receiving this scholarship was that he had to study theology, but he abandoned these studies after three months, lost his scholarship and decided to study both laws. In order to support himself, Du Bois gave private lessons of philosophy and law. In May 1645, he graduated as licentiate in both laws. Ceyssens states that around this time, he entered for the first time into contact with the anti-Jansenist Jesuits. On 17 March 1646, Du Bois was ordained a priest. In the meantime, he worked as a private teacher, much against the will of some professors. It is not sure if he obtained a degree in theology at this time. In a work written in 1662, Du Bois affirmed that he had not obtained his licentiate in theology in Louvain because of, among other reasons, the difficulties he had experienced with some members of the Faculty. In 1650, Du Bois left the Law Faculty and became professor of philosophy in the College of the Pig in Louvain, although he still occupied himself with legal questions. According to Reussens, this happened because Du Bois had missed out on a vacant chair at the Law Faculty. In 1653, he published a work on law in Louvain entitled *Explicatio regularum iuris, nova arte et facili methodo deducta, legume et canonum ac rerum iudicatorum auctoritate confirmata*. Ceyssens wonders if Du Bois studied theology in the period 1650–1653, because his adversaries stated that he did not. When Libert Fromondus died on 28 October 1653, the royal chair of Sacred Scriptures and three other important functions became vacant, because Fromondus had been regent in the *Collegium Strictum*, president of the Liège college and dean of the chapter of Saint Peter. Initially, Du Bois aimed at succeeding Fromondus as president of the Liège college but therefore it was necessary to have a degree in theology, which he did not have at that date. Ceyssens states that Du Bois left Louvain at an unknown date but not earlier than 9 November 1653 and that he went to Douai, provided with recommendations and false documents. These documents had been procured to him by the Faculty's verger George Lipsius who admitted his fault in 1654. It would have taken Du Bois seven years and a series of disputes and public acts to obtain his degrees in theology in Louvain, but in Douai, he skipped some steps and reached his target in only two months. An official attestation of this fact was published on 16 January 1654. According to Reussens, the University of Douai also conferred him the title of Doctor in Law, but Ceyssens affirms that this is not true. When Du Bois returned to Louvain, however, the presidency of the Liège college was lost to him. The anti-Jansenists therefore put him forward as one of the main candidates for the royal chair of Sacred Scriptures. After some discussions, Du Bois was named royal professor of Scriptural Studies on 22 June 1654, in spite of the resistance of many adversaries. His first class on 2 September 1654 did not pass by unnoticed. Du Bois revealed himself as one of the main enemies of Jansenism and a fierce defender of the prerogatives of the Holy See. As professor of Sacred Scriptures, he also received a prebend as a canon in the Saint Peter's Church in Louvain and various others benefices and dignities. During his life, Du Bois wrote various works and was involved in numerous controversies, mainly with the Jansenists. He died in Louvain on 16 March 1696. See Lucianus Ceyssens, "La promotion de Nicolas Du Bois à la chaire d'Écriture Sainte à Louvain (1654)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 34 (1962), 490–553; Edmond H.J. Reussens, "Du Bois (Nicolas)," in *BN* 6 (Brussels, 1878), 196–204.

regular clergy.¹²⁹ He was a jurist who had obtained a licence in theology in Douai on the basis of false documents and occupied the royal chair of Sacred Scriptures at the Louvain Faculty of Theology from 1654 until his death in 1696.¹³⁰ The steering committee of the secret society met at least once a week in Louvain. The society members were ordered to collect incriminating statements of rigorism in recent and old Louvain publications. Their efforts resulted in the redaction of long lists of propositions to be censured and to be sent to Rome. Eventually, in 1690, the society proved to be successful when Pope Alexander VIII (t. 1689–1691), under the pressure of, amongst others, the General of the Jesuits Thyrsus Gonzalez, condemned a selection of 31 propositions in a decree that had been kept ready from 1683 onwards, when Pope Innocent XI had refused to sign it. In addition, the society's efforts brought several Louvain professors into discredit, among others Gommarus Huygens (1631–1702), Jean Opstraet (1651–1720), Jean-Libert Hennebel (1652–1720) and Zeger-Bernard van Espen (1646–1728),¹³¹ and broke their academic careers. The most important success of the society resulted in the nomination of the vehement

129 Delvenne described Du Bois as someone who just touched upon the questions he had to deal with and whose style was characterized by vehemence and irascibility. Du Bois was always interfering and he did not take pains to prove his statements. He added that Bossuet described Du Bois as a very poor author: "Incapable de rien approfondir il ne fait qu'effleurer les questions; son style est plein de véhémence et d'emportement; il se passionne sur tout, il n'hésite sur rien, il se met peu de peine de prouver, il veut qu'on reçoive ses décisions comme autant d'oracles et par tous ces défauts il se discrédita entièrement lui-même dans l'esprit de ses lecteurs." See Mathieu G. Delvenne, *Biographie du royaume des Pays-Bas*, vol. 1 (Liège: Desoer, 1928), 302.

130 Lucianus Ceyssens and Sylvestre De Munter, *Sources relatives à l'histoire du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme des années 1677–1679*, BRHE 59 (Louvain: Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 1974), LIII.

131 Zeger-Bernard van Espen, born in 1646, studied in Louvain and was ordained a priest in 1673. Two years later, he obtained a doctorate in civil and canon law. He was asked to teach canon law during the summer holidays but refused in order to devote himself to his study. In 1700, he published his most famous work, entitled *Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum*. When Van Espen was consulted by the Jansenists on the issue of the episcopal ordination of Cornelius Steenoven in 1723, he declared that he was in favour of this ordination, although it had happened without the authorization of the Holy See. As a consequence, he was suspected of Jansenist sympathies and suspended by the Archbishop of Mechlin and deprived from his functions by the University of Louvain in 1728. Van Espen fled to Amersfoort in the Northern Netherlands where he died that same year 1728. See Jan Hallebeek, "Espen, Zeger-Bernard van," in *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Hexenverfolgung*, ed. Gudrun Gersmann, Katrin Moeller and Jürgen-Michael Schmidt, 2008, accessed 30 May 2019, <https://www.historicum.net/purl/jfzp5/>.

anti-Jansenist Humbert Guillaume de Precipiano (1626–1711)¹³² as Archbishop of Mechlin in 1689.¹³³

- ¹³² Humbert-Guillaume de Precipiano was born in the French city of Besançon in 1626. He studied philosophy in Besançon and theology in the Jesuit college in Louvain without obtaining an academic degree. In line with the Jesuits, De Precipiano repudiated the *Doctrina Lovaniensis*. Throughout his career, he would exploit the anti-Jansenist ideas in order to climb higher in the ecclesiastical order. In 1648, he graduated as licentiate in law and doctor of theology at the University of the French city of Dôle, near Dijon, with a thesis under the guidance of the anti-Jansenist Jesuit Louis de Schildere. In 1650, De Precipiano was appointed abbot of Belleval and in this capacity he also became member of the States of Burgundy. On 27 March 1661, he was ordained a priest. In spite of the fact that Rome had already appointed a candidate for the position of dean of the Besançon chapter, De Precipiano was appointed by a minority of Spanish royalists on 23 August 1661 after he had already been named successively canon and archdeacon of the chapter. As a consequence, De Precipiano was excommunicated by Pope Alexander VII, but this did not prevent him from accumulating important political positions thanks to the support of the Spanish Court and the Jesuits. In the aftermath of these controversies, De Precipiano decided to flee to Brussels. In 1664, Philip IV of Spain appointed him ecclesiastical councillor at the Court of Dôle because La Franche-Comté was a Spanish dependency. Three years later, in 1667, he was sent to the Diet of Regensburg as plenipotentiary for the Burgundian Circle where he stayed until 1673. On 9 May 1673, De Precipiano became chief councillor for the affairs of the Low Countries and Franche-Comté in Madrid and he tried to impose his anti-Jansenist ideas by refusing Jansenist candidates for the episcopal sees of the Southern Low Countries. He also came in contact with the secret anti-Jansenist society in Louvain. Eventually in 1680, after missing out on the episcopal see of Namur, he decided to sign an act of submission to Rome. On 12 August 1680, De Precipiano received absolution after an ecclesiastical ban of almost twenty years. He continued climbing the ecclesiastical ranks and was ordained bishop of Bruges on 21 March 1683 with the help of the anti-Jansenists of Madrid and Brussels and in spite of his non-existing knowledge of Dutch. His episcopal motto was “Non in gladio sed in nomine Domini” or “Not by the sword, but in the name of the Lord.” That same year 1683, De Precipiano also became member of the Council of State in Brussels. After the death of Archbishop Alphonse de Berghes in 1689, he was appointed Archbishop of Mechlin thanks to the influence of his anti-Jansenist network. On 11 August 1690, he was officially welcomed as new Archbishop in Mechlin. His term of office was mainly characterised by his constant struggle against the doctrines of the Jansenist faction in the Archdiocese and his wish to eradicate all Jansenists from his territory. De Precipiano encountered much opposition, for instance from the Louvain professor Jean Opstraet, or from Aegidius de Witte, dean of Mechlin and Bible translator. However, De Precipiano’s way of dealing with the problem of Jansenism was applauded both by Pope Clement XI, who wrote two laudatory briefs, and by the Universities of Louvain and Douai. De Precipiano died in Brussels in 1711. See Toon Quaghebeur and Jan Roegiers, “Onvrede en onrust in eigen rangen (1690–1759),” in *Het aartsbisdom Mechelen-Brussel, 450 jaar geschiedenis*, vol. 1 *Het aartsbisdom Mechelen van de katholieke hervorming tot de revolutietijd, 1559–1802*, ed. Jan De Mayer, Eddy Put, Jan Roegiers, André Tihon and Gerrit Vanden Bosch (Antwerp: Halewijn, 2009), 189–190; Lucianus Ceysens, “De benoeming van Humbertus-Gulielmus de Precipiano tot bisschop van Brugge,” *Annales de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique* 32 (1947),

By the last decade of the seventeenth century, Jansenism slowly developed into a broad, versatile and international movement with a political focus, marking the third phase. The main goal of the anti-Jansenists consisted not only in eradicating the (in their eyes) detestable errors of Jansenism, but also in reinforcing their own (weakened) position by imposing their ideas. The aforementioned anti-Jansenist Archbishop of Mechlin De Precipiano warned for instance for the rise of Jansenism in the Southern Netherlands. He urged the need to impose an anti-Jansenist oath, but did not await permission from Rome. In 1692, De Precipiano asked, on his own authority, subscription to a form that resembled the Form of Alexander VII. However, this form contained the important stipulation that signing the form implied an explicit assent of the matter of *fait* as a point of doctrine. Although Innocent XII insisted on the maintenance of the constitutions of Innocent X and Alexander VII¹³⁴ in his brief *Nuper ex litteris* of 6 February 1694, De Precipiano tried to circumvent the ban to the matter of *fait* by demanding an oral confirmation. However, Rome intervened again. Consequently, the relations between the Archbishop and Rome were disturbed and had to be restored. In his brief, Innocent XII explained that the five propositions did not have to be understood according to the meaning of their author (*in sensu auctoris*) but in the apparent meaning (*in sensu obvio*). However, De Precipiano did not give up: in 1696, after having sent a letter to the Holy Office, the bishops of the Southern Low Countries received permission to impose the Form of Alexander VII, although it had lost much of his vigour.¹³⁵

De Precipiano therefore decided to fight Jansenism by relying on his own judicial apparatus, though with varying success. He tried to disarm the Jansenist faction in the Southern Netherlands by removing them from all higher offices. In addition, he tried to chase away the exiled French Jansenists by capturing some of their leaders, for instance Pasquier Quesnel and Gabriel Gerberon, and by confiscating the possessions of others, as for example in the case

159–167; A.–C. De Schrevel, “Precipiano (comte Humbert-Guillaume de),” in *BN* (Brussels: Bruylant, 1905), 18:c. 204–216; Pierre Claessens, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, vol. 2 (Louvain, 1881), 1–64.

133 Roegiers, “Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle,” 14–15; Spiertz, “*Anti-Jansenisme en Jansenisme in de Nederlanden in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw*,” 233–34; Ceysens, “Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730,” 429–30.

134 Innocent X had issued the bull *Cum Occasione* in 1653, while Alexander VII had promulgated the bull *Ad Sanctam* in 1656 and the bull *Regiminis Apostolici* and the anti-Jansenist Form in 1665.

135 Claessens, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, 2:10–17.

of Antoine Arnauld. De Precipiano also insisted on tightening up anti-Jansenist measures promoted by the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome. His efforts seem to have contributed to the coming-about of the bull *Vineam Domini* (1705) and to the preparations of *Unigenitus Dei Filius* (1713).¹³⁶ By the end of 1700, when Philip V (1683–1746) became sovereign of the Southern Low Countries, there came an end to the conciliatory attitude of the government towards (Louvain) Jansenism and a severe anti-Jansenist policy was installed, mainly under the lead of De Precipiano. However, when the Archbishop died in 1711, a new and combative generation of Jansenists had risen. In the course of this period, on the occasion of the *Cas de Conscience*, Pope Clement XI issued the apostolic constitution *Vineam Domini* (16 July 1705) in which he considered a respectful silence before the matter of *fait* as an unsatisfactory attitude.¹³⁷ De Precipiano was one of the first to publish the bull in his diocese and was therefore congratulated by the Pope in a brief entitled *Quod editam nuper* and dated 26 September 1705.¹³⁸ However, this constitution met with practically no response in the Southern Netherlands. A few years later, the bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius* (1713), which condemned 101 propositions from Pasquier Quesnel, encountered sporadic opposition in Louvain and was implemented by De Precipiano's successor, Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace who also continued the anti-Jansenist policy.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Ceyssens, "De benoeming van Humbertus-Gulielmus de Precipiano," 159.

¹³⁷ The *Cas de Conscience* was occasioned by the following incident: "A Jansenist priest, ostensibly the confessor of a dying ecclesiastic, proposed seven questions to the doctors of the Sorbonne for solution. The most prominent of these questions was the one whether absolution can be granted to an ecclesiastic who confessed that he rejects, in the sense of the Church, the five propositions condemned by Innocent XII as Jansenistic; but, since it was not clear to the penitent that these propositions are actually contained in the *Augustinus* of Jansenius, he thought it sufficient to observe a "respectful silence" (*silence respectueux*) concerning this question of fact, and, with this restriction, he signed the formula prescribed by Alexander VII. Forty doctors of the Sorbonne, among them Ellies Du Pin, Petitpied, Bourret, Sarasin, and Natalis Alexander, decided that absolution could not be withheld, since the case was neither new nor extraordinary, and since the penitent's opinion was not condemned by the Church." The *Cas de Conscience* caused a great commotion among the Catholics in France because the proposed solution was equivalent to the Jansenist opinion that the Pope did not have the power to decide on questions related to dogmatic facts. See Michael Ott, "Vineam Domini," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 15 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), accessed 30 May 2019, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15445b.htm>.

¹³⁸ Claessens, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, 2:36–38.

¹³⁹ Quaghebeur, "La *pax innocentiana* et la Faculté de Théologie de Louvain," 289–302; Roegiers, "Le jansénisme de Louvain à la fin du XVII^e siècle," 15–16; Ceyssens, "Que penser finalement de l'histoire du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme?," 126–29; Spiertz,



ILLUSTRATION 2 Humbert Guillaume de Precipiano (1626–1711), seventeenth-century engraving
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 ÉMILE JACQUES. USED WITH PERMISSION

1.3.3 *Concluding Remarks*

One of the most important issues at stake in the disputes between the Jansenists and the anti-Jansenists in the Southern Netherlands appears to have been the correct definition and the subsequent defence of the Augustinian-inspired doctrine of Louvain University and its Faculty of Theology. A central role in these disputes and frictions was reserved to the Society of Jesus and their plans to gain a strong foothold in the University town in order to teach their own doctrinal and theological system. Later, the ecclesiastical and civil authorities also got involved in the debates.

Starting from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Augustinian tradition and the method of positive theology, based on Scripture and Tradition, had gained importance in Louvain in opposition to the older scholastic tradition. In 1586, in confrontation with the (extreme) ideas of Baius, the Faculty of Theology was obliged to summarize its official doctrine in a *Corpus Doctrinae*, approved by the Roman authorities. However, the Jesuits kept the rumours about the heterodoxy of the Faculty alive and started that following year with the first of their many attempts to challenge the University's monopoly of organising public courses in theology and philosophy, and of granting academic degrees. In 1587, the Faculty had to define its Augustinian doctrine again in the *Censura Lovaniensis*, this time as a reaction to the laxist teachings of the Jesuit fathers Lessius and Hamelius. The following year, the Faculty labelled the teachings of Molina himself and Lessius both as Molinist. At this point, the Roman authorities had to intervene, both on a local level with the intervention of the papal nuncio Frangipani, and on a universal level with the *Congregationes de auxiliis* that intended to solve the controversies on grace on the basis of the pure writings of Augustine but that never came to a final decision.

It is in this challenging theological climate that Jansenius set his first steps when he started his studies in theology. Because of the unsure outcome of the *Congregationes de auxiliis*, both the doctrine of the Faculty of Theology and its monopoly on higher education continued to be challenged, respectively by the defenders of a scholastic renewal and the Jesuits. In the meantime, Jansenius elaborated and refined his interest in positive theology by stays in Paris and Bayonne during which he became friends with Duvergier de Hauranne. Upon his return to Louvain, Jansenius soon became involved in the defence of the Louvain doctrine and the position of the University, especially after new attempts of the Jesuits to obtain permission to organise public courses in theology and philosophy, and to grant academic degrees in Louvain. At this point,

"Anti-Jansenisme en Jansenisme in de Nederlanden in de achttiende en negentiende eeuw," 234–35; Ceyssens, "Het theologisch denken en het Jansenisme 1640–1730," 432–34; Ceyssens, "Le jansénisme. Considérations historiques préliminaires à sa notion," 26–27.

the University turned to the civil authorities in Madrid for support by sending Jansenius twice to Spain. Once again, the University achieved in confirming its position. Jansenius turned into a vehement defender of the Augustinian line of thought, amongst others through his successful Bible commentaries and his lifework *Augustinus*.

When the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome issued various bulls against the *Augustinus*, the position of the University was again put on the line. This time, however, the attention shifted gradually from a dogmatic focus on grace and free will to dissensions on the pastoral, spiritual and moral-theological level. The Holy See still recognised the traditional doctrine of the Louvain Faculty of Theology and armed it this way against the allegations of the anti-Jansenists, c.q. the Jesuits. The Peace of the Church installed a period of relative rest at the Louvain Faculty and attention was henceforth focussed on the moral and pastoral discussions between the rigorists (c.q. Jansenists) and the laxists (c.q. Jesuits). In 1677, the Faculty had to defend the doctrine of Louvain Augustinianism again, this time in the Louvain delegation to Rome. This journey to Rome resulted in an official condemnation of 65 laxist propositions and an oral approval of the *Censura Lovaniensis*. It comes as no surprise that the Jesuits reacted against the success of the Louvain delegation by founding a secret society to accuse the Jansenists.

This time, however, the Jesuits were successful and the balance inclined the other way. They managed to win the support of the Pope and brought several Louvain professors and their doctrine into discredit. The year 1685 appears to have been an important turning point. That year, the anti-Jansenists got the majority among the Faculty regents thanks to Martinus Steyaert, as will be demonstrated. Four years later, the vehement anti-Jansenist De Precipiano became Archbishop of Mechlin. Besides counting on the support of the Archbishop, the anti-Jansenists could also rely on the support of the papal nuncio and the civil government in Brussels. The Jansenist resistance at the University was broken and the University "imposed a series of anti-Jansenist decrees on all its professors and students at the occasion of graduation".¹⁴⁰ However, this did not mean that the Faculty of Theology had abjured the traditional *doctrina augustino-thomistica* contained in the 1586 *Corpus Doctrinae* and the 1587 *Censura Lovaniensis*. The Jesuits retreated in this phase into the background.

140 Roegiers, "Akward Neighbours," 172.

The ‘Regula Quarta’ and the Port-Royal Translation Project: Two Determining Factors in the Controversy on Vernacular Bible Translation

One of the key questions that had dominated religious debates in sixteenth-century Western Europe was whether it was permissible, or even desirable, that the laity read the Bible in the vernacular and whether the Bible might be translated into various national languages to accommodate this practice. The Catholic reluctance in this regard had been shaped in discussions with humanists and reformers who claimed to base their renewal of the Church upon a direct reading of scriptural sources. During the second half of the seventeenth century, the question of the permissibility of vernacular Bible reading was taken up again. This time, the Catholic position was challenged by the Jansenists who were known as vehement advocates of vernacular Bible reading. The seventeenth-century discussions on vernacular Bible reading in the Low Countries were dominated by two important arguments, namely, on the one hand, the discussions on the implementation and the interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* of Trent, and, on the other, the translation project of Port-Royal and particularly the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* that was printed in Amsterdam in 1667.

The first part of this chapter deals with the coming-about of the *Regula Quarta* and its implementation in the Low Countries.¹ Its first section will demonstrate that the Council of Trent remained silent on the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translations in 1546 and that any decision in this regard was passed on to the local instances according to their own local traditions. In a

¹ This section is based on Els Agten and Wim François, “The Council of Trent (1545–1564) and Vernacular Bible Reading. What Happened in the Build-Up to and During the Fourth Session (1546)?,” in *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond*, vol. 1 *Between Trent, Rome and Wittenberg*, Refo500 Academic Series, ed. Violet Soen and Wim François (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 101–130 and on Els Agten and Wim François, “The Reception of Trent’s Regula Quarta (1564) and Vernacular Bible Reading in the Low Countries,” *Trajecta: Religion, Culture and Society in the Low Countries* 24, no. 1 (2015), 33–60.

way, the conciliar silence was disrupted with the publication of the *Index Tridentinus* of 1564 with the ten Tridentine rules that outlined the contours of book censorship. The *Regula Quarta* or Fourth Rule authorized the reading of vernacular biblical texts by lay people when they were deemed capable according to the Catholic Tradition and when they had obtained an explicit, individual and written permission from their bishops or inquisitors after advice of the parish priest or the confessor. In addition, such reading had to increase the piety and the devotion of the faithful. The second section discusses the various Indices of forbidden books that were issued in Rome and the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. Particular attention will be paid in this regard to the presence of the *Regula Quarta* in these Indices, as this rule proved to have a profound influence on the practice of vernacular Bible reading in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The third section examines the promulgation of the *Regula Quarta* in the Low Countries by analysing the decrees of the provincial councils and diocesan synods that were held in the three new ecclesiastical provinces Cambrai, Mechlin and Utrecht, and in the Prince-Bishopric of Liège during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, about one hundred years after its publication and despite the changed context, the *Regula Quarta* and its interpretation still gave occasion to heated debates in the Southern Low Countries, now as a result of the confrontation with the Jansenists. Measures were taken against Jansenist-minded pastors who encouraged their flock to read vernacular Bibles during diocesan synods in the ecclesiastical provinces of Cambrai and Mechlin and on the initiative of some ecclesiastical authorities. The final section shows that the *Regula Quarta* was not as strictly implemented and observed in the Low Countries. This finding is supported by four testimonies in theological handbooks and an analysis of two Catholic Bible translations dating from the first half of the seventeenth century. These examples show that there was still room for new vernacular Bible translations, although to a lesser extent.

The second part of this chapter deals with the translation project of the group of Port-Royal which proved that have an important impact on the translation activity of the Jansenist circles in the Northern Netherlands. Especially the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, published in 1667, turned out to be influential for the later Dutch Jansenist Bible translations. In addition, the Jansenist circles in the Northern Netherlands shared the translation philosophy of Port-Royal, which was a major topic in the works of Antoine Arnauld and Pasquier Quesnel, two of the leading intellectuals of Port-Royal, who eventually went into exile in the Low Countries.

2.1 Book Censorship and the *Regula Quarta*

2.1.1 *The Council of Trent, Scripture and Biblical Education*

During the first period of the Council of Trent (1545–1547),² and more specifically during the build-up to the Fourth and the Fifth Sessions of the Council, which took place on 8 April 1546 and 17 June 1546 respectively, attention was paid to several issues regarding Bible reading and preaching.³ The Council fathers held discussions on the extent of the biblical canon, on the authenticity of the Latin Vulgate and the value of other Bible versions, whether in the original language or in the vernacular, on the relation between Scripture and (unwritten) traditions, on the norms of interpreting the sacred text and its emendation, as well as on the inevitable misinterpretations.⁴ They distinguished, *grosso modo*, three areas of reform concerning Bible reading and preaching, namely the interpretation of the Bible, the editing and the printing of the Bible, and finally the study of the Word of God and its proclamation.⁵ At the end of the seventeenth century, descriptions of these conciliar discussions were still included in the works of the Jansenists and anti-Jansenists, as will be demonstrated in chapters three and four. This shows that these issues still occupied a central place in the discussions between the Jansenists and their opponents.

In Trent, the Council fathers, prelates and theologians gathered in three types of meetings: general congregations, solemn sessions, and smaller working groups.⁶ The general congregations were a venue for discussion and

2 In this first period, the work of the Council was overviewed by three cardinal-legates, namely the canonist Giovanni Maria del Monte (1487–1555), the first in rank and the later Pope Julius III, cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501–1555), the later Pope Marcellus II, and cardinal Reginald Pole (1500–1558), who only played a minor role. See O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 87–89; Cyriel Eykens, “Het concilie van Trente (Vierde zitting, 8 april 1546) en de boekencensuur,” *ETL* 34 (1958), 496–521, there 500–501.

3 For information on the first period of the Council, see O'Malley, *Trent, What Happened at the Council*, 1–125; Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770*, 10–25; Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, vol. 2 *Die erste Trienter Tagungsperiode 1545/47* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1957), 42–82; Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Ernest Graf, vol. 2 *The First Sessions at Trent 1545–47* (London, Nelson and sons Ltd, 1961), 52–98; Philip Hughes, *The Church in Crisis: a History of the General Councils, 325–1870* (Garden City, KS: Hanover House, 1961), 301–332.

4 Robert E. McNally, “The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles,” *Theological Studies* 27 (1966), 204–227, there 208.

5 Louis B. Pascoe, “The Council of Trent and Bible Study: Humanism and Scripture,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 52, no. 1 (1966), 18–38, there 19.

6 This overview is based on O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 77–78, 84–86.

debate on issues that the Council had to face. In the period January to May 1546, these general congregations were divided into three smaller groups, also called particular congregations or *classes*. Each of these groups was chaired by one of the three cardinal-legates and an evenly balanced number of adherents and opponents of the three legates. This subdivision was eventually abolished in May 1546 because several Council fathers did not see any advantage to this system. The solemn sessions were one-day, formal and principally ceremonial gatherings that were held in the Saint Vigilius cathedral of Trent. During these sessions the decrees that had been debated and finalized in the General Congregations were read out and received a final vote to approve them. The smaller working groups consisted of, among others, congregations of so-called minor theologians (i.e. professional theologians) and congregations of so-called major theologians (i.e. bishops), but also of the deputations that prepared drafts of documents to be discussed in the general congregations, and other committees.

The biblical question⁷ was brought up for the first time during the General Congregation of 8 February 1546 in the context of the definition of the dogmas

7 For a general overview of the discussions about (vernacular) Bible translations at the Council of Trent, see Wim François, "Vernacular Bible Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe. The 'Catholic' Position Revisited," *The Catholic Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (2018), 23–56; Agten and François, "The Council of Trent (1545–1564) and Vernacular Bible Reading," 101–130; Wim François, "The Catholic Church and Vernacular Bible Reading, Before and After Trent," *Biblicum Jassyense* 4 (2013), 5–37; Wim François, "La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula antes y después de Trento," *Mayéutica* 39 (2013), 245–273; Jean-Pierre Delville, "Chérubin de Saint-Joseph (1639–1725) et la lecture de l'Écriture par les laïcs," in *La surprise dans la Bible. Hommage à Camille Focant*, BETL 247, ed. Geert Van Oyen and André Wénin (Leuven, Peeters, 2012), 429–436; Sergio Fernández López, *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia en lengua vulgar: defensores y detractores* (León: Universidad de León. Secretariado de publicaciones, 2003), 161–178; Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: La censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura* (1471–1605) (Bologna: Mulino, 1998), 75–109; Guy Bedouelle, "Le débat catholique sur la traduction de la Bible en langue vulgaire," in *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse*, ed. Irena Backus and Francis Hignman (Genève: Droz, 1990), 39–59; McNally, "The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles," 212–226; Leopold Lentner, *Volkssprache und Sakralsprache: Geschichte einer Lebensfrage bis zum Ende des Konzils von Trient*, Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie 5 (Wien: Herder, 1964), 226–264; Eykens, "Het concilie van Trente," 496–521; Beniamino Emmi, "Una votazione pro o contro i testi originali della S. Scrittura al Concilio di Trenti," *Angelicum* 34 (1957), 379–392; Herman A.P. Schmidt, *Liturgie et langue vulgaire. Le problème de la langue critique chez les premiers réformateurs et au Concile de Trente*, Analecta Gregoriana 53 (Rome: Universitas gregoriana, 1950), 81–95; Peter G. Duncker, "La Chiesa e la versione della S. Scrittura in lingua volgare," *Angelicum* 24 (1947), 140–167; Ferdinand Cavallera, "La bible en langue vulgaire au Concile de Trente," in *Mélanges Emmanuel Podechard. Études de sciences religieuses offertes pour son éméritat au doyen honoraire de la Faculté de Théologie de Lyon* (Lyon: Facultés catholiques, 1945), 37–56; Victor Baroni, *La*

and the symbol of faith.⁸ Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte, the president of the Council and the later Pope Julius III (t. 1550–1555), stated that faith was based on the divine revelation and named three sources to identify this revelation: Sacred Scripture, Tradition and the Church.⁹ The following two months, four important questions concerning Scripture were raised in the debates and discussions.¹⁰ First, which biblical books could be considered canonical? Second, what about the authority of Tradition since the Protestants only recognised the authority of Sacred Scripture? Third, what about the statute of the Latin text of the Bible, i.e. the Vulgate, in comparison with the ancient Hebrew and Greek Septuagint texts? Fourth, what about the right interpretation of Sacred Scripture and who was allowed to formulate this interpretation?

There was no uniform practice or position in the Catholic Church with regard to vernacular Bible reading on the eve of the Tridentine Council, but only regional, often diverging, traditions.¹¹ In England for instance, translations of the Bible in the vernacular were in principle forbidden by the authorities, while in Germany some eighteen complete Bible translations had been printed in the period 1466–1522. Luther's translation of the New Testament, dating from 1522, was reprinted about one hundred times and his complete Bible, finished in 1534, was a success. In France, the theological Faculty of Paris had condemned not only the French vernacular translations of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples¹² in 1525 and 1526, but also the plea of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) in favor of a vernacular Bible in 1527, the official condemnation of which

contre-Réforme devant la Bible. La question biblique (Lausanne: La Concorde, 1943), 92–129; Mariano Revilla, "La controversia sobre las versiones vernáculas de la Biblia en el Concilio de Trento," *Religión y Cultura* 10 (1933), 88–104.

8 For the texts of the council diaries, decrees, letters and treatises, see *Concilium Tridentinum: Diariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatum nova collection*, 13 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1901–2001). This collection of documents will be hereafter referred to as *CT* with the pertinent volume, editor, page and, if required, lines cited.

9 *CT*, vol. 1, ed. Sebastianus Merkle, 30, l. 3–l. 16. See also Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2:58–59; Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 2:47–48.

10 Baroni, *La contre-réforme devant la Bible*, 94–124.

11 For a detailed overview of local traditions relating to vernacular Bible reading on the eve of Trent, see François, "Vernacular Bible Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe," 28–42; Agten and François, "The Council of Trent (1545–1564) and Vernacular Bible Reading," 101–109. See also François, "La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula," 245–273; Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2:67–68; Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 2:53–55.

12 Els Agten and Wim François, "Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples en de eerste volledige gedrukte Franse bijbelvertaling (1530)," in *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen*, ed. Paul Gillaerts, Henri Bloemen, Youri Desplenter, Wim François, and Augustus A. den Hollander (Heerenveen: Jongbloed), 343–350.

followed in 1531. Moreover, the provincial synod of Sens had forbidden new vernacular translations of the Bible in 1528, although older, late medieval translations continued to be published. In Spain, Bible translation in the vernacular had been prohibited since the reign of the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella by the Spanish Inquisition.¹³ Finally, in Italy, apart from an important tradition of vernacular Bible translations dating back from the Middle Ages, Antonio Brucioli's translations of the New Testament (1530) and the complete Bible (1532) were greeted with astonishment, but did not cause the Church authorities to prohibit Bibles. Afterwards, the Dominican Fra Zaccaria of Florence published a translation of the New Testament (1536) and his confrar Sante Marmochino issued a complete Bible translation (1538). From the local traditions discussed above, it becomes clear that the topic of vernacular Bible reading and translation constituted an important issue on the agenda of the Church. It is therefore not surprising that sharp divergences of opinion manifested themselves among the Council fathers, who did not reach an agreement.

The issue of vernacular Bible reading was tackled in the preparations to the Fourth Session of Trent. Soon it became clear that both defenders and opponents of vernacular Bible reading would balance each other out and that both parties would not reach an agreement on the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translation.¹⁴ This was, for instance, the case in the clash between Cardinal Pedro Pacheco (1488–1560), bishop of Jaén and Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo (1512–1578), Prince-bishop of Trent.¹⁵ Pacheco and his advisor, the Spanish

13 Around 1490, the so-called *Reyes Católicos* Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile seem to have issued a prohibition against the reading and possession of vernacular Bible translations. Some, however, believe that it was the Spanish Inquisition, and not the Catholic Monarchs, who issued this prohibition, albeit with the approval of the Catholic King and Queen. See Fernández López, *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia en lengua vulgar*, 102–104; Margherita Morreale, "Alcune considerazioni sulla Bibbia in volgare con un aggiornamento del saggio 'Vernacular Bible. Spain,'" Cambridge History of the Bible," in *La Bibbia in Italiano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento: atti del Convegno internazionale*, ed. Lino Leonardi (Firenze: Sismel, 1998), 255–287.

14 Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 75–78; Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2:70–71; Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 2:57–58; Schmidt, "Liturgie et langue vulgaire," 84–85.

15 For a detailed overview of the debate about vernacular Bible reading at the Council, see Agten and François, "The Council of Trent (1545–1564) and Vernacular Bible Reading," 109–126. References to their statements and debates can be found in *CT*, vol. 1, ed. Merkle, 36–38, 436, 514–515, 518–520; *CT*, vol. 5, ed. Stephan Ehse, 30–31; *CT*, vol. 12, ed. Vinzenz Schweitzer, 528–530. See also Fernández López, *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia en lengua vulgar*, 169–171; McNally, "The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles," 216–218, 220–221; Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2:72–73; Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 2:58–59; Schmidt, "Liturgie et langue vulgaire," 91–92; Cavallera, "La bible en langue

Franciscan and theologian Alphonso de Castro (1495–1558), were vehemently opposed to the possibility to provide access to the Bible for the common people. The underlying thought was that even the learned lapsed into heresies after having read the Bible. Cristoforo Madruzzo on the contrary could be counted among the ardent defenders of the principle of vernacular Bible reading. He argued that the Bible had to be accessible for all people. Heresies could be avoided by prohibiting heretical Bibles and by adding explicative annotations to the good translations.

Eventually, the debates and discussions on the biblical question resulted in the drafting of two decrees that were promulgated during the Fourth Session of the Council on 8 April 1546.¹⁶ In the first decree, the Council fathers discussed the relation between Scripture and the apostolic traditions. The discussions in the various General Congregations in the build-up to the Fourth Session had already revealed the existence of various kinds of traditions and this conclusion was integrated in the final decree.

The holy ecumenical and general Council of Trent, lawfully assembled in the holy Spirit, with the same three legates of the apostolic See presiding, keeps ever before its eyes this purpose: that the purity of the gospel, purged of all errors, may be preserved in the church. Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, first proclaimed with his own lips this gospel, which had in the past been promised by the prophets in the sacred scriptures; then he bade it be preached to every creature through his apostles as the **source** of the whole truth of salvation and rule of conduct. The council clearly perceives that this truth and rule are contained **in written books and in unwritten traditions** which were received by the apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or else have come down to use, handed on, as it were from the apostles themselves at the instigation of the holy Spirit. Following the example of the orthodox fathers, the council accepts and venerates with a like feeling of piety and reverence **all the books of both the old and the new Testament**, since the one God is the author of both, as well as **the traditions concerning both faith and conduct**, as

vulgaire,” 42–43, 51–52; Baroni, *La contre-réforme devant la Bible*, 111–112; Revilla, “La controversia sobre las versiones vernáculas,” 97–100.

¹⁶ *CT*, vol. 1, ed. Merkle, 48–50. See also McNally, “The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles,” 223–225; Lentner, “Volkssprache und Sakralsprache,” 263–264; Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2:391–92; Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 2:75–77; Baroni, *La contre-réforme devant la Bible*, 124–127. A smaller third decree declared that the next session of the Council would start on 17 June 1546, which was the Thursday after Whitsunday. See CCCOGD, vol. 3, 17, l. 223–225.

either directly spoken by Christ or dictated by the holy Spirit, which have been preserved in unbroken sequence in the catholic church (emphasis ours).¹⁷

The fathers first emphasized that the purity of the Gospel had to be preserved in the Church. Jesus Christ himself had promulgated the Gospels (*Evangelium*) with His own mouth and then had commanded his apostles to preach it to every creature as the source (*fons*) of the whole truth (*veritas*) and rules of conduct (*mores disciplinae*). Next, the fathers stated that the Council clearly perceived that this truth and these rules were contained in written books and in unwritten traditions that had been received by the apostles from the mouth of Christ himself or had been handed over by the apostles themselves at the instigation of the holy Spirit. In line with the Church fathers, the Council accepted and venerated all the books of the Old and the New Testament, and the traditions concerning faith and conduct that had been preserved in unbroken sequence in the Catholic Church. In other words, as again emphasized by O'Malley, the Council distinguished two channels of communication through which the source, i.e. the Gospels, was transmitted, namely Scripture and the continuously operative apostolic traditions.¹⁸ Later, this Tridentine teaching

17 "Sacrosancta oecumenica et generalis Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, praesidentibus in ea eisdem tribus Apostolicae Sedis Legatis, hoc sibi perpetuo ante oculos proponens, ut sublatis erroribus, puritas ipsa Evangelii in Ecclesia conservetur: quod promissum ante per Prophetas in Scripturis Sanctis, Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Dei Filius, proprio ore primum promulgavit, deinde per suos Apostolos, tamquam **fontem** omnis et salutaris veritatis et morum disciplinae, omni creaturae praedicari iussit: perspicisne hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri **in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus**, quae ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptae, aut ab ipsis Apostolis Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditae, ad nos usque pervenerunt: orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, **omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti**, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, **nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes**, tamquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continua successione in Ecclesia catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit ac veneratur." See Giuseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni (ed.), *Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*, vol. 3 *The Oecumenical Councils of the Roman Catholic Church from Trent to Vatican II (1545–1965)*, Corpus christianorum. Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta, (Turnhout, Brepols, 2010), 15, l. 134–149 (emphasis ours). This collection of documents will be hereafter referred to as *CCCOGD* with the pertinent volume, page and, if required, lines cited. For the English version, see Giuseppe Alberigo and Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2 *Trent-Vatican II*, (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 663.

18 O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 97–98.

has been (wrongly) systemized into a two-sources theory, distinguishing Scripture and Tradition.

The statements on Scripture and the apostolic traditions were followed by a list of biblical books to be considered canonical. It should be noted that the so-called Apocrypha (or deuterocanonical books) also formed part of the canon of Scripture. The last paragraph of the decree was an anathema directed to all who ignored or disdained the above-mentioned stipulations.¹⁹

The second decree, also described as the Vulgate-decree, dealt with the edition and use of the sacred books. The Council fathers declared that the Vulgate, out of all the Latin editions in circulation, had to be held as the authentic version in public lectures, disputations, sermons and expositions.²⁰ O'Malley emphasizes in this regard that the drafting committee did not intend to suppress other Latin versions, although the decree was soon interpreted that way.²¹ In the following paragraph of the decree, it was stated that Scripture should not

19 "Sacrorum vero Librorum indicem huic decreto adscribendum censuit, ne cui dubitatio suboriri possit, quinam sint, qui ab ipsa Synodo suscipiuntur. Sunt vero infra scripti.

Testamenti Veteris: Quinque Moysis, id est Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium; Iosue, Iudicum, Ruth, quattuor Regum, duo Paralipomenon, Esdrae primus et secundus, qui dicitur Nehemias, Tobias, Iudith, Esther, Iob, Psalterium Davidicum centum quinquaginta psalmorum, Parabola, Ecclesiastes, Canticum Canticorum, Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, Isaias, Ieremias cum Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, duodecim prophetae minores, id est: Osea, Ioel, Amos, Abdias, Ionas, Michaeas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggaeus, Zacharias, Malachias; duo Maccabaeorum, primus et secundus.

Testamenti Novi: Quatuor Evangelia, secundum Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam, et Ioannem; Actus Apostolorum a Luca Evangelista conscripti; quatuordecim epistolae Pauli Apostoli: ad Romanos, duae ad Corinthios, ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, duae ad Thessalonicenses, duae ad Timotheum, ad Titum, ad Philemonem, ad Hebraeos; Petri Apostoli duae; Ioannis Apostoli tres; Iacobi Apostoli una; Iudae Apostoli una et Apocalypsis Ioannis Apostoli.

Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et traditiones praedictas sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit. Omnes itaque intelligant, quo ordine et via ipsa synodus post iactum fidei confessionis fundamentum sit progressura, et quibus potissimum testimoniis ac praesidiis in confirmandis dogmatibus et instaurandis in ecclesia moribus sit usura." See CCCOGD, vol. 3, 15, l. 149–16, l. 173.

20 "Insuper eadem sacrosancta Synodus, considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse Ecclesiae Dei, si ex omnibus latinis editionibus, quae circumferuntur sacrorum librorum, quanam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat: statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et ut nemo illam reiicere quovis praetextu audeat vel praesumat." See CCCOGD, vol. 3, 16, l. 176–183.

21 O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 98.

be interpret contrary to the sense that the Church had held or would held, or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Church fathers.²² Next, the decree imposed a restraint on printers who henceforth had to print Scripture, i.e. the Vulgate, in the most corrected manner (*emendatissime*) possible on pain of being subjected to penalties. The printers were neither allowed to print works on sacred matters without mentioning the name of the author, nor to sell them or keep them, without the license of ecclesiastical superiors, by the Ordinary or, in the case of Regulars, by their superiors. Those who had made written copies or published books on sacred matters without prior examination or approval were subjected to the same penalties as the printers. The approbation of books had to be given in writing and had to appear at the beginning of the written or printed book.²³ By way of conclusion, it was affirmed that the above-mentioned measures were necessary to prevent the distortion of Scripture.²⁴

22 "Praeterea ad coercenda petulantia ingenia decernit, ut nemo, suae prudentiae innixus, in rebus fidei et morum ad aedificationem doctrinae Christianae pertinentium, Sacram Scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, contra eum sensum, quem **tenuit et tenet sancta mater Ecclesia**, cuius est iudicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum Sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimen **consensum Patrum**, ipsam Scripturam Sacram interpretari audeat, etiamsi huiusmodi interpretationes nullo umquam tempore in lucem edendae forent. Qui contravenerint, per Ordinarios declarentur, et poenis a iure statutis puniantur." See CCCOGD, vol. 3, 16, l. 184–17, l. 192. (emphasis ours)

23 "Sed et impressoribus modum in hac parte, ut par est, imponere volens, qui iam sine modo, hoc est putantes sibi licere, quidquid libet, sine licentia superiorum ecclesiasticorum, ipsos Sacrae Scripturae libros, et super illis annotationes et expositiones quorumlibet indifferenter, saepe tacito, saepe etiam ementito prelo, et quod gravius est, sine nomine auctoris imprimunt, alibi etiam impressos libros huiusmodi temere venales habent: decernit et statuit, ut posthac Sacra Scriptura, potissimum vero haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quam emendatissime imprimatur, nullique liceat imprimere, vel imprimi facere, quosvis libros de rebus sacris sine nomine auctoris, neque illos in futurum vendere, aut etiam apud se retinere, nisi primum examinati probatique fuerint ab Ordinario, sub poena anathematis et pecuniae in canone Concilii novissimi Lateranensis apposita. Et si regulares fuerint, ultra examinationem et probationem huiusmodi, licentiam quoque a suis superioribus impetrare teneantur, recognitis per eos libris, iuxta formam suarum ordinationum. Qui autem scripto eos communicant, vel evulgant, nisi antea examinati probatique fuerint, eisdem poenis subiaceant, quibus impressores. Et qui eos habuerint vel legerint, nisi prodiderint auctores, pro auctoribus habeantur. Ipsa vero huiusmodi librorum probatio in scriptis detur, atque ideo in fronte libri vel scripti vel impressi authentice appareat; idque totum, hoc est, et probatio et examen, gratis fiat, ut probanda probentur et reprobanda improbanda." See CCCOGD, vol. 3, 16, l. 184–17, l. 193–213.

24 "Post haec temeritatem illam reprimere volens, qua ad profana quaeque convertuntur et torquentur verba et sententiae Sacrae Scripturae, ad scurrilia scilicet, fabulosa, vana, adulationes, detractiones, superstitiones, impias et diabolicas incantationes, divinationes, sortes, libellos etiam famosos, mandat et praecipit, ad tollendam huiusmodi irreverentiam

These measures were later confirmed in the various censorship measures that were taken throughout Europe.

Concerning Trent and the biblical question, it should be observed that the Council fathers remained silent on the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translations since the Council had not reached an agreement in this regard. Any decision regarding vernacular Bibles was de facto passed on to the competence of the local authorities who could decide according to their own local traditions. In a way, this conciliar silence was broken in 1564 by the publication of the *Index Tridentinus* with its so-called Tridentine rules, as will be discussed in the following section. Furthermore, the wish of the Council fathers to have an emended version of the Vulgate at their disposition as soon as possible was taken to heart in the Low Countries. Only a few weeks after this decision, the imperial authorities in the Low Countries, the Louvain Faculty of Theology and printer Bartholomew van Grave (Gravius) initiated the project of the so-called *Leuvense Bijbel* (the Louvain Bible). They agreed upon the publication of a revised version of the Vulgate and of both a Dutch and a French translation based upon it. In 1547, the Louvain master John Henten published his critical version of the Latin Vulgate. One year later, in 1548, the Dutch translation of the Vulgate made by Nicolaas van Winghe was published. Finally, in 1550, appeared the French translation of Nicolas de Leuze.²⁵

Another important issue on the agenda of the Council fathers during the first period of the Tridentine Council was the study and the proclamation of the Word of God.²⁶ There was almost a consensus that the ministry of preaching

et contemptum, et ne de cetero quisquam quomodolibet verba Scripturae Sacrae ad haec et similia audeat usurpare, ut omnes huius generis homines, temeratores et violatores verbi Dei, iuris et arbitrii poenis per Episcopos coerceantur." See CCCOGD, vol. 3, 17, l. 213–221.

25 Wim François, "Vernacular Bible Reading and Censorship in Early Sixteenth Century: The Position of the Louvain Theologians," in *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450–1800*, BETL 198, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts and August A. den Hollander (Louvain: University Press/Peeters, 2006), 89–95.

26 For a general overview of the topic of the teaching and preaching of the Bible during the Council of Trent, see Frederick J. McGinness, "An Erasmian Legacy: Ecclesiastes and the Reform of Preaching at Trent," in *Heresy, Culture and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations*, ed. Ronald K. Delph, Michelle M. Fontaine, and John J. Martin (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2006), 93–112; John W. O'Malley, "The Council of Trent: Myths, Misunderstandings, and Misinformation," in *Spirit, Style, Story. Essays Honoring John W. Padberg, S.J.*, ed. Thomas M. Lucas (Chicago, IL: Loyola Press, 2002), 205–226; Andrew Byrne, *El ministerio de la palabra en el concilio de Trento* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1975), 58–92; Antonio Larios, "La reforma de la predicación en Trento (Historia y contenido de un decreto)," *Communio* 6 (1973), 223–283; Pascoe, "The Council of Trent and Bible Study," 18–38; Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2:99–124;

had to be profoundly reformed by improving the preacher's training in Biblical exegesis. In this context, it was necessary to clarify who was allowed to preach, what had to be preached and how often those who were bound to preach, had to preach.

For the discussion of this issue, Trent relied in fact on the results of preceding reform movements. Already in the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, Catholic reform movements had been active in Europe. Particularly in Spain, the movement of biblical humanism, later connected with Erasmus and Northern Erasmianism, had prepared the way for the Tridentine reforms.²⁷ Indeed, the interest of the Council of Trent in Bible-based education stood in a long line of other conciliar statements on the topic. The Fourth²⁸ and the Fifth²⁹ Lateran Councils, in 1215 and 1512–1517 respectively, had already dealt with the issue of teaching and preaching the Bible. When the topic was again put on the conciliar agenda in 1546, the fathers intended to solve this particular problem rather quickly by presenting a reform decree in the Fourth Session of the Council, which would take place on 8 April 1546, but they did not succeed in their intention.³⁰

One of the main problems appeared to be the fact that the Bible was not being properly taught and studied. There were in fact no valid rules for the theological formation of the clergy in the Catholic Church. During the discussions, it became clear that several Council fathers believed that a direct return to the sources, and thus to the text of the Bible itself, was necessary. They emphasized that the approach of biblical humanism would offer a more critical, historical and philological approach to the Bible and they argued that if the clergy were correctly educated in the Bible, then their knowledge would also be spread among the laity. Moreover, they adhered to the humanist ideal of the bishop as head of his diocese and thus as preacher who ought to fulfil this as his main pastoral duty or his *munus praecipuum*. In short, it was beyond doubt that the office of preaching had to be profoundly reformed in order to provide the faithful with a better biblical education.³¹

Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 2:83–103; Rafael Criadó, "El Concilio de Trento y los estudios bíblicos," *Razón y Fe* 131 (1945), 151–187.

27 See in this context Erika Rummel, ed. *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

28 Alberigo and Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2:239–240.

29 Alberigo and Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2:634–637. See also Larios, "La reforma de la predicación en Trento," 234–236.

30 O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 99.

31 Byrne, *El ministerio de la palabra en el concilio de Trento*, 67–68; Larios, "La reforma de la predicación en Trento," 232–234; Pascoe, "The Council of Trent and Bible Study," 22–24;

Eventually, on 17 June 1546, during the Fifth Session of the Council, the decree *Super lectione et praedicatione* or *On Instruction and Preaching* was promulgated.³² This decree was divided into two parts. The first paragraph of the decree, consisting of eight articles, dealt with the question of the institution and the financing of lectureships for the Bible and the liberal arts in order to solve the problem of clerical ignorance. These biblical lectureships had already been established in 1215 by the Fourth Lateran Council, which stipulated that every metropolitan church was to employ a theologian to teach Scripture to priests and others. The Council in fact reaffirmed this decree, but expanded it by adding the cathedral and collegiate churches.³³ Furthermore, it was confirmed that only competent persons were allowed to give explanations and interpretations of the Bible. If it could be conveniently arranged, instruction in the Bible was to take place in the monasteries of monks, in the convents of other regular clergy, in the metropolitan churches and cathedrals, and in public schools. If such lectureships had already been instituted, but then neglected, they had to be restored. Furthermore, no one could be admitted to the office of lecturing without having been previously examined by the bishop and approved as to lifestyle, conversation, and knowledge. O'Malley notes that "the emphasis on the Bible as touchstone for clergy education found favour with the bishops at the council, but was received with reserve by the theologians, who had been trained in Scholasticism and favoured that more systematic program."³⁴

The second paragraph of the decree, also consisting of eight articles, was dedicated to the office of preaching, the main task of the bishops (*praecipuum episcoporum munus*).³⁵ The fathers declared that the preaching of the Gospel was no less necessary to a Christian than the reading thereof. However, if a bishop was unable to fulfil his duty, he had to appoint a competent person as his substitute. Archpriests, ordinary priests, and others who had the control over parochial and other churches, had to teach and preach at least on Sundays

Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, 2:104–105, 123–124; Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trident*, 2: 83, 86–87, 102–103.

32 For the text of the decree, see *CT*, vol. 5, ed. Ehses 241–243; CCCOGL, vol. 3, 20 l. 303–23 l. 431. Both the *CT* and Alberigo and Melloni (ed.) affirm that all printed editions of the decrees only have the heading *Decretum de reformatione* or *Decree on Reform*, with the decree divided into two chapters. For an analysis of the document, see Byrne, *El ministerio de la palabra en el concilio de Trento*, 69–87; Larios, "La reforma de la predicación en Trento," 248–260.

33 Alberigo and Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2:668; Pascoe, "The Council of Trent and Bible Study," 24–25.

34 O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 99.

35 O'Malley, "The Council of Trent," 214–216.

and Feast-days. If they were impeded, they also had to appoint a competent substitute. If they failed to provide teaching, they risked an ecclesiastical or other censure at the discretion of the bishop. In addition, the regulars of any order were bound to strict regulations with regard to preaching. They were not allowed to preach in the churches of their own order unless they had been tested and approved by their own superiors with respect to their life, moral character and knowledge. With that permission in hand, they were bound to come in person before the bishops and ask for their blessing before beginning to preach.³⁶

In short, the Council fathers were aware of the poor state of scriptural knowledge among the clergy and the need to implement the achievements of humanism in biblical studies. They rightly stated that a new and direct focus on the Word of God was necessary. Biblical studies had to be made available in various institutes for training the clergy. Priests and preachers were considered as mediating figures between the people of God and his Word and had to explain it according to the Tradition. The role of the bishop as head of his diocese and as preacher who fulfilled his pastoral duties, or his *munus praecipuum* was clarified.³⁷

2.1.2 *Indices of Forbidden Books in Rome and the Low Countries*

During the first period of the Council in 1546, the Council fathers had remained silent on the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translation. The issue was left to each individual nation, so that they could solve the problem in accord with their own needs. In 1563, however, during the third period of the Council, the debates with regard to vernacular Bible translation were resumed when a commission of prelates and theologians was installed to compose an Index of forbidden books. In a way, this initiative disrupted the conciliar silence with regard to the permissibility of vernacular Bible translation. Due to a lack of time and the inability of the commission to conclude the work, the project was eventually entrusted to Holy See in the Twenty-Fifth (and last) Session of the Council, which took place on 3–4 December 1563.³⁸ As a result, Pope Pius IV published the *Index Tridentinus* on 24 March 1564.³⁹

36 Alberigo and Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2:670.

37 O'Malley, "The Council of Trent," 214–216.

38 O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 245.

39 McNally, "The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bibles," 225–226; Cavallera, "La bible en langue vulgaire au Concile de Trente," 44. For an overview of the Roman position on vernacular Bible reading after Trent, see Adriano Prosperi, "Bibbia," in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. 1, ed. Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia and John A. Tedeschi (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010), 185–187.

This section provides an overview of book censorship in Rome and the Low Countries, focussing on the various Indices of forbidden books that were published during the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ Particular attention will be paid to the so-called *Regula Quarta* of Trent, which has often been considered a landmark in the Catholic Church's position regarding vernacular Bible reading. Indeed, the *Regula Quarta* proved to exert a profound influence on the practice of vernacular Bible reading in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴¹

Although the first Index of prohibited books of the Roman Inquisition was only promulgated in 1559 by Pope Paul IV, the systematic organisation of ecclesiastical censorship had already started at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century by Pope Innocent VIII (t. 1484–1492) and Pope Alexander VI (t. 1492–1503), at the instigation of certain German bishops from the region of Mainz. These bishops had been confronted with works they judged to contain propositions contrary to Catholic faith. The printed word soon proved to be an important vehicle to promote “heretical” ideas. On 17 November 1487, Innocent VIII issued the first papal bull on printing entitled *Inter Multiplices*, stating that no book could be published unless its orthodoxy had been examined by the bishops. This disposition was repeated by Alexander VI in 1501 and reissued by the Fifth Lateran Council in 1515. Pope Leo X (t. 1513–1521) decided at this point to promulgate and extend these measures for the entire Church. Moreover, inquisitors were to help the ordinaries in approving books prior to publication. Confronted with the reformers and their polemic writings, the Catholic Church tried to prevent the printing, selling, possession and reading of works that propagated the new doctrines in order to win back the “heretics” and to reinforce the faith of the remaining Catholics.⁴² In other words, the struggle against Protestantism was largely a struggle against heterodox prints.

On 21 July 1542, Pope Paul III established the Congregation of the Inquisition, which would become the central and permanent institution directed

40 For an overview of the various indices that were published in Rome and the Low Countries during the sixteenth century, see Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, *Indici dei libri proibiti, Cinquecento*, in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, vol. 2, ed. Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia, and John A. Tedeschi (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010), 775–778.

41 See in this regard Agten and François, “The Reception of Trent’s *Regula Quarta* (1564),” 33–60.

42 Gigliola Fragnito, “The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship,” in *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture, ed. Gigliola Fragnito (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 15; Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Francis M. Higman, and James K. Farge, *Index de l'Université de Paris 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556*, Index des livres interdits 1 (Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke. Centre d'études de la Renaissance, 1985), 12–13.

against religious dissent.⁴³ In an edict issued on 12 July 1543, this Congregation was charged with the suppression, censorship and supervision of books, mainly in Rome and Italy. Henceforth, the ordinaries were excluded from the practice of censorship and this decision caused a long-lasting controversy. "Besides inflicting penalties on those who disseminated heretical works," the delegates had "to inspect libraries, printing works and bookshops, private houses, churches and monasteries and to seize and burn any forbidden books that they might find."⁴⁴

In France and the Netherlands, the secular authorities and the universities also took several measures against heretical books. In the Low Countries, emperor Charles v issued various imperial edicts, censoring forbidden vernacular Bible editions and all kinds of books that proclaimed the "new" doctrine.⁴⁵ In 1544, the University of Paris issued an Index of forbidden books, which was reprinted several times, namely in 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, and 1556. This initiative led to a similar one in Louvain. In order to comply with the orders of Charles v and Philip II, the theologians of the University of Louvain published three Indices, respectively in the years 1546, 1550 and 1558.⁴⁶ Although the Louvain theologians must have been familiar with the Parisian Indices, they came up with original work and did not make extensive use of already existing catalogues of forbidden books. Thus, the Louvain Indices of 1546 and 1550 seem to have influenced the later Indices that were to appear on the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁷

The first Index of Louvain appeared 9 May 1546, nearly one month after the Council of Trent had confirmed the authenticity of the Vulgate and had remained silent on the issue of the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translations. This 1546 Index was drafted by the *magistri* of the Faculty of Theology and approved by Charles v. Besides a Latin version, a French and a Dutch translation

43 Thomsett, *Heresy in the Roman Catholic Church*, 194.

44 Fragnito, "The Central and Peripheral Organization," 16.

45 For an overview of these edicts, see François, "Vernacular Bible Reading and Censorship in the Early Sixteenth Century," 79–89.

46 Wim François, "De Leuvense theoloog over de bijbel in de volkstaal. De discussie tussen 1546 en 1564," *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 47, no. 1 (2007), 340–362, here 343–344, 347–348, 354–355; Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Léon-Ernest Halkin, Patrick Pasture, and René Davignon, *Index de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558*, Index des livres interdits 2 (Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke. Centre d'études de la Renaissance, 1986), 34–36.

47 Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, Pasture, and Davignon, *Index de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558*, 59–62; Martínez de Bujanda, Higman, and Farge, *Index de l'Université de Paris 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556*, 14.

of the Index were also printed by Servatius Sassenus (Servaas van Sassen).⁴⁸ The Index censored 42 Dutch Bibles or parts of these Bibles and 6 French Bibles.⁴⁹ Four years later, in 1550, this first version of the Louvain Index was meticulously updated and published simultaneously in three languages by the same Servatius Sassenus.⁵⁰ The section on Bibles and Bible translations was in fact a faithful copy of the 1546 Index with only one addition, a French Bible of Robert Estienne.⁵¹ Finally, in 1558, a third version of the Louvain Index containing an ordinance of Philip II appeared. Again, this trilingual Index, printed by Merten Verhasselt, was a faithful copy of the previous Indices containing one supplement – a Latin edition of the Bible dating from 1557.⁵²

- 48 The Latin version of the 1546 Index was entitled *Edictum Caesareae Maiestatis promulgatum anno salutis m.d.xlvi. Praeterea Catalogus & declaratio librorum reprobatorum a Facultate sacrae Theologiae Lovaniensis Academiae, Iussu & ordinatione praenominatae M.C.* (Louvain, 1546); The French version was entitled *Mandement de l'Imperiale Maiesté donné et publié en l'an XLVI. Avecq Catalogue, Intitulation, ou declaration, de livres reprouvés, faite par Messieurs les Docteurs en sacree Theologie de l'Université de Louvain, a l'ordonnance et commandement de la susdicte Maiesté Imperiale* (Louvain, 1546); The Dutch version was entitled *Mandament der Keyserlijcker Maiesteit wytgegeven int Iaer xlvj. Met Dintitulatie ende declaratie vanden gereprobeerde boecken gheschiet bijden Doctoren inde faculteit van Theologie in Duniversiteit van Loeven: Duer dordonnantie ende bevel der selver K.M* (Louvain, 1546). See Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, Pasture, and Davignon, *Index de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558*, 383–384, 387, 426–426.
- 49 August A. den Hollander, *Verboden bijbels. Bijbelcensuur in de Nederlanden in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA, 2003), 11–21; Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, Pasture, and Davignon, *Index de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558*, 46, 65–67, 106–130, 408–412.
- 50 The Latin version of the 1550 Index was entitled *Catalogi librorum reprobatorum et praelegendorum ex iudicio Academiae Lovanensis, cum edicto Caesareae Maiestatis evulgati* (Louvain, 1550); The French version was entitled: *Les Catalogues des livres reprouvés, et de ceulx que l'on pourra enseigner par l'advis de l'Université de Louvain. Avec l'edict et mandement de la Maiesté Imperiale* (Louvain, 1550); The Dutch version, printed in gothic characters, was entitled *Die Catalogen oft inventarisen vanden quaden verboden boucken, ende van andere goede, diemen den iongen scholieren leeren mach, na advijs der Universiteit van Loeven. Met een edict oft mandement der Keyserlijcker Maiesteit* (Louvain, 1550). See Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, Pasture, and Davignon, *Index de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558*, 384–385, 427, 440–441, 450, 453.
- 51 François, “De Leuvense theologen over de bijbel in de volkstaal,” 347–348; Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, Pasture, and Davignon, *Index de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558*, 294–296.
- 52 François, “De Leuvense theologen over de bijbel in de volkstaal,” 354–355. The Latin version of the Index was entitled *Catalogus librorum reprobatorum et praelegendorum ex iudicio Academiae Lovaniensis, cum edicto Regiae Maiestatis editus* (Louvain, 1558); The French version was entitled *Le Catalogue des livres reprouvés, et des livres que l'on pourra lire aux enfans es escholles particulieres, selon le iugement de l'Université de Louvain. Imprimé par ordonnance de la Magesté Royale* (Louvain, 1558); The Dutch version was

Meanwhile in Rome, the preparations for the first Roman Index intensified from 1555 onwards, stimulated by Pope Paul IV, born Gian Pietro Carafa, who previously had played an important role in setting up the Roman Inquisition, and had been one of the Inquisitors-General. The first Roman Index, also called the Pauline Index, was promulgated in 1559 and was the first Index to be promulgated by the papacy for the entire Church. Moreover, it was the only catalogue to be drafted by the Congregation of the Inquisition.⁵³ According to this Index, extremely severe by all counts, printing, reading or even possessing vernacular Bibles and translations of the New Testament was forbidden, without (the written) permission of the Roman Inquisition.⁵⁴ Caravale states in this context that the 1559 Index "contained the clearest condemnation of reading the Bible in the vernacular to be found in any Index, whether ecclesiastic or civil."⁵⁵ It is therefore not surprising that the Index gave rise to considerable resistance and great concern, mainly because of the indiscriminate and summary nature of the prohibitions as well as the decision to entrust their implementation to the inquisitors alone, thus excluding the bishops.

entitled *Cataloghe ende intutulatie vanden quaden verboden boecken, ende van andere goede, die men den ionghen scholieren leeren mach, na adhyss der Universiteyt van Loeven. Met een edict oft mandement der Conincklijcker Maiesteyt* (Louvain, 1558). See Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, Pasture, and Davignon, *Index de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558, 1564*, 345–346, 385–386, 454, 492, 493.

53 Carafa described the purpose of the Congregation of the Inquisition as follows: "No man must debase himself by showing toleration toward heretics of any kind." The Supreme Sacred Congregation for the Roman and Universal Inquisition or the Congregation of the Inquisition was founded in 1542, but was widely known by the shorter name of Holy Office (*Sanctum Officium*). In 1904, the Congregation was renamed the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office or Holy Office. Since 1965, the Holy Office has been called the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. See Thomsett, *Heresy in the Roman Catholic Church*, 195–197.

54 "Biblia omnia vulgari idiomate, Germanico, Gallico, Hispanico, Italico, Anglico sive Flandrico, etc. conscripta nullatenus vel imprimi vel legi vel teneri possint absque licentia sacri Officii S. Ro. Inquisitionis"; "Novi Testamenti libri vulgari idiomate conscripti sine licentia in scriptis habita ab Officio Sanctae Rom. et universalis Inquisitionis nullatenus vel imprimi vel teneri possint." See Jesús Martínez de Bujanda and René Davignon, *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564: les premiers Index romains et l'Index du Concile de Trente*, Index des livres interdits 8 (Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke. Centre d'études de la Renaissance, 1991), 37–50, 325–331. See furthermore Vittorio Frajese, "Riforma e antiriforma nella storia dei volgarizzamenti biblici," *Studi Storici* 39, no. 1 (1998), 23–40, here 26; Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton: Princeton university press, 1977), 115–127, especially 116–118.

55 Giorgio Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer: Church Censorship and Devotional Literature in Renaissance Italy* (Farnham, Ashgate, 2011), 72, n. 4.

However, the censorial activity of the Pauline Index contained within it a striking contradiction. The radical offensive launched against the vernacular ran the risk of activating the church hierarchies in the opposite direction to that of use and enjoyment of these same traditions, whether local or national. This contradiction was clear to, for example, Ludovico Beccadelli, Archbishop of Ragusa, who [...] appealed in favour of the ‘ancient practice’ of using the vernacular languages, stating it would be very difficult and also highly inappropriate to try to ‘remove’ them [...].⁵⁶

Both the severe character of the Index and the ineffectual organisation of the Congregation of the Inquisition in the distant provinces required the issue of an *Instructio circa Indicem Librorum Prohibitorum* in February 1559. This instruction mitigated the centralising rigor of the Pauline Index and again confirmed, among others, the role of local bishops in book censorship, in particular in places where there were no inquisitors. Moreover, it tried to involve the Jesuits in order to win their support in the confiscation of books.⁵⁷ In spite of these efforts, the Index received no application whatsoever in the Church – let alone in the Church of the Low Countries.

When Pope Paul IV died in August 1559, the validity of the catalogue was put on hold by his successor Pius IV. The new Pope ordered the Inquisitor-General Michele Ghislieri, the later Pope Pius V, and a separate commission to redact a certain *Moderatio Indicis Librorum Prohibitorum*. This *Moderatio*, published in June 1561, restructured the implementation of the Pauline Index in favour of the local bishops and also mitigated its rigor. Furthermore, the document contained an important suggestion for the introduction of the principle of “expurgation” in book censorship. Expurgation meant the removal of passages in books that were deemed offensive, objectionable or unsuitable. This suggestion would eventually be realised in the Tridentine Index of 1564, in this way eliminating the rigidity of the Pauline Index and giving greater consistency to ecclesiastical censorship.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer*, 74.

⁵⁷ Gigliola Fragnito, *Proibito Capire. La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 29–32; Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer*, 71–74; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 75–95; Gigliola Fragnito, “La censura libraria tra congregazione dell’indice, congregazione dell’inquisizione e maestro del sacro palazzo (1571–1596),” in *La censura libraria nell’Europa del secolo XVI*, Libri e biblioteche 5, ed. Uggo Rozzo (Udine: Forum, 1997), 163–164; Martínez de Bujanda and Davignon, *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564*, 46–49.

⁵⁸ Fragnito, *Proibito Capire*, 32–37; Fragnito, “The Central and Peripheral Organization,” 16–17; Fausto Parente, “The Index, the Holy Office, the Condemnation of the Talmud and Publication of Clement VIII’s Index,” *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern*

Pius IV decided to entrust the compilation of the new Index to the Council of Trent that he had reconvened for the third conciliar period on 18 January 1562. To this end, he appointed a committee of bishops, which was presided over by Anton Brus, Archbishop of Prague, to draft the new Index on 26 February 1562.⁵⁹ As a result, the bishops took over the task previously held by the Congregation of the Inquisition, thus side-lining the Inquisition. On 4 December 1563, the commission, which had not been able to bring its work to a conclusion, presented its preparations to the Pope, so that the work could be completed and published. Eventually, on 24 March 1564, only three months after the closing of the Council of Trent, Pius IV promulgated the second universal Roman Index, also called the *Index Tridentinus* or Tridentine Index, through the bull *Dominici Gregis Custodiae*. Parente states that “the main innovation of the Tridentine Index [...] was the creation of a special category of books prohibited only provisionally ‘until they have been expurgated.’”⁶⁰ Besides a revision of the (strict) Pauline catalogue of 1559 – the list containing forbidden Bibles and New Testaments that was to appear in the Index of 1559 was for instance omitted – the new catalogue contained ten general rules composed by a commission, also known as the *Regulae Indicis* or Tridentine rules. These ten rules not only defined the Catholic position with regard to printed books in an exact legislation, but also clarified the norms on the basis of which the catalogue of prohibited books had been composed. In other words, they specified the contours of the Roman book censorship and its main goals, namely preventing the spread of the so-called unacceptable and heretical doctrines. The *Regula Quarta* or Fourth Rule abolished the absolute prohibition on vernacular Bible translations as stipulated in the 1559 Index unless licensed by the Congregation of the Inquisition. Indeed, although the Council fathers were not convinced of the salutary effects of vernacular Bible reading, they accommodated the practice by allowing bishops and inquisitors to issue individual (written) permits on a case by case scenario for the reading of vernacular Bibles.⁶¹

Italy, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture, ed. Gigliola Fragnito (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 167; Martínez de Bujanda and Davignon, *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564*, 51–55. See furthermore Fragnito, “La censura libraria tra congregazione dell’indice, congregazione dell’inquisizione e maestro del sacro palazzo (1571–1596),” 164; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 95–97.

59 For more information on the conciliar debates on the Index and the composition of this committee, see Martínez de Bujanda and Davignon, *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564*, 55–91.

60 Parente, “The Index, the Holy Office, the Condemnation of the Talmud and Publication of Clement VIII’s Index,” 167.

61 Fragnito, “The Central and Peripheral Organization,” 17–18.

Since it is clear from experience that if the Sacred Books are permitted everywhere and without discrimination in the vernacular, there will by reason of the boldness of men arise therefrom more harm than good, the matter is in this respect left to **the judgment of the bishop or inquisitor**, who may with the advice of the pastor or confessor permit the reading of the Sacred Books translated into the vernacular by Catholic authors to those who they know will derive from such reading no harm but rather an increase of faith and piety, **which permission they must have in writing**. Those, however, who presume to read or possess them without such permission may not receive absolution from their sins till they have handed over to the ordinary. Book dealers who sell or in any way supply Bibles written in the vernacular to anyone who has not this permission, shall lose the price of the books, which is to be applied by the bishop to pious purposes, and in keeping with the nature of the crime they shall be subject to other penalties which are left to the judgment of the same bishop. Regulars who have not the permission of their superiors may not read or purchase them (emphasis ours).⁶²

In other words, the *Regula Quarta* authorised the reading of vernacular biblical texts by lay people if they were deemed capable according to the Catholic Tradition and if they had obtained an explicit, individual and written permission. Such individual authorizations were to be granted by the local bishop or his inquisitor, after the advice of the parish priest or the father confessor in all cases where they considered that such reading would increase the piety and the devotion of the faithful. In spite of these formal regulations, however,

62 The Latin text reads as follows: “Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde ob hominum temeritatem detrimenti quam utilitas oriri, **hac in parte iudicio episcopi aut inquisitoris stetur**, ut cum consilio parochi vel confessarii bibliorum a catholicis auctoribus versorum lectionem in vulgari lingua eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex huiusmodi lectione non damnum, sed fidei atque pietatis augmentum capere posse; **quam facultatem in scriptis habeant**. Qui autem absque tali facultate ea legere seu habere praesumpserit, nisi prius bibliis ordinario redditus peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possit. Bibliopolae vero, qui praedictam facultatem non habenti biblia idiomate vulgari conscripta vendiderint vel alio quovis modo concesserint, librorum pretium in usus pios ab episcopo convertendum amittant, aliisque poenis pro delicti qualitate ejusdem episcopi arbitrio subiaceant. Regulares vero non nisi facultate a praelatis suis habita ea legere aut emere possint” (emphasis ours). See Martínez de Bujanda and Davignon, *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564*, 91–94, 816–817. For the English translation, see Henry J. Schroeder, ed., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent: Original Text with English Translation* (St. Louis, MO: Herder Books, 1955), 274–275. See furthermore Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer*, 75; Fragnito, *Proibito Capire*, 37–42; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 98.

Fragnito notes that "the application of the [Tridentine, *sic*] Index was anything but efficacious, given an apparently total absence of central coordination combined with the strenuous endeavours of the bishops to re-assert their authority in the dioceses, and of the inquisitors to suppress heresy."⁶³

In 1568, the *Index Tridentinus* was introduced in the Prince-Bishopric of Liège by way of a reprint by Gualterus Morberius, at the request of Henricus Hovius, the sworn librarian of (then) Prince-bishop Gerard de Groesbeeck (1517–1580).⁶⁴ It was an exact reproduction of the Roman Index, including its ten rules, with only some minor variants in the order and formulation of the condemnations, as well as in the orthography.⁶⁵

Meanwhile in Netherlands, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba and Governor-General, had been charged with the government of this region in the period 1567–1573, replacing Margaret of Parma. His main tasks consisted in restoring order after the turbulent events of the 1566 "Wonder Year", which saw the emergence of Calvinist preachers, the eruption of iconoclastic riots, and the start of a revolt against the Spanish Catholic monarch.⁶⁶ However, Alba also involved himself in the supervision of the implementation of the conciliar decrees in the territory assigned to him. He not only tightened the supervision of the book business in Antwerp by organising (nocturnal) raids on the printing

63 Fragnito, "The Central and Peripheral Organization," 18.

64 The Prince-Bishopric of Liège was ruled by the Bishop of Liège and was a state of the Holy Roman Empire. It was on friendly terms with the Habsburg Low Countries and remained more or less an independent state until its annexation to France in 1795. However, from the sixteenth century onwards, its politics were strongly influenced by the dukes of Burgundy, and later also by the Habsburgs. At that time, Gerard de Groesbeeck was Prince-bishop of Liège (t. 1564–1580). He was not successful in implementing the decrees of the Council of Trent, but succeeded in preventing Protestantism from spreading into the Prince-Bishopric. Groesbeeck was succeeded by Ernest of Bavaria (t. 1581–1612) who was an ardent supporter of the Counter-Reformation. See Bruno Demoulin and Jean-Louis Kupper, *Histoire de la principauté de Liège: de l'an mille à la Révolution* (Toulouse: Privat, 2002), 136–158.

65 The Index was entitled: *Index librorum prohibitorum cum Regulis. Confectis per Patres à Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctiss. D.N. Pii IIII, Pont. Max. comprobatus* (Liège, 1568). On the last page of the Index printer Gualtherus Morberius is mentioned. He printed the work for Henricus Hovius whose name appears on the title page. See Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Léon-Ernest Halkin, and René Davignon, *Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571, Index des livres interdits 7* (Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke. Centre d'études de la Renaissance, 1988), 37–38, 560–561. See also Guido Marnef, "Repressie en censuur in het Antwerps boekbedrijf, 1567–1576," *De zeventiende eeuw* 8 (1992), 221–231, there 224–225.

66 For background information on the relationship between the Spanish Court and the Low Countries, see José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, *Los asuntos de Flandes: las relaciones entre las Cortes de la Monarquía Hispánica y de los Países Bajos durante el siglo XVI* (Saarbrücken: Académica española, 2011), 98–127.

offices, but also aimed at putting together a new catalogue of forbidden books as comprehensive as possible. Therefore, he asked the Spaniard Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598),⁶⁷ member of the Military Order of St. James, and Josse Ravesteyn (1506–1570),⁶⁸ dean of the Louvain Faculty of Theology, to compile an updated Index. Their joint work resulted in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* that was published in 1569 by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp.⁶⁹ The Index contained a royal privilege in favour of Plantin which allowed him the exclusive right to print and sell the Index. In addition, the catalogue included an edict of King Philip II that had been published on 15 February 1569 and in which he ordered the observance of the Index of Pius IV in Flanders. All books that had been condemned and prohibited by the Tridentine Index had to be collected and abolished. This edict had been sent to all the royal councils with the explicit order to publish it. The 1569 catalogue consisted of two parts: on the one hand the interdictions of the Tridentine Index, and on the other a list with additional condemnations meant specifically for the Low Countries, to be used immediately in the book raids of March and April 1569. Also in 1569, a quasi-identical version of this Antwerp Index appeared in Liège by the presses of Gualterus Morberius, again at the request of printer Henricus Hovius who maintained commercial relations with Plantin in the years 1568–1569. According to the title page of the edition, the work was a reprint of the Tridentine Index, supplemented with new prohibitions from the Duke of Alba. However, the striking difference between the two 1569 versions was that the Liège edition contained the aforementioned *Regulae Indicis* on its first eight folios,

67 Montano had been called to Plantin in Antwerp to supervise the edition of the above-mentioned Antwerp Polyglot Bible.

68 Josse Ravesteyn (Jodocus Tiletanus) born in 1506 in Tielt and studied philosophy in Louvain where he graduated in 1525. Next, he studied theology, also in Louvain, under the guidance of Ruard Tapper and Jean Leonardi, also known as Hasselius. On 5 October 1546 he became doctor in theology. In the period 1540–1553, Tiletanus was president of the College of Housterlé. In 1546, he became ordinary professor in the Faculty of Theology and canon of the first rank in the collegiate chapter of St. Peter. In 1545 and 1550, he held the office of rector of the Louvain University. In 1551, Tiletanus was sent to the Council of Trent on the recommendation of Charles V and participated actively in the preparations of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth sessions. In 1557, he was called to the Conference of Worms by Ferdinand I (1503–1564). Four years later, in 1561, he was proposed as a delegate for the Council of Trent, but had to decline because of health problems. Tiletanus died in Louvain in 1570. See Alphonse Roersch, “Ravesteyn (Josse van),” in *BN 18* (Brussels: Bruylant, 1905), 802–806.

69 The Index was entitled *Librorum prohibitorum Index ex Mandato Regiae catholica maiesta et illustriess ducis Albani* (Antwerp, 1569). See Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, and Davignon, *Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571*, 37–38, 44–50, 594–634.

while the Antwerp edition did not.⁷⁰ The fact that the Tridentine rules were not included in the Antwerp version might be an indication that these rules had not been promulgated in the Low Countries.

Since the 1569 Antwerp Index was rather limited, the Duke of Alba decided to order a new catalogue of forbidden books. At the advice of Montano, this time he solicited the help and the collaboration of the bishops of the Low Countries and the universities of Louvain and Douai by asking them to send lists of suspected books. Next, Alba formed a commission of censors, which included, among others, Montano, Ravesteyn and Franciscus Sonnius (1506–1576),⁷¹ to compile the new Index. This Index was published by Plantin in early 1570 for the first time and reprinted in the course of that same year-with the two editions counting respectively 112 pages and 120 pages.⁷² Both versions contained the same lines, but there were some differences with regard to, amongst other things, the pagination. According to Voet, the “112 pp.-edition seems to be somewhat more hurriedly printed than the 120 pp.-edition and may therefore have been the first.”⁷³ The catalogue was preceded by a trilingual edict from Philip II (1527–1598), dated 15 February 1570,⁷⁴ in which the King ordered strict observance of the Tridentine Index in the Low Countries.

70 The Liège Index was entitled *Index Librorum Prohibitorum cum regulis. Confectis per patres a Tridentina synodo delectos. Una cum iis qui mandato regiae majestatis prohibentur* (Liège, 1569). See Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, and Davignon, *Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571*, 37–38, 44–50, 562–570.

71 Franciscus Sonnius studied theology in Louvain and obtained a doctorate in theology in 1539. In 1544, he became professor of theology in Louvain and one year later he was named inquisitor. He attended the Council of Trent twice: in 1547–1549 as an advisor and in 1551–1552 as an envoy of Charles V and the Louvain university. On 8 November 1562, he was ordained the first bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch by the Archbishop of Mechlin, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (t. 1561–1583). Later, in 1569, Sonnius was appointed the first bishop of Antwerp where he resided until his death in 1576. For more biographical information on Sonnius, see Anton van der Lem, *Franciscus Sonnius*; <http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/personen/S/Pages/sonnius.aspx> (accessed on 31 May 2019); Paul Begheyn SJ, “Franciscus Sonnius als inkwisiteur. Een bijdrage tot zijn biografie,” *Bossche Bijdragen. Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch* 30 (1971), 85–154.

72 The Index was entitled *Index librorum prohibitorum cum regylis confectis per patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctiss. D.N. Pij II. Pont. Max. comprobatus. Cum appendice in Belgio, ex mandato Regiae Cathol. Maiestatis confecta* (Antwerp, 1570). See Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, and Davignon, *Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571*, 51–88, 635–710.

73 Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589), A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, vol. 6 (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1983), 1236.

74 Voet suggests that the ordinance was dated 15 February 1569, but that this date was very likely given in “Brabant style” [o.s.] and was meant to be read as 15 February 1570. See Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589)*, 6:1234.

Moreover, all the books prohibited by the 1564 and 1570 Index were to be burned within three months after publication of the ordinance.⁷⁵ The Index was again a copy of the Tridentine Index of 1564, including the bull by Pius IV as well as the ten Tridentine rules, in addition to an appendix containing lists of works in Latin, French, Flemish and Spanish, to be banned in the Low Countries.⁷⁶ As regards vernacular Bibles, the exact same editions were explicitly forbidden as those prohibited since the Index of Louvain of 1546, with a few additions in the Index of 1570, namely Protestant Dutch Bibles printed in Emden, as well as several French Bibles considered to be of questionable orthodoxy, namely the French Bibles of Sebastien Castellion (1555), the Geneva Bible (from 1540 onwards), the Bibles published by Sebastien Honorat (1558) and Jean de Tournes (from 1551 onwards) and the French New Testaments published in Antwerp by Jan Gymnicus (1552) and Willem Sylvius (1566 and 1567).⁷⁷

In addition to this Index, in which the ten Tridentine rules were duly included, King Philip II issued an edict on 19 May 1570 with the aim of regulating the publication and trade of books. Article 27 of this decree referred to the necessary written permission (*par escript*), contained in the *Regula Quarta*. This ordinance, directed at printers, booksellers and schoolteachers, was in line with the edicts that had previously been issued during the reign of Charles V. Philip II explicitly referred to the Tridentine rules and ordered adherence to them.⁷⁸

However, due to numerous questions and remarks concerning the enforcing of the norms and dispositions of the 1570 Index, from censors especially, a revised version of this work soon became urgent. Moreover, the commission

75 Voet, *The Plantin Press* (1555–1589), 6:1234. See also Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 1:406.

76 Fernand Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente dans les Pays-Bas et dans la principauté de Liège*, Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'histoire et de philologie, 2e série, 14 (Louvain: Librairie universitaire, 1929), 140–143.

77 Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, and Davignon, *Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571*, 38–39, 74–77, 251–256, 259–268, 672–673.

78 “Et aussi de non vendre bibles en langues vulgaires, ny aultres livres en icelles langues, traitans de matières de foy controversées, sinon à ceulx qui auront congié par escript, de les pouvoir tenir, selon la rigle dudict saint concille de Trente.” For the text of the decree, see Philip Rombouts, ed., *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin et autres documents se rapportant à la charge du prototypographe*, Uitgave van de vereniging der Antwerpsche bibliophielen 10 (Antwerp, 1881), 59–75, here 70. For an analysis of the content, see Herman A.E. van Gelder, *Vrijheid en onvrijheid in de Republiek: geschiedenis der vrijheid van drukpers en godsdienst van 1572–1798* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Wilink, 1947), 17–19. See also Marnef, *Repressie en censuur*, 226; *Analecta juris pontificii*, Dissertations sur divers sujets de droit canonique, liturgie et théologie 6 (Rome, Librairie de la propagande, 1863), c. 1729.

had stated that several books contained suspicious passages on specific places, but that these books did not have to be suppressed entirely. Therefore, the decision was taken to compile a catalogue of books to be expurgated. The Duke of Alba consequently convened a commission at the explicit order of Philip II, again presided by Montano and Sonnius, to compile a new catalogue of books that were forbidden, pending revision or deletion of the contested parts. The new version of the Index, also called the *Index Expurgatorius*, was printed in July 1571, again by Plantin who in the meantime had received the honorary title of Typographer of the King.⁷⁹ However, according to the ordinance of Philip II contained in the Index and dated 31 July 1571, copies of the Index were not destined to be sold, but instead were to be distributed among censors.⁸⁰ The Index included, besides a French preface entitled *Par le Roy*, only a few of the Tridentine rules, namely the rules 2, 5, 7 and 8—the ones with implications for the expurgation of “heretical” books, but not the notorious *Regula Quarta*.⁸¹

The Antwerp Indices of 1569 and 1570, as well as the *Index Expurgatorius* of 1571, continued the Bible policy as it had been developed in the Low Countries since the first introduction of the Louvain Index in 1546. That is to say, Bible translations characterized by Lutheran-sounding passages or all manner of paratextual elements included in the successive editions of the Index were forbidden, while translations of the Vulgate, devoid of all paratextual elements – and the Dutch and French “Louvain Bible” especially – were allowed.⁸²

The table below provides an overview of the Indices published in the Low Countries in the period 1546 to 1571, their compilers, initiator(s) and the presence or absence of the *Regula Quarta* (RQ) (see table 2).

Meanwhile in Rome, Pope Pius v, born Michele Ghislieri, a former Inquisitor General⁸³ and one of the compilers of the Tridentine Index of 1564, had founded a committee for the revision of the Roman Index in a *motu proprio* on 19 November 1570. Pope Gregory XIII formally and solemnly converted this

79 He received this title on 10 June 1570. See Rombouts, ed., *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas*, 76–78.

80 Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589)*, 6:1238; Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 1:423–424.

81 The Index was entitled: *Index expurgatorius librorum qui hoc seculo prodierunt, vel doctrinae non sanae erroribus inspersis, vel inutilis & offensivae maledicentiae fellibus permixtis, iuxta Sacri Concilii Tridentini Decretum* (Antwerp, 1571). See Marnef, *Repressie en censuur*, 225; Martínez de Bujanda, Halkin, and Davignon, *Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571*, 89–102, 711–834.

82 Agten and François, “The Reception of Trent’s *Regula Quarta* (1564),” 33–37.

83 Thomsett, *Heresy in the Roman Catholic Church*, 197–199.

TABLE 2 Indices of forbidden books in the Low Countries (1546–1571)

Year	Index	Compiler	Initiator(s)	RQ?
1546	<i>Indices of the Louvain University</i>	Theologians from the Louvain Faculty of Theology	King Charles v and King Philip II	
1558				
1568	<i>Index Librorum Prohibitorum cum regulis</i>	[Reprint of the Index Tridentinus]	Henricus Hovius and the Prince-bishop of Liège	Yes
1569	<i>Index Librorum Prohibitorum</i> (Antwerp version)	Benito Arias Montano and Josse Ravesteyn	Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba	No
1569	<i>Index Librorum Prohibitorum cum regulis</i> (Liège version)	Benito Arias Montano and Josse Ravesteyn	Henricus Hovius and the Prince-bishop of Liège	Yes
1570	<i>Index Librorum Prohibitorum</i>	Commission of censors	Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba	Yes
1571	<i>Index Expurgatorius Librorum</i>	Commission of censors	Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba	No

committee into the Roman Congregation of the Index through the bull *Ut Pestiferarum Opinionum* on 13 September 1572. This bull circumscribed the two key tasks of this Congregation, namely the compilation of a new Index on the basis of the explanation, interpretation and much-needed expurgation of the Tridentine Index, and the expurgation of books.⁸⁴ Fragnito states that the creation of this congregation marked “the beginning of the tortuous process of compiling the third Roman Index, which was only promulgated in 1596 after three unsuccessful attempts.”⁸⁵

84 Vittorio Frajese, “La politica dell’indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596),” *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 11 (1998), 269–356, here 270–271. See also Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 114–116.

85 Fragnito, “The Central and Peripheral Organization,” 18.

During the phase of prohibition (1572–1584)⁸⁶ under the guidance of cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, the Congregation of the Index aimed at reinstalling the 1559 Rome-centred rigorist approach concerning Bible reading in the vernacular, which was also held by the Congregation of the Inquisition.⁸⁷ As stated above, the Congregation of the Index had universal jurisdiction in the publication of a new Index and the expurgation of writings, which was much against the wishes of the Congregation of the Inquisition. Therefore, the Inquisition, and also the Master of the Sacred Palace,⁸⁸ simply continued to interfere with the work of the newly founded Congregation by expurgating books, condemning authors and works, and transmitting prohibitions of vernacular biblical books. It came to the point that in 1582 and 1583 several Roman authorities took measures resulting in a quasi-official abolishment of the *Regula Quarta* of Trent, when they prohibited vernacular Bible reading without the explicit authorization of the Inquisition.⁸⁹

The preparations for a new Index had already started in the spring of 1584 but were deferred, probably because of the death of Pope Gregory XIII on 10 April 1585. Under the impulse of Sixtus V (1585–1590), born Felice Peretti da

86 This term has been taken from the contribution of Frajese, see Frajese, "La politica dell'indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596)," 272. For an overview of the term of office of Sirleto, see also Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 111–142.

87 The first resolution accepted by the Congregation of the Index on 5 September 1571 stated that no vernacular Bible could be printed, read or held without the permission of the Holy Congregation of the Inquisition, rescinding this way the stipulation that the Tridentine Index had provided for the local bishops. Next, on 20 April 1572, the vigour of the Pauline Index of 1559 was reinstalled. However, these measures were only gradually implemented throughout Italy. From 1587 onwards, this restrictive attitude was toned down and replaced by a more bishop-friendly approach, as will be demonstrated. See Frajese, "La politica dell'indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596)," 272–276.

88 Next to the Congregation of the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index, the Master of the Sacred Palace or *Maestro del Sacro Palazzo* was the third instance that played an important role in book censorship. Having jurisdiction over Rome and the Roman district on the subject of book printing, the Master had to examine suspected books and prepare lists of forbidden books. See Fragnito, "La censura libraria tra congregazione dell'indice, congregazione dell'inquisizione e maestro del sacro palazzo (1571–1596)," 167; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 125–128.

89 In December 1582 for instance, Cardinal Charles Borromeo promulgated an edict in the diocese of Milan from the Congregation in Rome in which both vernacular Bibles and books on controversies against heretics were forbidden. Sisto Fabbri, the Master of the Sacred Palace, for his part, precised a decision of the Congregation of the Index of 26 January 1583, stating that vernacular Bibles were forbidden, in spite of the existence of the *Regula Quarta* of Trent. See François, "La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula," 265, n. 71; Frajese, "La politica dell'indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596)," 275. See also Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 121–142.

Montalto and a former member of the Congregation of the Index, the preparations were resumed on 8 February 1587 and concluded in the beginning of 1590. Moreover, in 1588, the Pope decided to renew the composition of the Congregation of the Index by installing some prestigious and authoritative cardinals, for instance, Federico Borromeo and William Allen.⁹⁰ These bishops were favourably disposed towards a more pastoral approach. As a consequence, this reorganisation brought a wind of change and marked a new phase in the existence of the Congregation of the Index.⁹¹ At the same time, the attempts of the other offices for book censorship were defeated and the Congregation of the Index became a permanent body within the Catholic Church.

At the end of the sixteenth century, bit by bit tensions arose between the Rome-centred restrictive approach of the Congregation of the Inquisition, based on the severe Index of 1559, and the milder, more bishop-friendly approach of the Congregation of the Index, adopted from 1587 onwards. The conflict caused difficulties for the Pope too and created an impasse, which resulted in the failure to promulgate three consecutive versions of the third Roman Index, which was finally promulgated in 1596 by Clement VIII.⁹²

Pope Sixtus V, known as an advocate of the more restrictive 1559 Index, intended to replace the ten *Regulae Indicis* of Pius IV by 22 new rules, the so-called Sistine rules, which were stricter and more elaborate than the Tridentine rules. With regard to vernacular Bible translations for instance, the *Regula Septima* of the Sistine rules intended to replace the *Regula Quarta* of the Tridentine rules, stating that it was resolutely forbidden to translate the Bible

90 Frajese, "La politica dell'indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596)," 282–284.

91 On 26 February 1587, the Congregation decided to preserve the Tridentine Index of 1564 with its rules and to add an explanatory declaration to it. Moreover, a system of expurgation was elaborated. On 5 March 1587, the task of expurgating books was entrusted to the Congregation of the Index and it was decided that a set rules of expurgation, in imitation of the Tridentine rules, had to be formulated. The decision authority of local bishops and inquisitors on the subject of vernacular Bible reading was also reconfirmed. See Gigliola Fragnito, "Per una geografia delle traduzioni bibliche nell'Europa cattolica (sedicesimo e diciassettesimo secolo)," in *Papes, princes et savants dans l'Europe moderne: Mélanges à la mémoire de Bruno Neveu*, Ecole pratique des hautes études. 4e section: Sciences historiques et philologiques 5; Hautes études médiévales et modernes 90, ed. Jean-Louis Quantin and Jean-Claude Waquet (Genève: Droz, 2007), 58; Frajese, "La politica dell'indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596)," 284–288, 297–298; Frajese, "Riforma e antiriforma nella storia dei volgarizzamenti biblici," 34–38.

92 Elisa Rebellato, *La fabbrica dei divieti. Gli Indici dei libri proibiti da Clemente VIII a Benedetto XIV* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2008), 17–20; Fragnito, *Proibito Capire*, 43–45; Frajese, "La politica dell'indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596)," 312–313; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 194–198; Fragnito, "La censura libraria tra congregazione dell'indice, congregazione dell'inquisizione e maestro del sacro palazzo (1571–1596)," 165–172.

or even parts of the Bible, even if the translation had been compiled by a Catholic author. Moreover, where the Tridentine rules had allowed bishops and inquisitors to authorize the reading of these biblical texts in the vernacular, the Sistine rules reserved this right exclusively to the Holy See. Paraphrases of vernacular Bibles were also condemned. The (forced) passive attitude of the Congregation of the Index in the redaction process was diametrically opposed to the active and preponderant role of the Pope who was determined to do his own will.⁹³

On 20 March 1590, Sixtus v published a papal bull through which he promulgated the Sistine Index, even though this catalogue had not been printed yet. The Index came out on 12 May 1590 and contained additional lists with vernacular book titles as an appendix. In August of that same year, however, the Index was severely criticised by, among others, the Venetian orator Alberto Badoer, who stood up for the interests of the (Venetian) printers and who took, among other things, offence at the prohibition of treatises written by eminent Catholic scholars. Pope Sixtus v died on 27 August 1590 and the Congregation of the Inquisition ordered the immediate suspension of the Sistine Index on 26 September of that same year. Although the catalogue had already been printed and was accompanied by a papal bull of promulgation, it was never promulgated nor distributed in the Catholic world. With regard to the situation in Italy, the Inquisition nevertheless confirmed in 1590 that both Bibles and compendia containing the Gospels and the Epistles in the Italian language were forbidden and had to be burnt.⁹⁴

The Index-project came again to an almost standstill for two years under the Popes Urban VII (t. 1590), Gregory XIV (t. 1590–1591), and Innocent IX (t. 1591), until Clement VIII reconvened the Congregation of the Index on 23 March 1592. On 27 April 1592, the issue of the (Sistine) Index was again put on the agenda. This Index had been suspended by the Inquisition, but not yet revoked. Pope Clement VIII, however, was an advocate of biblical humanism and

93 Fragnito, "La censura libraria tra congregazione dell'indice, congregazione dell'inquisizione e maestro del sacro palazzo (1571–1596)," 169–175; Frajese, "La politica dell'indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596)," 299–304; Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, Ugo Rozzo, Peter G. Bietenholz, and René Davignon, *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596: avec étude des Index de Parme 1580 et Munich 1582, Index des livres interdits* 9 (Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke. Centre d'études de la Renaissance, 1994), 343–344.

94 Martínez de Bujanda, Rozzo, Bietenholz, and Davignon, *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596*, 275–280. See furthermore Frajese, "La politica dell'indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596)," 297–304, 308–312; Fragnito, *La bibbia al rogo*, 143–156; Frajese, "La revoca dell'Index sistino e la curia romana (1588–1596)," *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* 1 (1986), 15–49, here 21.

was therefore opposed to the severe Sistine Index. He entrusted the revision of the Index to the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine, consulter of the Congregation of the Index, and to Bartolomeo Carranza, also called de Miranda, Master of the Sacred Palace. Both men worked under the leadership of Cardinal Agostino Valier, the prefect of the Congregation of the Index. Clement VIII approved the new Index on 17 May 1593. On 8 July the printed work was not only presented to the Pope, but also to the cardinals of the Congregation of the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index. Although the Sistine rules had been replaced again by the Tridentine Rules and additional lists with vernacular book titles, originating from local and national indices, had been added, the new catalogue of forbidden books still corresponded to a large extent to the Sistine Index. It is therefore not surprising that this Index was also called the Sixto-Clementine Index. The following day, 9 July, the Congregation of the Inquisition succeeded in blocking the new Index, mainly because of the omission of certain prohibitions that the Congregation of the Inquisition had enforced, especially during the preceding years, with regard to vernacular Bible reading and the reinstallation of Tridentine Rules. In addition, the bishops received a central role in the process of censuring and expurgating books to the detriment of the inquisitors. The Pope therefore felt forced to suspend the promulgation of the Index pending a more thorough examination.⁹⁵

During the following months, the issue was discussed, mainly by the Pope and the Congregation of the Index. In addition, the Venetian orator Paolo Paruta was invited to give his views on the new catalogue, and he affirmed the criticisms that had already been expressed. Paruta's main objection was that the new Index was so strict that it risked to cause the rejection of the papacy in the Venetian circles of printers, readers and scholars. After his talk with Paruta, the Pope too expressed his reticence vis-à-vis the new Index, and he proposed to open a discussion with the Congregation of the Index. The objections against the Sixto-Clementine Index were gathered and transmitted to the Congregation of the Index. In the end, Clement VIII decided to revoke the Index in order to modify it meticulously, especially with regard to the list of works in the

95 The order read as follows: "ex ordine Sanctissimi commissum fuit ut nullatenus Index divulgaretur quousque, quibusdam consideratis, publicari possit annuente Summo Pontifice" (Fragno, *La bibbia al rogo*, 160, n. 73). Although the minutes do not make any mention of the topic, Fragnito believes it very likely that this decision has been suggested by the Congregation of the Inquisition after going through the new Index: "Pur se i verballi tacciono in proposito, è legittimo ipotizzare che a bloccare la promulgazione fosse stato il Sant'Ufficio, dopo avere preso vision dell'indice." See Fragnito, *La bibbia al rogo*, 160–161. See also François, "La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula," 267.

vernacular. This time, again, a catalogue of forbidden books had been printed, discussed and revoked before issuing it to the faithful.⁹⁶

After the revocation of the 1593 Index, the Congregation of the Index resumed its work in the autumn of 1594. On 20 February 1596, the new Index was approved by Clement VIII on the basis of conversations of others and his own will.⁹⁷ On 8 March 1596, the secretary of the Congregation of the Index received a signed copy of the new Index with the papal permission to publish it. On 27 March 1596, the new so-called Clementine Index was promulgated and distributed among the Congregation of the Index, the papal nuncios and the inquisitors. The Congregation of the Inquisition, however, only received a copy of this Index on 7 April. That same day, the Inquisition, in the person of its prefect Giulio Antonio Santori, managed to suspend the Index, side-stepping not only the powers of Pope Clement VIII and but also imposing its intransigent line on the Congregation of the Index. Eventually, Clement VIII blocked the Index on 13 April 1596. The main cause for this suspension was, like three years before, the fact that a series of so-called omissions in the Index conflicted with the decrees of the Inquisition, in particular those with regard to Bible translations in the vernacular.⁹⁸ Fragnito states in this regard, that

in favour of the supervised distribution of the latter [Bible translations in the vernacular, *sic*], the Congregation of the Index, with papal support, had reinstated rule IV of the Tridentine Index to replace the prohibition imposed by the 1559 Index, reiterated and extended by the Holy Office from the 1570s onwards.⁹⁹

Urged by the Inquisition, substantial changes had to be made to the already promulgated catalogue, which was in fact a faithful copy of the Tridentine Index, by adding an *Instructio* of eighteen paragraphs to the Tridentine rules, containing detailed observations and strict guidelines on the prohibition

96 Frajese, "La politica dell'indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596)," 314–324; Fragnito, *La bibbia al rogo*, 156–171; Martínez de Bujanda, Rozzo, Bietenholz, and Davignon, *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596*, 280–286.

97 "Index iuxta censuras toties factas, recognitus et approbatus, tandem impressus, rursus s.d.n. traditus fuit, a quo lectus fuit, aliisque traditus ad legendum, et quibusdam immutatis, ex aliorum relatione et propria voluntate tandem illum approbavit." See Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 175, n. 16.

98 François, "La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula," 267; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 173–178; Fragnito, "La censura libraria tra congregazione dell'indice, congregazione dell'inquisizione e maestro del sacro palazzo (1571–1596)," 171–172.

99 Fragnito, "The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship," 19.

(*De prohibitione librorum*), the expurgation (*De correctione librorum*) and the printing of books (*De impressione librorum*). These new rules amplified, clarified or reiterated the old inquisitorial prescriptions. Furthermore, observations concerning the Fourth and Ninth rule of Trent and other Tridentine dispositions were added. The *Observatio circa regulam quartam* meant a return to the “1559 model”, restricting Trent’s fourth rule in the sense that reading of vernacular Bibles could no longer be permitted by local bishops or their inquisitors, but only by the Roman congregation of the Holy Inquisition, as was the case in Italy for over a quarter of a century.¹⁰⁰ This stipulation turned out to be a *de facto* prohibition of vernacular Bible reading. Finally, the third Roman Index or Clementine Index was promulgated on 17 May 1596.¹⁰¹

It is not surprising that the Congregation of the Inquisition and the Congregation of the Index were diametrically opposed. First, instead of offering a central and coherent program, coordinated by Rome, the system of book control and censorship was still an arbitrary system, often depending of local circumstances and the zeal of individual inquisitors. In addition, the Congregation of the Index had restricted the role of the local inquisitions to the mere expurgation of books and, in this way, had reduced significantly the influence and grip of the central Inquisition on the circulation of books in Italy. At the same time, the Congregation of the Index was determined to take the place of the Inquisition in implementing the new Index by reducing the role of the local inquisitions in the control of the printing press.¹⁰²

The table provides an overview of the Roman Indices published in the period 1559 to 1596, their compilers, initiator and the regulations regarding vernacular Bible reading (see table 3).

100 The local bishops and inquisitors had no longer the right “to allow the buying, reading or possession of vernacular versions of the Old and the New Testament by individual lay people requesting that favor.” Moreover, the *Observatio* “extended the prohibition to summaries and compendiums containing historical matter taken from Scripture.” See François, “The Catholic Church and Vernacular Bible Reading,” 27; François, “La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula,” 268. See also Martínez de Bujanda, Rozzo, Bietenholz, and Davignon, *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596*, 346, 929.

101 François, “La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula,” 268; Fragnito, “Per una geografia delle traduzioni bibliche nell’Europa cattolica,” 58; Frajese, “La politica dell’indice dal tridentino al clementino (1571–1596),” 324–345; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 179–193; Martínez de Bujanda, Rozzo, Bietenholz, and Davignon, *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596*, 346, 929. For more information on the various drafts of the *Observatio*, see Parente, “The Index, the Holy Office, the Condemnation of the Talmud and Publication of Clement VIII’s Index,” 190–193.

102 Fragnito, “The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship,” 20–21.

TABLE 3 Roman Indices of forbidden books (1559–1576)

Year	Index	Compiler	Initiator	Vernacular Bibles?
1559	<i>The Pauline Index</i> (The first universal Roman Index)	Congregation of the Inquisition	Paul IV	Forbidden unless the (written) permission of the Inquisition
1564	<i>The Tridentine Index with the ten Tridentine rules</i> (The second universal Roman Index)	A committee of bishops appointed by the Council of Trent	Pius IV	Forbidden unless the (written) permission of the bishop or inquisitor (<i>Regula Quarta</i>)
1590	<i>The Sistine Index with the twenty-two Sistine rules</i> ¹⁰³	[Congregation of the Index]	Sixtus V	Forbidden unless the (written) permission of the Holy See (<i>Regula Septima</i>)
1593	<i>The Sixto-Clementine Index with the ten Tridentine Rules</i> ¹⁰⁴	Congregation of the Index	Clement VIII	Forbidden unless the (written) permission of the bishop or inquisitor (<i>Regula Quarta</i>)
1596	<i>The Clementine Index</i> ¹⁰⁵ <i>with the ten Tridentine rules</i> (The third universal Roman Index)	Congregation of the Index Congregation of the Inquisition	Clement VIII	Forbidden unless the (written) permission of the bishop or inquisitor (<i>Regula Quarta</i>) Forbidden unless the (written) permission of the Inquisition (<i>Observatio circa regulam quartam</i>)

¹⁰³ Suspended by the Congregation of the Inquisition on 26 September 1590.

¹⁰⁴ Blocked by the Congregation of the Inquisition on 9 July 1593 and suspended by Clement VIII.

¹⁰⁵ First promulgation on 27 March 1596 but blocked by the Congregation of the Inquisition on 7 April 1596. Second and final promulgation on 17 May 1596.

Rome distributed copies of the 1596 Clementine Index in Catholic Europe.¹⁰⁶ Rebellato mentions 23 reprints in France, 24 reprints in Germany (of which, 21 were released in Cologne), four in the Netherlands (of which, two were given in Antwerp, and two in Liège), three in Poland, one in Portugal and one in the Czech Republic.¹⁰⁷ However, this catalogue of forbidden books did not have the same impact in all parts of Europe, as Fragnito demonstrates in her contribution. In fact, the third Roman Index only had limited impact in the Low Countries. In the West-European countries situated north of the Alps where Catholics lived next to “Bible-centered” Protestants on a daily basis, the decision to deprive the faithful from the Bible was considered very harmful. Giovanni della Torre, the nuncio in Switzerland, in this regard pointed not only at the necessity for the faithful to have vernacular Bible translations at their disposal, but also argued in favour of an approved and untarnished version of the Bible with useful annotations. Thanks to the explicit support of Clement VIII, who described the problem as a *gravissimum negotium*, the issue was put on the agenda of the Congregation of the Index on 14 December 1602 and resulted in a more general dispensation for the concerned countries. Indeed, in 1603–1604, Clement VIII offered a dispensation so that Catholics who had to live together with “heretics” in pluri-confessional countries, due to the stipulations of civil law (*in regionibus ubi impune haeretici versantur cum catholicis*), were granted the right to read the Bible in the vernacular.

This decision implied that Catholics in these countries were not subject to the *Observatio*, but to Trent’s *Regula Quarta* itself. In addition, vernacular Bibles were considered to be an efficient means in the struggle against the widely circulating Protestant translations. The particular dispensation applied to Catholics living in Switzerland, Flanders, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Poland, and even in France and the Germanic countries, notwithstanding the old prescriptions of civil or ecclesiastical authorities that forbade vernacular Bibles in these countries. In addition, the cardinals indicated the need for new translations on the basis of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate of 1590–1592 in France and Germany, where theologians of the Universities of Paris and Freiburg respectively were put to work. In November 1603, the Pope approved the decision of dispensation of the Congregation of the Index and some ten months later, it was

¹⁰⁶ This paragraph is based on Fragnito, “Per una geografia delle traduzioni bibliche nell’Europa cattolica,” 59–77. See also in this regard François, “La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula,” 268–272; Rebellato, *La fabbrica dei divieti*, 20–27; Fragnito, “The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship,” 13–49; Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 199–226.

¹⁰⁷ Rebellato, *La fabbrica dei divieti*, 27.

communicated to the nuncios. Finally, on 31 July 1604, the decision was made public in a general consistory.¹⁰⁸

In a letter addressed to the Congregation of the Index on 11 October 1603, the papal nuncio Ottavio Mirto Frangipani had already discussed the impossibility to promulgate the 1596 Index in Flanders. In addition, caution was needed in this regard because the citizens could think that the Inquisition, looking for books, intended to examine their conscience, which they really disapproved. Moreover, it would be offensive towards the King, who was resolute to make an end to the war, and who did not want to oblige his citizens to obey the Church in this matter because it might disturb his meticulously wrought plans.¹⁰⁹

The Congregation of the Inquisition seems to have accepted the *fait accompli*, since it decreed at a meeting on 25 April 1608 that "the 'abuse' of Bible translations in the vernacular should also be tolerated in Flanders – probably the entire Low Countries are meant here – since it was stated that the 'abuse' was already wide-spread there and that the presence of heretics in the country demanded such toleration."¹¹⁰ In other words, the Roman authorities seem to have conceded permission to read the vernacular Bible to the Catholics of the countries situated north of the Alps in order to protect Catholic faith and doctrine against the Protestant attacks and threats. Catholics in the pluri-confessional countries France and on the British Isles were also allowed to read vernacular Bible. However, this open attitude of Rome towards vernacular Bibles applied only to these pluri-confessional contexts and it should not be viewed as a unilateral permission to read the Bible in the vernacular, but rather as a return to the system imposed by the *Regula Quarta* of the Tridentine Index. In mono-confessional countries like Italy, or Spain and Portugal, where the

108 "Quod in Regionibus ubi impune haeretici versantur cum Catholicis permittatur Sacra Biblia in eorum vulgari lingua, procurando quod fidelem et catholicam habeant versionem." See Fragnito, "Per una geografia delle traduzioni bibliche nell'Europa cattolica," 71.

109 "Spiega che l'indice non è stato promulgato per prudenza atteso che l'indice non se potrebbe hoggi di eseguir in questi stati n'i libri che sono d'i privati nelle lor case, et ciò per il sospetto del nome, che se gli daria d'inquisitione nel cercarse et investigarse le coscienze loro con la notitia d'i lor libri, cosa molto odiosa a questi popoli, et offensiva a queste Ser.me Maestà quali altro non bramando ch'il fine di cosi lunga guerra con ridur'i loro ribelli all'ubbedienza di Santa Chiesa et conseguentemente sott'il loro dominio, come loro Principi naturali, impederiano l'esecutione de qual si voglia ordini, che le sturbassero il pensiero grave, che ne teneno." I would like to thank prof. Gigliola Fragnito for providing me with this information. See also Fragnito, "Per una geografia delle traduzioni bibliche nell'Europa cattolica," 63, n. 32.

110 François, "The Catholic Church and Vernacular Bible Reading," 32. See also François, "La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula," 271–272; Fragnito, "Per una geografia delle traduzioni bibliche nell'Europa cattolica," 71, n. 59.

Inquisition was successful, Bible translations remained inaccessible for the faithful. In other words, as Fragnito states, in certain countries of “divided” Europe (*Europa “divisa”*) vernacular Bible translations did circulate with the consent of Rome at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.¹¹¹

2.1.3 *The Promulgation of the Regula Quarta through Provincial Councils and Diocesan Synods in the Low Countries*

It is after all to be debated whether the Low Countries conformed to the *Regulae Indicis*, and more particularly to the *Regula Quarta* on Bible reading in the vernacular. The question is all the more pregnant given that the *Regula Quarta* does not appear in the Indices that were printed in the Habsburg Low Countries in the wake of the Tridentine Index. Only the 1570 edict of Philip II made an overt reference to this rule. The two catalogues of forbidden books that were printed in Liège in 1568 and 1569 did, however, contain the *Regula Quarta*. The situation may grow more complicated when one considers that the three Roman Indices appearing after the *Index Tridentinus* restricted the *Regula Quarta* even more and consequently made it rather difficult to read vernacular Bibles. The 1590 Index replaced the ten Tridentine rules by 22 stricter, more elaborate rules. The *Regula Septima* reserved the right to read the Bible exclusively to the Holy See. The ten Tridentine rules were included again in the 1593 Index but this Index was not promulgated. Finally, the *Observatio circa quartam regulam* contained in the 1596 Clementine Index affirmed the primacy of the Roman Inquisition on the subject of vernacular Bible reading to the detriment of the ordinaries. However, in the Low Countries, these more rigid Roman Indices had hardly any impact since Catholics here had been granted the right to read the Bible in the vernacular in 1603, thanks to the abovementioned dispensation of Pope Clement VIII.

It should be noted from the outset that the promulgation of the edicts of Trent in the Low Countries immediately after the Council was a long process. Trent had again made the bishops preeminently responsible for doctrinal orthodoxy and reform of the Church in their dioceses. It therefore required Archbishops and bishops to organize provincial councils and diocesan synods, and to undertake episcopal visitations to implement the conciliar decrees in local churches. Councils, synods and visitations were in fact important instruments in maintaining episcopal control over ecclesiastical affairs. However, this

111 François, “The Catholic Church and Vernacular Bible Reading,” 32. See also François, *La Iglesia Católica y la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula*, 271–272; Fragnito, “Per una geografia delle traduzioni bibliche nell’Europa cattolica,” 71.

proved at first to be impossible in large parts of the Low Countries, not only because of the revolt against the Spanish King and the rise of Protestantism, but also because the reorganization of the dioceses and the nomination of the new bishops, decreed on 12 May 1559 in the papal bull *Super Universas*, only happened gradually.

This section focuses on the promulgation of the *Regula Quarta* in the Low Countries by analysing the decrees of the provincial councils and diocesan synods that were held in the three new ecclesiastical provinces Cambrai, Mechlin and Utrecht, and in the Prince-Bishopric of Liège. It will attempt to show that the promulgation first took off in the southern French-speaking province of Cambrai, which had not been affected much by the revolt. Later, the province of Mechlin followed, but it became nearly impossible to promulgate the *Regula Quarta* in the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht in the North, precisely because of the Revolt and the successful rise of Protestantism.¹¹² Likewise, no reference was made to the *Regula Quarta* in the (few) synods that were organized the Prince-Bishopric of Liège.

2.1.3.1 Cambrai

Maximilian de Berghes, Archbishop of Cambrai from 1559 until 1570, convoked the first provincial council in Cambrai in the summer of 1565, which became the first in the Low Countries to accept the Tridentine regulations. The present ecclesiastical dignitaries proposed to observe the decrees of Trent meticulously, and to take the necessary measures to do so, in spite of the resistance of some chapters who wanted to keep their privileges. With regard to suspected and prohibited books, printers and book sellers were forbidden to publish or sell books that had not been approved by the Tridentine Index. Moreover, they had to pronounce the Tridentine Profession of Faith contained in the bull *In-iunctum Nobis* of 13 November 1564, issued by Pius IV,¹¹³ and they had to renew this profession every year while at the same promising obedience to the Holy See and renouncing heresies. In addition, the provincial council ordered that all books on superstition, magic and other deceits had to be collected and

¹¹² See in this regard Agten and François, "The Reception of Trent's *Regula Quarta* (1564)," 7–12.

¹¹³ For the text of the profession, see appendix 3 or DH, 994–1000. This profession was also known as the *Forma professionis fidei Catholicae* or *orthodoxae fidei*. It was prepared by a commission of cardinals under the direction of Pius IV in 1564. The profession summarized the specific doctrines of the Roman Church as settled by the Council of Trent and there were put in the form of a binding oath of obedience to the Pope in twelve articles. See Hubert Kirchner, "Creed of Pius IV," in *Encyclopedia of Christianity Online*; http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2211-2685_eco_C1473 (last accessed 31 May 2019).

destroyed. Finally, the participants asked for the support of the magistrates to assure strict observance of the Index of Trent.¹¹⁴

Two years later, in the spring of 1567, De Berghes organized a diocesan synod in his own diocese of Cambrai. He prepared a special decree prohibiting the reading and keeping of heretical books (or books suspected of heresies), and of books forbidden by public edicts or other prohibitions under severe penalties.¹¹⁵ During the first diocesan synod of Namur under the guidance of bishop Antoine Havet (t. 1561–1578), which took place in 1570, both the Council of Trent and the decisions made during the provincial council of Cambrai of 1565 were accepted.¹¹⁶ In 1583, Jean Six, bishop of Saint-Omer from 1581 until 1586, organized a diocesan synod. The bishop implemented a decree on prohibited books and stated that the Tridentine Index and its rules had to be followed meticulously. However, the decree did not contain a direct reference to the *Regula Quarta*. Book sellers had not only to appeal to secular magistrates for approbation of books, but also to the bishop himself. Moreover, they had to present their catalogue of books in order to have it signed.¹¹⁷

The second provincial council of Cambrai took place in the fall of 1586 and was presided by Louis de Berlaymont, Archbishop of Cambrai from 1570 until 1596, and by Giovanni Francesco Bonomi, apostolic nuncio of Cologne and bishop of Vercelli (Italy).¹¹⁸ Several decrees with regard to the implementation of the Index were issued. First, preachers, confessors, ordinaries, professors,

114 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 156–166; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1728–1729; Josephus Hartzheim and Johann Friedrich Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, vol. 7 (Keulen, 1767), 99.

115 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 166–177, here 175; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1730–1731; Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:215–229, here 228.

116 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 181–183, here 183; Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:632–646, here 633.

117 “Ut nihil librorum vel scripturarum vendant, aut in tabernis suis habeant Bibliopolae, aut adferant circumforanei, quod non sit a Nobis, aut Deputatis nostris visitatum et admissum juxta Regulas Catalogi librorum prohibitorum.” See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:913–971, here 958. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1731–1732.

118 Giovanni Francesco Bonomi had proved to be a successful reformer in his own diocese and had been sent to the Low Countries by the Pope to instigate the catholic reform and the implementation of the Tridentine decrees. For biographic information on Bonomi, see Antoine Gabriel de Becdelièvre, *Biographie liégeoise ou Précis historique et chronologique de toutes les personnes qui se sont rendues célèbres par leurs talens, leurs vertus ou leurs actions, dans l'ancien Diocèse et Pays de Liège, les Duchés de Limbourg et de Bouillon, le pays de Stavelot, et la ville de Maestricht; depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 1 (Liège: Jeunehomme, 1836), 273–275; Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 184–190, particularly 184–186.

school teachers, printers, book sellers and all who worked in the book commerce, both men and women, were obliged to pronounce the Tridentine Profession of Faith according to the formula of Pius IV. The present prelates also addressed the question to Philip II of Spain, whether this oath could be made obligatory for all magistrates and those who held a public office, for instance in towns and villages. The King agreed whole-heartedly to this demand. Second, only sworn printers and book sellers could print or sell books. Others were forbidden to do so under penalties stipulated by the Tridentine Council. The Council of Cambrai explicitly decreed full obedience to the *Regula Quarta* of the Tridentine Index by requesting the permission of the bishop to read vernacular Bibles.¹¹⁹ This was the first overt mention of the *Regula Quarta* in the ecclesiastical province of Cambrai. Moreover, schools were not allowed to make use of books listed on the Tridentine Index.¹²⁰ The Spanish governor issued an edict for the execution of the decrees of this second provincial council, in which he pointed to the obligatory character of the *Professio Fidei Tridentina* according to the formula of Pius IV, both in its full and abbreviated form.¹²¹

From this moment onwards, references to the *Regula Quarta* continued to appear in the stipulations of the various diocesan synods on a regular basis, as well as during the seventeenth century, as shown in table 4.¹²² In the years 1589 and 1600, respectively, two diocesan synods were organized in the diocese of Tournai. The synod of 1589 urged an exact observance of the Tridentine Index. In addition, the stipulations of the two provincial councils of Cambrai were recalled to mind. It was also observed that, notwithstanding the measures taken by the Pope and the provincial council of Cambrai, several people continued to read vernacular Bibles without the permission required by the *Regula Quarta*.¹²³ In order to facilitate the request for permission, Jean Vendeville,

119 "Non permittantur cuivis de populo libri Scripturae Sacrae lingua vernacula, contra quartam regulam Indicis librorum prohibitorum, nisi de licentia episcoporum, aut deputatorum ab eis." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:995–1031, here 998. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1732–1734.

120 "In scholis nulli libri praelegantur, qui in Indice librorum prohibitorum continentur, item nec ii, qui aliquid turpe aut abscaenum continent." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:995–1031, here 1023. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1733.

121 For the text of this placard, see Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:1031–1035.

122 See p. 105.

123 "Cum multi etiam Catholici contra prohibitionem Summi Pontificis, & II. Synodi prov. non sine magno animae suae periculo legant libros Scripturae Sacrae lingu vernacula, non obtenta hoc faciendi potestate: de eo moneant Pastores suos parochianos, eosque valde hortentur, ne deinceps id faciant, & ut, qui fecerunt, de eo poenitentiam agant." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:1039.

bishop in the period 1586–1592, appointed collaborators in Tournai, Lille and Courtrai to grant permission to read the Bible in accordance with the *Regula Quarta*. Moreover, these delegates had to make sure that no other translations were used than those approved by the Faculty of Theology of Louvain or that of Douai.¹²⁴ Both book sellers and printers had to pronounce the Tridentine Profession of Faith, as prescribed by the provincial council of Cambrai. Finally, pastors and priests had to summon their parishioners to disclose any forbidden or suspected books they possessed.

The synod of 1600 renewed these dispositions in almost the same wordings, the only difference being that one had to conform not only to the Tridentine Index and the stipulations of the two provincial councils of Cambrai, but also to the appendix to the *Index Expurgatorius* of 1571 published by order of Spanish government. Furthermore, the dispositions on vernacular Bibles were renewed and Michel D'Esne, bishop of Tournai in the period 1592–1614, ordered the observance of the *Regula Quarta* concerning vernacular Bible reading and *Regula Sexta* of Trent concerning controversy books in the vernacular.¹²⁵

The Index of Trent and its stipulations continued to be observed in the diocese of Cambrai, as can be deduced from the acts of the diocesan synod of Cambrai held in October 1604. It was stated that all book sellers were to possess an Index of forbidden books and that they were not allowed to sell partial or complete versions of vernacular Bibles, without having obtained written permission from the bishop or his commissioners.¹²⁶ Also in October 1604, the

124 "Ut autem facilius eam facultatem impetrent omnes illi, quibus sine periculo concedi potest, ad eam facultatem concedendam deputamus Tornaci Vicarium nostrum Generalem & D. Doct. Colbry; Insulis & Cortraci Decanos Christianitatis, qui tamen in ea concedenda observent formam praescriptam a Summo Pont. in iv. regula indicis libror. prohibitorum, & non permittant eis uti alia versione, quam approbata per Facultatem Theologicam Universitatis Lovaniensis, vel Duacensis." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:1039.

125 "De libris prohibitis diligenter observentur quae constituta sunt in utraque Synodo Cameracensi et Indice librorum prohibitorum a Pio IV comprobato, una cum appendice adjuncta." [...] "Et in venia concedenda observabitur forma praescripta a Summo Pontifice in iv Regula Indicis librorum prohibitorum, et non permittant eis, alia versione uti, quam approbata; idem fiat de libris, qui tractant de controversiis, juxta regulam vi Indicis librorum prohibitorum, et caput illud populo Pastores publicent singulis annis circa festa Paschalia et Nativitatis Domini." See Josephus Hartzheim and Johann Friedrich Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, vol. 8 (Keulen, 1769), 474–497, here 476; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1734–1735.

126 "Eisdem prohibemus, ne deinceps biblia vernaculae, aut eorum partem aliquam vendant, nisi emptores eam legendi potestatem sibi a nobis, aut vicariis nostris datam in scriptis exhibeant." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 8:582–602, here 589. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1734.

diocesan synod of Namur renewed the stipulations of the second provincial council of Cambrai concerning the Profession of Faith and the oath that printers had to pronounce and through which they promised not to import or distribute forbidden books. Moreover, deans and priests were asked to supervise the book sellers and to prevent them from selling books that were not contained in the catalogue approved by the bishop or one of his commissioners.¹²⁷

During the 1617 diocesan synod of Cambrai, it was stipulated that the decrees of Trent and of previous councils and synods had to be fully obeyed by the pastors. Every pastor had to show up a copy containing the decrees of Trent and those of the provincial councils and the diocesan synods of Cambrai with his first name and last name written on the first page at the moment of his next visit to the dean as a sign that he actually possessed the book.¹²⁸

The third provincial council of Cambrai, held in 1631, once again confirmed the fact that the Index of Trent and its stipulations continued to be observed. Five decrees dealt with forbidden books. Every year, printers and book sellers had to renew the Profession of Faith. Moreover, they were obliged to purchase a copy of the Index of forbidden books and they had to know which books had been condemned by the new decrees. Only books approved by the ordinary or his censor could be printed or sold by sworn printers and book sellers. In addition, even the catalogue of every book seller had to be approved by the ecclesiastical authority. The *Regula Quarta* of Trent had to be strictly observed. Pastors were asked to repeat to their faithful that those who read or kept a vernacular Bible without the necessary permission could not receive absolution from their sins, as stated in the *Regula Quarta*. Finally, they also had to inform the bishop of every person who possessed forbidden books and writings.¹²⁹

Eight years after the last provincial council of Cambrai, the diocesan synod of Namur of 1639 confirmed some of its important dispositions, for instance the obligatory Profession of Faith for printers and book sellers, and the

127 Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 8:602–634, here 608–609; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1736.

128 "Singuli Pastorum in proxima visitatione Decani, exhibebunt ei Concilia Tridentinum, utrumque Provinciale, & novissimum Dioecesanum Cameracense, cum proprii nominis & cognominis adscriptione in prima pagina." See Josephus Hartzheim and Johann Friedrich Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, vol. 9 (Keulen, 1771), 283–285, here 284.

129 "Regula quarta Indicis librorum prohibitorum salubriter statuit, ut nemini absque legitima licentia episcopi, vel inquisitoris, sacra Biblia in lingua vulgari legere, seu habere liceat, et aliter ea legere, seu habere praesumens, peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possit, nisi prius Bibliis Ordinario redditis: utque hoc statutum exactius observetur, pastores et alii concionatores crebro insinuent." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:537–569, here 539. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1742–1743.

observance of the *Regula Quarta*. A new element was the observation of the *Regula Decima* that dealt with books left behind by deceased people.¹³⁰

One year later, in 1640, a diocesan synod took place at Saint-Omer. In conformity with the council of Cambrai, it was repeated that printers and book sellers had to pronounce both the Profession of Faith and an additional oath that forbade the import and distribution of forbidden books. Only sworn printers and book sellers were allowed to print or sell books and their catalogue had to be approved by the bishop. Pastors had to warn their faithful of the dangers of frequenting heretics and of reading their books and they had to mention the possible canonical penalties. The *Regula Quarta* had to be observed without any exception: copies of vernacular Bibles could not be sold to persons who did not hold the written permission of the bishop. The faithful also had to comply with the *Regula Decima* dealing with the books of deceased people.¹³¹

In 1659, during the diocesan synod of Namur under the guidance of bishop Joannes Wachtendonck, the regulations concerning the observance of the Index of Trent were tightened up and confessors no longer had the power to authorize vernacular Bible reading. The bishop ordered that all the granted permissions, even those by the Holy See, had to be presented to him within three months under the penalty of a revocation of the permission or similar penalties.¹³² Furthermore, the decrees of this diocesan synod provided a fairly complete list of all the edicts that had been published by the government against bad books in the period 1526–1616.¹³³ In spite of these measures, Wachtendonck appears to have given his approbation to the so-called *Nouveau Testament de Mons* in October 1666, which will be discussed in the second part of this chapter. Starting from this period, the atmosphere surrounding the

130 "Nemo retineat penes se libros suspectos, minusque eos legat; quemadmodum neque Biblia vernacula lingua, absque nostra licentia in scriptis obtenta." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:571–602, here 572. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1743.

131 "Inculcent saepius regulam quartam Indicis librorum prohibitorum, qua vetatur lectio aut detentio biblicorum lingua vernacula, nisi de licentia episcoporum, vel ab eis deputatorum." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:779–822, here 781. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1744–1745.

132 "Audito quod diversae personae seculares praesumant legere Biblia, etiam lingua vernacula sub praetextu facultatis sibi consessae a confessariis suis contra inhibitionem nostram, nos declaramus tales confessarios illam a se facultatem non habere, proinde si quae illis data est vel a praedecessoribus nostris, vel etiam a S. Sede ordinamus illis, quatenus intra mensem eam nobis exhibeant, sub poena revocationis, ac alia arbitraria." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:844–873, here 848. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1746–1747.

133 Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:844–873, here 847.

discussions on vernacular Bible reading became more polemic in the French-speaking South, probably as a reaction to the first initiatives of Port-Royal.

The synods of 1660, 1663, and 1681 in the diocese of Tournai also reveal a reinforcement of the measures against vernacular Bible reading, undoubtedly as a reaction against Jansenism. In 1660, bishop François Villain de Gand ordered the deans of his diocese to visit all the book sellers in order to confirm that they were not selling forbidden books, particularly vernacular Bible translations.¹³⁴ The decrees of the 1663 synod stipulated again that the deans of the diocese had to visit the shops of book sellers and printers in order to verify that they were selling any forbidden books. Moreover, they were obliged to renew their Profession of Faith every year, and they had to pin up the Index of forbidden books in their shops.¹³⁵ The 1681 synod under the guidance of bishop Gilbert de Choiseul Duplessis Praslin stated that the shops of book sellers and printers had to be searched for the presence of forbidden and heretical books.¹³⁶ In other words, these measures imply that forbidden books continued to circulate in the diocese of Tournai, and that consequently a willing audience for these books remained.

Gaspard Nemius, Archbishop of Cambrai (t. 1649–1667), convoked two diocesan synods in Cambrai in October 1661 and October 1664 respectively. Having the decisions of the 1617 diocesan synod of Cambrai in mind, he emphasized during these synods that the decrees of Trent and of previous councils and synods had to be obeyed by pastors. Every pastor had to present the decrees of Trent, and those of the provincial council and the diocesan synod of Cambrai with his first name and last name written on the first leaf upon his next visit to the dean.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:876–882, here 878. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1747.

¹³⁵ Josephus Hartzheim, Johann Friedrich Schannat, and Hermannus Scholl (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, vol. 10 (Keulen, 1775), 1–5, here 2–3. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1747.

¹³⁶ “Super diversis variorum pastorum, aliorumque quaelis, quod effraeni quadam licentia varii libri passim publicentur, scandalosi, haeretici, calumniis referti, statutum est, diligenter fiat perquisitio ejusmodi librorum in omnibus bibliopolarum officinis ad hoc invocato brachio saeculari, ut secundum sacros canones et placita decretaque regia procedatur.” See Hartzheim, Schannat, and Scholl (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 10:105–108, here 107. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1747.

¹³⁷ “Singuli Pastorum in proxima visitatione Decani, exhibebunt ei Concilia Tridentinum, utrumque Provinciale, & novissimum Dioecesanum Cameracense, cum proprii nominis & cognominis adscriptione in prima pagina.” See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:887–892, here 892. See also Hartzheim, Schannat, and Scholl (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 10:13–16, here 14–15.

By way of conclusion, it can be stated that already during the sixteenth century, traces of the implementation of the *Regula Quarta* could be found in the ecclesiastical province of Cambrai. One of the reasons for this moderate success might have been the fact that ecclesiastical life in this territory was the least disturbed by the Eighty Years' War. Whether the fact that the bishop of Cambrai was appointed by the Pope, and for this reason was perhaps more eager to implement the decisions of the Roman center, remains to be proven. Notwithstanding all these measures, it appears that vernacular Bible translations continued to be read in this ecclesiastical province, even without the written permission requested by the *Regula Quarta*.

In the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, two different versions of the Roman Index were published in Namur. The first catalogue of forbidden books was published anonymously in 1709 under the Latin title *Elenchus propositionum et librorum prohibitorum*.¹³⁸ According to the information contained in the work, this Index was a second augmented and improved edition (*editio secunda auctior & emendatior*) of another (unidentified) catalogue. According to Reusch, the Index contained, besides references and copies of other decrees and Indices, copies of the bull *Dominici Gregis Custodiae* and the *Regula Quarta*.¹³⁹ The second Index entitled *Index ou Catalogue des principaux livres condamnés et défendus par l'Église* was compiled by the Recollect friar Jean-Baptiste Hannot in 1714 and approved by, among others, the superiors of the Recollects and the bishop of Namur.¹⁴⁰ The Index was printed in Namur by Pierre Hinne and sold by bookseller Barthelemy Collette in Liège. Besides lists with authors and titles of forbidden books, the catalogue contained the ten Tridentine rules,¹⁴¹ the *Observatio* on the *Regula Quarta* and *Regula Nona*,¹⁴² the *Instructio* of Clement VIII,¹⁴³ and copies of other condemnations, constitutions and letters that had been written against Jansenius and Quesnel. Reusch notes that these two Indices were private initiatives that had come into being without the intermediation of the ecclesiastical or political authorities although Hannot's Index had received approbation from the bishop of Namur.

138 *Elenchus propositionum et librorum prohibitorum* (Namur: Carolus Albert Typ, 1709).

139 Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 2:59–60.

140 Jean-Baptiste Hannot, *Index ou catalogue des principaux livres condamnés & défendus par l'Église* (Namur: Pierre Hinne, 1714). See also Jonathan Green, *The Encyclopedia of Censorship* (New York, NY: Facts on File, 2005), 267; Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 2:59–60.

141 Hannot, *Index ou catalogue*, i–x.

142 Hannot, *Index ou catalogue*, x–xiii.

143 Hannot, *Index ou catalogue*, xv–xxvii.

TABLE 4 Provincial councils and diocesan synods in the archdiocese of Cambrai

Archdiocese of Cambrai		<i>Regula Quarta?</i> (RQ)
1565	First provincial council of Cambrai	
1567	Diocesan synod of Cambrai	
1570	Diocesan synod of Namur	
1583	Diocesan synod of Saint-Omer	Tridentine rules
1586	Second provincial council of Cambrai	RQ
1589	Diocesan synod of Tournai	RQ
1590	Diocesan synod of Tournai	RQ
1600	Diocesan synod of Tournai	RQ
1604	Diocesan synod of Cambrai	
1604	Diocesan synod of Namur	
1617	Diocesan synod of Cambrai	
1631	Third provincial council of Cambrai	RQ
1639	Diocesan synod of Namur	RQ
1640	Diocesan synod of Saint-Omer	RQ
1659	Diocesan synod of Namur	Reinforcement of the measures on vernacular Bible reading
1660	Diocesan synod of Tournai	Reinforcement of the measures on vernacular Bible reading
1661	Diocesan synod of Cambrai	
1663	Diocesan synod of Tournai	Reinforcement of the measures on vernacular Bible reading
1664	Diocesan synod of Cambrai	
1681	Diocesan synod of Tournai	Reinforcement of the measures on vernacular Bible reading
1709	<i>Elenchus propositionum et librorum prohibitorum</i>	RQ
1715	<i>Index ou Catalogue des principaux livres condamnés et défendus par l'Église</i>	RQ

2.1.3.2 Mechlin

Due to the absence of Cardinal-Archbishop Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), who held the archiepiscopal see in Mechlin in the period 1561–1582, the promulgation of the Tridentine decrees in the province of Mechlin was long in coming. Granvelle had left the Low Countries on the advice of the Spanish King in 1564 because of the growing hostility of the people who considered him to be an exponent of the detested government. The first provincial council of the ecclesiastical province of Mechlin took place in 1570. The bishops present received the decrees of the Council of Trent in the name of the entire ecclesiastical province and submitted themselves openly, anathematizing all the heresies condemned by the Council and promising true obedience to the Pope.¹⁴⁴

Meanwhile, Martinus Rythovius, bishop of Ypres in the period 1561–1583, had already ordered the application of the Tridentine decrees in his diocese in 1564 and proved to be one of the first to do so. It is no coincidence that the first implementation of the Tridentine decrees took place in the south-western diocese of Ypres. This region bordered on the French-speaking ecclesiastical province of Cambrai where the conciliar decrees also had been implemented at an early date. Just like his colleague of Ypres, Petrus Curtius, bishop of Bruges in the period 1550–1567, wrote a letter to Rome to receive an authentic copy of the Tridentine decrees. Unlike Rythovius, Curtius waited for an official order of publication from the government and the decrees were finally published in August 1565 in Bruges. Franciscus Sonnius, bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch from 1561 until 1570, was able to publish the conciliar stipulations in October 1565, and all pastors received an exemplar of the decrees and instructions to publish the decrees for their flock. Unfortunately, Sonnius was banished from his diocese and could not witness the execution of the conciliar decrees, until he could return with the help of the Duke of Alba in 1569.¹⁴⁵ In the bishopric of Roermond, William Damasus Lindanus, bishop from 1562 to 1588, convoked several diocesan synods. According to the editors of the *Concilia Germaniae*, he organised five synods in the period 1569–1573, of which only the acts of the 1570 synod were printed and preserved.¹⁴⁶ These acts do not contain any dispositions with regard to the Index, but Lindanus did pronounce an oration in which he pointed at the obligation to abstain from reading the books listed on

144 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 249–252, 263–269; Petrus F.X. De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum sive sive acta omnium ecclesiarum Belgii a celebrato concilio Tridentino usque ad concordatum anni 1801*, vol. 1 *Archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis* (Mechlin: Hanicq, 1828), 91–92; Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:610.

145 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 252–258.

146 Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:646–647.

the Index and its appendix.¹⁴⁷ In Antwerp and Ghent, no diocesan synods were convoked before the first provincial council of Mechlin in 1570.¹⁴⁸

In 1571, during the diocesan synod of Bruges, the exhortation to observe the Tridentine decrees was repeated.¹⁴⁹ Also in 1571, Laurentius Metsius, bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch organised a diocesan synod. Clerics who read forbidden books were to be suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, while lay-people, like printers, book sellers and others, who read forbidden books were to receive the penalties stipulated by the Holy See and the Holy Canons (*sub poena a Sancta Sede Apostolica, & Sacris Canonibus*), in addition to those included in the edict of Philip II. Moreover, quite remarkably, it was stated that the Antwerp indices of 1569, 1570 and 1571, composed on order from the Spanish government, did not replace the Tridentine Index of 1564, by all appearances considered an authoritative version.¹⁵⁰

The second provincial council of Mechlin took place in Louvain in May 1574. The main task of the attending prelates consisted in following up the execution of the decrees of the council of 1570, as well as completing and adapting them to the new situation in the ecclesiastical province. As a result, no important statements with regard to vernacular Bible reading were pronounced, and the council decrees were promulgated in the various dioceses.¹⁵¹

In 1607, the third provincial council of Mechlin took place under the guidance of Matthias Hovius, Archbishop in the period 1596–1620.¹⁵² The acts of this council contained an extensive decree on forbidden books. In imitation of their colleagues of Cambrai, the Mechlin prelates imposed the solemn (and public) Profession of Faith for both book sellers and printers.¹⁵³ Printers had to

147 "Nos vobis ad unum omnibus sub obedientia, episcopo vestro jurata, praecipimus, ut nulus posthac libros, censura Tridentina, et appendice regia damnatos, aut legere, aut detinere ausit." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:647–662, here 649. See also Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 261–262, 269, 279; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1729–1730.

148 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 262–263.

149 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 271–272.

150 "Ne libros haereticos, aut quoscunque alios in catalogo librorum prohibitorum jussu Pii IV Pontificis, ex decreto concilii Tridentini edito, et appendice ejusdem Regiae majestatis improbatos, et prohibitos legere, penes se detinere, typis committere, vendere et distribuere quoque modo praesumant." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:705–741, here 730. See also Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 270; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1731.

151 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 274–283.

152 Petrus F.X. De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum sive acta omnium ecclesiarum Belgii a celebrato concilio Tridentino usque ad concordatum anni 1801*, vol. 2 *Archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis* (Mechlin: Hanicq, 1829), 378.

153 Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 8:767–798, here 774–775.

swear absolute obedience to the Pope and had to reject all the heresies that had been condemned by the Church. A special oath aiming to prevent the introduction of forbidden books was added to the Profession of Faith. Priests and pastors had to announce frequently to their faithful the prohibitions contained in the various indices that had been printed by Rome since the Tridentine Council.¹⁵⁴ Besides the Tridentine Index of 1564, the only Roman Index that had been published so far was the Clementine Index of 1596, apart from the particular decrees of the Congregations of the Inquisition and the Index. According to Rebellato, the 1596 Index was reprinted four times in the Low Countries, namely two times in Antwerp and two times in Liège.¹⁵⁵ The third provincial council of Mechlin considered all condemnations coming from Rome obligatory. No particular dispositions with regard to vernacular Bible reading were mentioned.¹⁵⁶ It should be noted that this third provincial council proved to influence profoundly the following diocesan synods in the ecclesiastical province of Mechlin.

In 1609, during the diocesan synod of Mechlin, mention was made of the observation of the *Regula Quarta*. This was the first explicit reference to the *Regula Quarta* in the province of Mechlin. After a 25-year period of disturbances of ecclesiastical life, councils and synods could again be convened in the Archdiocese. The permission of the bishop was declared necessary for everybody who planned to read or keep a vernacular Bible. Those who read or kept a vernacular Bible without this permission could only obtain absolution on the condition of handing over their exemplars to the ordinaries. In addition, book sellers had to conform rigorously to the *Regula Quarta*: they were only allowed to sell or distribute vernacular Bibles to those people who could present the necessary permission of the bishop or the inquisitor.¹⁵⁷ After that,

154 "Moneant diligenter parochi sibi subditos, libros haereticos, vel ex professo lubricos, nullo modo legere vel habere licere; eisque prohibitiones, quae habentur in Indicibus librorum prohibitorum, Sedis Apostolicae auctoritate post Concilium editas, crebro insinuent." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 8:767–798, here 775.

155 See p. 94.

156 Wilcox, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 284–290; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1736–1737.

157 "Cum absque legitima licentia Episcopi vel Inquistioris nemini Sacra Biblia vulgari lingua legere seu habere liceat et aliter ea legere seu habere praesumens peccatorum absolutio-nem percipere non possit, nisi prius Bibliis Ordinario redditis; Bibliopolae exacte obser-vent, quod regula quarta Indicis librorum prohibitorum ipsis mandatur, ut scilicet nemini praedictam facultatem non habenti Biblia idiomate vulgari conscripta vendant, vel alio quovis modo concedant sub poenis in eadem regula contentis." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:1–22, here 4. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1737–1738.

the *Regula Quarta* was regularly mentioned in the decrees of diocesan synods, as illustrated in table 5.

Also in 1609, the same dispositions with regard to the observance of the *Regula Quarta* were pronounced during the diocesan synod of Ypres. Carolus Masius, bishop of Ypres from 1607 until 1610, ordered pastors to repeat to the faithful that they could not read nor keep vernacular Bibles without the written permission of an ordinary. Those who would do the opposite, could not receive absolution unless they surrendered their Bible to an ordinary.¹⁵⁸ Book sellers for their part were forbidden to supply Bibles to those who had not obtained the right permission. In addition, the synod of Ypres ordained the observance of the provincial council of Mechlin. Book sellers were forbidden to sell any books other than those contained in the catalogue approved by the bishops or his commissioners. Only sworn printers and book sellers were allowed to print or sell books. In accordance with the 1550 *Bloedplakkaat* of Charles V, reconfirmed by Philip II in August 1556, the magistrates were ordered to confiscate all the books and pamphlets (*cantilenarum*) that were sold without the necessary permission.

The diocesan synod of Antwerp of 1610 took place under the guidance of Johannes Miraeus, bishop of Antwerp from 1603 until 1611. At that time, the city was the seat of many printers and book sellers, and at the same time books were imported from all over the world. Therefore, Miraeus ordered printers and book sellers to renew their Profession of Faith following the formula of Pius IV on 2 January of every year, either in his presence or that of the vicar-general. Moreover, the decrees of the council of Mechlin and the decrees of the government had to be observed. Not only were books listed on the Index forbidden, but also those that dealt with heretical doctrines, scandalous themes, abuses of the Bible and other similar things. Only sworn book sellers and printers could sell books.¹⁵⁹

In 1612, Ghisbertus Masius, bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch in the period 1593–1616, convened a second diocesan synod in the diocese. He decreed that all the prescriptions of the 1607 council of Mechlin were to be viewed as integral elements of the synodal acts, for instance the stipulation with regard to the Profession of Faith or the fact that pastors had to remind their faithful of the prohibitions contained in the indices printed by Rome and the subsequent

158 "Moneant etiam pastores populum neminem posse legere, aut penes se habere S. Biblia vulgari lingua sine ordinarii licentia in scriptis: imo contrarium facientes, sacramentaliter absolvi non posse nisi bibliis ordinario prius traditis." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 8:799–822, here 802. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1738–1739.

159 Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 8:977–1016, here 986–987. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1739–1740.

penalties if these prohibitions were not followed. Parishioners were not allowed to read or keep books dealing with pernicious doctrines (hidden or not), or the little pamphlets against Catholic faith that were often distributed by heretics (*parva ista missiva quae Haeretici in Fidei Catholicae sugillationem edere consueverunt*). Again, only sworn book sellers and printers had the right to print or sell books.¹⁶⁰

At first sight, the acts of the synod of Ghent, which took place in 1613, seem to resemble the acts of the synod of 's-Hertogenbosch, although there are some minor differences. The synod of Ghent stated for instance that the Profession of Faith concerned not only the present, but also future printers and book sellers. Frans van der Burch, the bishop of Ghent (t. 1613–1616), also decreed that the *Regula Quarta* of Trent had to be observed meticulously. In other words, no one was allowed to read the Bible in the vernacular without the explicit permission of the bishop or the inquisitor. Book sellers had to observe the *Regula Quarta*, and they were not allowed to sell or supply vernacular Bibles to people without the permission of the bishop or the inquisitor under the penalties stipulated by the *Regula Quarta*. The bishop of Ghent added that this regulation concerned both complete and partial versions of the Bible.¹⁶¹

The decrees of the diocesan synod of Antwerp, held in 1643 under the guidance of bishop Gaspard Nemius (t. 1634–1651), explicitly stated that heretical, forbidden and suspect books had to be consigned to the bishop. Furthermore, book censors had to visit the libraries of deceased people and it was forbidden to transport or to sell books without the permission of these censors. The same went for public book auctions.¹⁶²

160 Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:202–240, here 203–204. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1740–1741.

161 “Cum absque legitima licentia episcopi vel inquisitoris, nemini sacra Biblia vulgari lingua legere, seu habere liceat, et aliter ea legere seu habere praesumens, peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possit, nisi prius Bibliis Ordinario redditus, Bibliopolae exacte observent, quod regula quarta Indicis librorum prohibitorum ipsis mandatur, ut scilicet nemini, praedictam facultatem non habenti, Biblia idiomate vulgari conscripta vendant, vel alio quovis modo concedant, sub poenis in eadem regula contentis. Et sciant omnes non modo integra Biblia lingua vulgari legere, legendique potestatem non habenti vendere illicitum esse, verum etiam non permitti lectionem aut venditionem, solius veteris, vel novi testamenti absque simili licentia, et, quatenus opus sit, idipsum prohibemus.” See Petrus F.X. De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum sive acta omnium ecclesiarum Belgii a celebrato concilio Tridentino usque ad concordatum anni 1801*, vol. 4 *Episcopatus Gandavensis* (Mechlin: Hanicq, 1839), 73; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1741–1742; Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:240–263, here 242–244.

162 “Libri haeticorum, aut alias prohibiti vel suspecti ad Nos deferantur, & exacte servetur Decretum Concilii Provincialis, quo caveatur, ne libri domorum mortuorum distrahan- tur, nisi prius ab approbato aliquot Censore visitati & vendi permissi fuerint. Quod idem

Contrary to what had happened in Cambrai, the atmosphere surrounding the discussions on vernacular Bible reading in the ecclesiastical province of Mechlin became more open starting from the second half of the seventeenth century, perhaps as an announcement of the debate between the Roman Catholics and the Jansenists. In 1650, the diocesan synod of Ghent took place under the guidance of Antonius Triest, bishop from 1622 to 1657. Printers and book sellers were ordered to pronounce the Profession of Faith in the presence of the archpriest, and could only print or sell books if they also had pronounced the oath required by the ecclesiastical authority. In addition, the faithful had to comply with the prohibitions of the Holy See promulgated after the Council of Trent. Pastors, for their part, had to repeat regularly to the faithful that it was forbidden to read or even to keep heretical books. In addition, the *Regula Quarta* had to be observed: the written permission of the bishop was required if the laity wished to read the Bible in the vernacular. A new element in the acts was the fact that parish priests could authorize their pious and devoted faithful to read the New Testament in the vernacular, for instance the translation with explanatory notes of the Jesuit Franciscus Costerus¹⁶³ or the works of other Catholic doctors.¹⁶⁴ This measure was a broadening of the *Regula Quarta*. Apparently, the authorization to read the complete Bible belonged to the bishop, while parish priests could decide on the permissibility to read the New Testament.

The situation in the ecclesiastical province of Mechlin changed when Humbert-Guillaume de Precipiano became Archbishop of Mechlin in 1691. In his capacity as bishop of Bruges, De Precipiano issued a decree on Bible reading on 12 January 1685, in which he stated that the *Regula Quarta* still remained

observandum in libris, qui sub auctione publica venduntur." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:638–651, here 639. It should be noted that the *Analecta* mention the wrong year: 1639 instead of 1643. See *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1743–1744.

163 See p. 135.

164 "Regulae quartae Indicis librorum prohibitorum per Patres a Sacra Tridentina Synodo delectos, inhaerentes vetamus, ne Sacra Biblia vulgari lingua, passim a laicus legantur: cum experimento manifestum sit plus inde detrimenti quam utilitatis oriri; nisi habita a nobis licentia in scriptis, quam nulli concedere intendimus, nisi habito prius Parochorum aut Confessoriorum testimonio, id expedire judicaverimus. Qui autem absque tali facultate, ea legere, seu habere praesumpserit, nisi prius Bibliis Nobis aut parochi suo redditus peccatorum absolutionem percipere non possit. Si tamen ita judicetur expedire, ut lectio Novi Testamenti maxime cum annotationibus Costeri, aut similis Doctoris Catholici aliquibus timoratis, piisque fidelibus permittenda sit, poterunt Pastores in hujusmodi lectionem scripto consentire." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:696–728, here 698; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1745–1746. See also De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 4: 184.

valid, despite the fact that this rule had already been issued some 120 years earlier. In this decree, the bishop explicitly prohibited the reading of vernacular Bibles to all his diocesans while referring to their *capacity* or *de bequamigheyt, ende begrijp*.¹⁶⁵ He did not, however, mention the possibility of asking permission from the bishop or inquisitor. De Precipiano had compiled the decree after he learned that some priests encouraged their flock to read the Bible in the vernacular. According to a letter of Antoine Arnauld concerning this decree, the bishop had also suspended one of these priests.¹⁶⁶ When De Precipiano became Archbishop in 1691, he started to impose an anti-Jansenist policy.¹⁶⁷ He convoked three episcopal meetings,¹⁶⁸ of which the first took

165 "Het is de plicht van het bisschoppelijck Ampt altijd te waecken, dat het Woordt Godts Waerachtigh voetsel der Zielen uyt-ghedeylt worde naer de **bequamigheyt, ende begrijp** der toe-hoorders [...] Wy hebben noodigh gevonden de Kudde ons van Godt bevolen daer teghens te bevrijden, ende te onderrichten dat het lesen van de *Heylighe Schrifture* inde ghemeene tale **uytdruckelijck ende expresselijck is verboden** door den *Paus Pius IV.* door den vierden Reghel op de tafel vande verboden Boecken" (emphasis ours).

166 Antoine Arnauld mentioned both the decree and the subsequent suspension in a letter to Louis-Paul Du Vaucel, Jansenist agent in Rome, stating that "Un cure de la ville [Bruges, *sic*], des meilleurs du Diocèse, qui a de la tête, & qui est dans de fort bons sentimens, ayant exhorté ses parroissiens de lire le Nouveau Testament (vous remarquerez qu'on ne parle que Flamand en cette ville-là, & qu'ainsi il ne s'agit point du Nouveau Testament de Mons) l'Évêque [Precipiano, *sic*] qui ne l'aime point, parce qu'il est tout dévoué aux Jésuites (j'entends l'Évêque), pour lui faire piece, fit une Ordonnance en Flamand, par laquelle il défendoit généralement à tous ses Diocésains sans en excepter les Ecclésiastiques, de lire l'Écriture Sainte en langue vulgaire, & **sans ajouter, à moins qu'on n'en eut la permission** [*Regula Quarta, sic*]; de sorte que le people n'a pu comprendre autre chose de ce Mandement, sinon que l'Écriture en langue vulgaire est un livre absolument defendu, qui ne peut être lu par quelque personne que ce soit, ni sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être. Et ensuite il a eu la témérité d'**interdire la predication à ce bon Curé, pour avoir exhorté ses parroissiens à la lire**" (emphasis ours). See Antoine Arnauld, *Oeuvres de messire Antoine Arnauld, docteur de la Maison et société de Sorbonne*, vol. 2 *Lettres de messire Antoine Arnauld, docteur de la Maison et société de Sorbonne* (Paris, 1775), 540. See also Marie-Élisabeth Henneau and Jean-Pierre Massaut, "Lire la Bible: un privilège, un droit ou un devoir?," in *Homo religiosus: autour de Jean Delumeau* (Paris: Fayard, 1997) 420; Charles de Clercq, *Cinq archevêques de Malines*, vol. 1 1689–1759. *Humbert-Guillaume de Precipiano, Thomas-Philippe d'Alsace et la liquidation du jansénisme*, *Ecclésiae particulares aevio moderno: studia et documenta* 2 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1974), 122–123. See furthermore Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 2:855–856.

167 On the occasion of his inauguration, De Precipiano wrote a letter to Pope Innocent XII on the situation in his archdiocese. He described the "discord, fights and tumults" that he encountered there and that had been caused by the "poison of Jansenism" in his opinion. The Archbishop mentioned for instance a bookshop where forbidden books were sold, amongst others the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. See Claessens, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, 2:5–7.

168 De Schrevel, "Precipiano (comte Humbert-Guillaume de)," c. 207–210.

place in Brussels on 9 January 1691, on the occasion of the consecration of the new bishop of Bruges, William Bassery (t. 1691–1706). The meeting was attended by three bishops of his ecclesiastical province,¹⁶⁹ Philippus Erardus van der Noot, the vicar-general of Mechlin, and two Louvain anti-Jansenist theologians, Martinus Steyaert and Martinus Harney. During this meeting, they concluded, *inter alia*, to prohibit the free reading of Sacred Scripture in the vernacular, particularly the Jansenist *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, dating from 1667, and to renew the royal edicts concerning the printing, import and sale of books throughout their ecclesiastical provinces. These measures were imposed by an archiepiscopal decree dated 9 January 1691 and entitled *Decretum Archiepiscopi Mechliniensis de non legenda S. Scriptura in lingua vulgari*.¹⁷⁰ According to Van Kleef, the theologians Martinus Steyaert and Martinus Harney contributed to the compilation of a list of forbidden books.¹⁷¹ The Jansenist Aegidius de Witte, the dean of Mechlin at that time and later also Bible translator, considered the theologians Steyaert and Harney as the authors of the ordination in one of his letters to De Precipiano.¹⁷² The decree not only insisted on the strict observance of the *Regula Quarta*¹⁷³ by quoting this rule and by repeating the stipulations of the first provincial council of Mechlin (1570) and the other diocesan synods, but also prohibited the French *Nouveau Testament de Mons*¹⁷⁴ and the Missal in the vernacular tongue.¹⁷⁵

169 The present bishops were William Bassery, the newly ordained bishop of Bruges, Joannes-Ferdinand van Beughem, bishop of Antwerp and Reginaldus Cools, bishop of Roermond.

170 The complete text of the decree can be found in De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 1:571–574.

171 Bastiaan Abraham van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte 1648–1721," *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 51 (1961): 30–56, 95–127, 155–188, there 102–103.

172 See Pierre Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte, pasteur & doyen de l'Eglise Collégiale & Parochiale de Notre Dame au de là de la Dille, dans la ville de Mechlin: suivie d'un Appendix très curieux au sujet des Jésuites* (Rome, 1756), 42.

173 "Hisce innovamus Statuta quaevis et Ordinationes, quae sive in Synodo Provinciali Mechliniensi, sive in Dioecesana, aliterve a Praedecessoribus nostris hucusque emanarunt quoad exactam observantiam IV Regulae Indicis Tridentini: quam ipsam Regulam, olim etiam in his partibus publicatam et receptam, hic subjicimus" (emphasis ours). See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 1:572.

174 "Inter quas peculiaris ratio habeatur, ob peculiare periculum, Versionis Gallicae Novi Testamenti vulgo dictae Montensis, ubicumque impressae: quam, Decretis Sedis Apostolicae insistentes, etiam cum notis vel explicationibus quas additas habuerit, ac quocumque sub titulo prodierit, denuo damnamus, et sub poenis ibidem contentis prohibemus." See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 1:573.

175 "Similiter cum eadem Sedes Apostolica ob graves rationes Gallicam Missalis Rom. translationem sub gravibus item poenis damnaverit, et interdixerit; Nos ejusdem Missalis, et signanter S. Canonis Missae in quocumque vulgari idiomate translationem reprobamus, et sub poenis in Indice Librorum prohibitorum contentis prohibemus; etiam quatenus

Right from the beginning, this decree caused commotion in the Low Countries, both in the northern and southern part, as is revealed in a letter of internuncio Giulio Piazza (1663–1726) to the secretary of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, dated 16 February 1691. In this letter, Piazza stated that the representatives of the Dutch Mission rejected the recent prohibition of De Precipiano from reading the vernacular Bible without permission, because they were convinced that the regular clergy would themselves exploit this prohibition. The representatives emphasized the need to read Bible translations in the Northern Low Countries, because of the cohabitation with the Protestants. According to the internuncio, there had to be contacts between Jansenist-minded people in the South and the secular clergy in the North, as witnessed by the fact that several copies of an unknown treatise¹⁷⁶ on this matter had been sent to North.¹⁷⁷

Following De Precipiano, Joannes-Ferdinand van Beughem, bishop of Antwerp (t. 1679–1699), forbade not only the reading of the Bible in the vernacular without the necessary permission and capacity, referring to the *Regula Quarta*, but also the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and the French translation of the Roman missal, in an edict dated 22 January 1691.¹⁷⁸ De Precipiano for his side wrote a letter to the Holy Office, dated 31 January 1691, in which he described the situation in his archdiocese, and in which he considered *Palladius*, an alter ego of the above-mentioned Aegidius de Witte, as a vehement defender of Jansenius.¹⁷⁹ The prohibition on vernacular Bible reading was renewed on 31 October 1691 in the *Epistola pastoralis super praecipius ecclesiarum belgicarum*

talis translatio cum Notis vel Additionibus, aut sub quovis alio titulo edita fuerit." See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 1:573.

176 The internuncio might have referred to one of the treatises of vicar apostolic Johannes van Neercassel on the issue of vernacular Bible reading, as some of his works had been printed in Mechlin in 1685. See p. 183.

177 "Quello però che più m'è dispiacuto è, che i deputati sudetti m'hanno voluto biasimare il decreto fatto ultimamente da mons, arcivescovo di Malines alli diocessani di leggere senza la licenza la Scrittura Sacra in volgare, come che i regolari possino su tal esempio ispirare horrore di simile lettura alli populi d'olanda, a quali stimano sia molto necessario il leggere la detta Scrittura." See Johannes D.M. Cornelissen, Regnerus R. Post and Pontianus Polman, eds., *Romeinsche bronnen voor den kerkelijken toestand der Nederlanden onder de Apostolische Vicarissen, 1592–1727*, vol. 3 1686–1705, Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën. Grote serie 94 ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1952), 241–242.

178 De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 3:69.

179 "Imo vero eo perventum est, ut ex iis aliquis, qui *Palladii* Augustini discipuli sibi nomen fecit, intolerabili audacio non dubitarit affirmare, gloriari se Jansenistae nomine, si per hoc non intelligatur alius, quam qui Jansenii doctrinam tuetur." See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 1:574–577, here 575. See also Claessens, *Histoire des archêveques de Malines*, 2:7–10. For more information on De Witte, see p. 260 and following.

turbis, which prescribed strict observance of the *Regula Quarta* and condemned all suspect Bible translations.¹⁸⁰

The second episcopal meeting was held in Brussels in March and April 1692. On 1 February 1692, De Precipiano directed a letter to the Louvain theologians Harney and Steyaert to inform them of the form he intended to implement.¹⁸¹ Indeed, again confronted with the apparently rapid progress of Jansenism in his archdiocese, De Precipiano tried to impose subscription to a form that resembled the Form of Alexander VII with some additions, although without the permission of Rome, as indicated above. It is obvious that De Precipiano proposed to use this form to eliminate his Jansenist-minded opponents.

The third episcopal meeting also took place in Brussels in April and May 1697, this time with the explicit authorization of the government. The present bishops and theologians, including Harney and Steyaert – of whom the latter had in the meantime become vicar apostolic of 's Hertogenbosch –, renewed all decrees that prohibited the free reading of vernacular Bibles.¹⁸²

Also in his two pastoral letters, dated 12 October 1692 and 21 July 1700 respectively, De Precipiano pleaded for a strict and meticulous observation of the Tridentine rules. The first pastoral letter consisted of twenty chapters, of which the first four dealt with the issue of vernacular Bible reading, showing that the issue was (still) a touchy subject at that time.¹⁸³ In the first chapter *De auctoritate sedis apostolicae*, De Precipiano emphasized the authority of the Holy See and its infallibility with regard to faith and tradition.¹⁸⁴ In the second chapter, entitled *De libris prohibitis generatim*, the Archbishop repeated that it was forbidden to keep books of which the Holy See had forbidden the printing, selling or reading. He decreed the strict observation of the rules of the Tridentine Index – priests, clergymen and preachers were to study and respect these rules, and to explain them to their flock.¹⁸⁵ In the third chapter concerning the

180 De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 2:391–417, here 398–399.

181 De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 1:579.

182 Claessens, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, 2:18–24.

183 Claessens, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, 2:38–42; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1748–1753; De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 2:391–417. See also Humbertus Gulielmus De Precipiano, *Epistola Pastoralis* (Ghent, 1693).

184 “Stetus Ecclesiae ac Pontificum Romanorum constitutionibus et decretis tam in dogmatis quae ad fidem, quam quae faciunt ad mores. Ad hanc amussim falli nesciam exigamus omnia, quae scripturi vel dicturi sumus.” See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 2:395.

185 “Ut huic tam praesenti malo, quod radicitus extirpatum volumus, quantocius occurratur, utemur S. Caroli consilio suadentis, ut Episcopi regulas Indicis de libris vetitis ab omnibus servari jubeant, curentque. Illas igitur habetote vos ipsi primum vobis familiares ac sanctas, atque curae vestrae commissis pro rei gravitate diligenter exponite.” See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 2:396.

reading of Sacred Scripture and the missal in the vernacular, the Archbishop explicitly stated that the *Regula Quarta* did not permit vernacular Bible reading indiscriminately for all, and he emphasized the need for asking permission to the local parish priest or confessor (*petendam facultatem a Parocho vel Confessariis*) in order to read the Holy Scripture in the vernacular.¹⁸⁶ This statement was in fact contrary to the original stipulations of the *Regula Quarta* that required the permission of the local bishop or inquisitor. This shows that De Precipiano himself favoured a middle course, between the harsh prohibition of vernacular Bible reading and the free reading of the vernacular Bible without any ecclesiastical jurisdiction or constraint; for, indeed, vernacular Bible reading was already permitted under strict conditions. The Archbishop also warned against suspect translations that contained traces of Jansenism, particularly the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* that had to be banned,¹⁸⁷ and the French translation of the Missal. In the fourth chapter, De Precipiano recognized the authority of the canonical rules concerning the approbation of books and he explicitly affirmed the decrees of the second council of Mechlin of 1574, ordaining the rigorous observance of the Tridentine rules with regard to book censorship.¹⁸⁸

In his second pastoral letter, dated 21 July 1700, De Precipiano listed several important points of Christian and sacerdotal life that he left to the clergy. Among others, he emphasized the strict observance of the Tridentine decrees for both the clergy and the faithful and stated that theological questions concerning grace and predestination should not be discussed on the pulpit.¹⁸⁹

186 "Alte etiam omnium animis insidere, et distince populis explicari volumus, quod habet regula iv Indicis, experimento manifestum esse si Sacra Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde ob hominum temeritatem detrimenti, quam utilitatis oriri. Quare moneant et diserte edicant Sacrorum Voluminum lectionem in patrio aut vernaculo sermone non esse cuilibet **permissam**, sed **petendam facultatem a Parocho vel Confessariis**, iis videlicet, qui praediti sunt hac potestate, quae tamen non concedenda est, nisi iis, quos intellexerint ex huiusmodi lectione non damnum, sed Fidei ac pietatis augmentum capere posse, quam facultatem in scriptis habeant" (emphasis ours). See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 2:398.

187 "Quare cum Sedi Apostolicae, semper adversus omne Religionis periculum vigilantissimae, versionem Novi Testamenti Gallicam, quam Montensem auctoribus appellare visum est, severissimis verbis, et magnarum interminatione poenarum proscribere placuerit, damnatus ille liber Dioecesi nostra." See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 2:399.

188 "Quoniam autem de libris jam agere coepimus, hac occasione iungimus Scholasticis nostris, ut juxta praescriptum Synodi Mechliniensis 11 perquam diligenter observent, et observari curent gravissimum Sacro-Sancti Concilii Tridentini Decretum sess. IV (...)." See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 2:399.

189 De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 2:418–457; Claessens, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, 2:42–45.

Albert, count of Horne and bishop of Ghent¹⁹⁰ also took measures against the Jansenist-minded pastors in his diocese who encouraged their faithful to read the Bible in the vernacular. On 2 August 1689, he issued a decree in which pastors and priests were urged to repeat the stipulations of the 1613 diocesan synod of Ghent. Horne had learned that the laity read the vernacular Bible without the necessary permission, in spite of the *Regula Quarta*, the royal decree of 15 February 1569, the decrees of the provincial councils of Cambrai (1586) and Mechlin (1607) and of the diocesan synod of Ghent (1613), which had been repeated in 1650, and the 1623 Mechlin Catechism that had forbidden this practice.¹⁹¹ On 13 August 1689, Horne repeated that the Catechism,

190 Albert Frans of Horne (1642–1694) studied at the Universities of Louvain and Douai where he obtained a licentiate in canon and civil law in 1665 and a baccalaureat in theology in 1667. In the period 1667–1672, Horne was canon of the St. Peter chapter of Leuze. He was ordained a priest on 5 April 1670. On 5 November 1672, he was appointed provost of the St. Bavo chapter in Ghent. In this capacity, he was reelected vicar-general sede vacante three times: the first time in 1673–1677 after the death of bishop Eugenius Albertus d'Allamont, the second time in 1679 after Frans van Horenbeke had passed away and third in 1680 after the decease of Ignaas August Schetz van Grobbendonck. On 10 September 1680 king Charles II appointed Horne the twelfth bishop of Ghent (t. 1681–1694) and this appointment was confirmed by Pope Innocent XI on 13 January 1681. On 22 June 1681, Horne was ordained bishop. During his term of office, he paid particular attention to the observation of the Tridentine decrees regarding, among others, the visitation of the different parishes of his diocese, the formation of priests and their pastoral concerns. See Dirk Smet, *Albert de Hornes twaalfde bisschop van Gent voor zijn episcopaat (1642–1681); met een inleiding tot de studie van zijn bisschoppelijk beleid (1681–1694)* (Louvain: Unpublished Dissertation, 1977), 123–153; Michel Cloet, *Het kerkelijk leven in een landelijke dekenij van Vlaanderen tijdens de XVIIe eeuw: Tielt van 1609 tot 1700* (Werken op het gebied van de geschiedenis en de filologie. Reeks 5, 4 (Louvain: Universitaire uitgaven, 1968), 43; Frans De Potter, *Het bisdom en de bisschoppen van Gent* (Ghent: Vyt, 1865) 19–20.

191 “Quum ad aures nostras pervenit laicos utriusque sexus proprio iudicio et auctoritate, absque debita et sufficienti permissione, praesumere sibi licentiam legendi Biblia vulgari lingua edita, cum magno animarum periculo et ecclesiasticarum constitutionum infractione, contra expressam justissimamque prohibitionem Pii IV in Indice Concilii Tridentini regula quarta, auctoritate pontifica et regia hic in Belgio debite et legitime promulgatam ex decreto anni 1570 die 15 februarii, atque etiam in Conciliis provincialibus Cameracensi anni 1586 et Mechliniensi anni 1607, et diocesana Gandavensi anni 1613 cujus acta [...], limitata atque de novo in lucem edita anno 1650, expressam etiam in parvo Catechismo ad usum hujus Provinciae Mechliniensis vernacule edito auctoritate Ill.^{mi} Domini Archiepiscopi Hovii [...]” See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 4:347–348. The prohibition contained in the 1623 Catechism read as follows: “Is het iemandt verboden den Bijbel te lezen? Jaet, het is aen gemeyne luyden verboden dien sonder oorlof te lesen inde moederlijcke tale.” See Guilielmus de Prettere, *Catechismus oft christelijcke leeringe ghedeyldt in vijf deelen ende een-en-veertich lessen, voor de catholijcke ionckheydt van het artsch-bischdom ende alle de andere bischdommen der Provincie van Mechelen* (Antwerp: Jan van Keerberghen den Jonghen, 1623), 9.

decrees and ordinances had to be followed by priests and pastors meticulously.¹⁹² On 7 September 1691, he issued another decree in which he not only forbade free vernacular Bible reading, but also explicitly prohibited the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and the French translation of the Missal. He referred to the decrees of the third provincial council of Mechlin (1607) and the diocesan synod of Ghent (1613), which testified of a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* of Trent.¹⁹³

The 1693 diocesan synod of Bruges under guidance of bishop William Bassery explicitly recommended to all priests and preachers to instruct the *Regula Quarta* to their flock on a regular basis.¹⁹⁴

By way of conclusion, it should be noted that contrary to the archdiocese of Cambrai, the first mention of the *Regula Quarta* in the province of Mechlin only dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century, after a 25-year period of disturbances of ecclesiastical life during which no provincial councils or diocesan synods were organised. After 1609, the *Regula Quarta* was mentioned on a regular basis, particularly during the rule of Archbishop De Precipiano. It seems that De Precipiano was in favour of a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* and was explicitly opposed to those parish priests, presumably with Jansenist sympathies, who exhorted their flock to read the Bible in the vernacular. Moreover, he opposed the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* of 1667. However, at times, his position did not coincide entirely with the original stipulations of the *Regula Quarta*, and seemed to be more “liberal.” In his pastoral letter of 12 October 1692, for instance, De Precipiano emphasized the need to ask permission to the local parish priest or confessor to read the Holy Scripture in the vernacular, instead of the bishop or the local inquisitor. A possible explanation might be that De Precipiano was surrounded by a varying group of collaborators with different ideas who compiled his decrees and letters, and that the Archbishop was not always acquainted with the content of the stipulations that were issued under his name.

192 “Summopere cordi habentes ut huius dioecesis Catechismus, Statuta, & Ordinata debite observantur, inhibemus per praesentes omnibus & singulis huius Civitatis Pastoribus, ne pro concione aut aliter Christi Fidelibus insinuent eiusmodi Catechismum, Statuta, & Ordinata, vel aliquos eorumdem Articulos non esse servandos, nec in contrarium opinionem aliquorum Doctorum, aliorumve Scriptorum allegent, sub poena suspensionis a Concionando absque ulteriori monitione.” See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 4:340.

193 For the text of this decree, see De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 4:361–363.

194 “Inhaerendo anteriori nostro decreto, mandamus omnibus pastoribus aliisque concionatoribus, ut saepe inculcent parochianis regulam quartam Indicis librorum prohibitorum.” See Hartzheim, Schannat, and Scholl (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 10:188–212, here 193. See also *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1748.

On 15 January 1695, De Precipiano issued a diocesan decree that was accompanied by a small Index in which he condemned 73 writings, of which 60 were considered as Jansenist and the others as Calvinist.¹⁹⁵ It is important to note that these writings had not yet been prohibited by Rome and that the Congregation of the Index paid no attention to the list of De Precipiano. The Archbishop mainly reacted to the flood of books coming from the Northern, Calvinist part of the Low Countries. He stated in his decree that the books to be condemned were heretical, had appeared without approbation, had been forbidden in other dioceses, or contained stipulations against the *Regula Quarta*.¹⁹⁶ The French Jansenist Pasquier Quesnel reacted anonymously to this Index with a 93-page treatise.¹⁹⁷

Finally, in 1735/1736, the Mechlin archpriest and anti-Jansenist Cornelius Paulus Hoyneck van Papendrecht, probably in collaboration with the unknown Jesuit Wouters, compiled a new Index of forbidden books, also called the Index of Brussels. The catalogue was entitled *Catalogus preliminaris donec amplior sequatur, quorundam librorum tum prohibitorum, tum noxiorum aut periculorum et proscriptorum e Belgio Austriaco*, and had a profoundly anti-Jansenist character. It contained 2268 items, repetitions included, and forbade for instance the works of Van Espen, among others. According to Mendham, it was remarkable that this Index contained a separate numbered list entitled *Qualificationes et Censurae Librorum*, with the grounds upon which the various books were condemned. Some parts of this Index were published in the

195 For the text of the decree, see De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 1:626–627. See also J. Green, *The Encyclopedia of Censorship*, 267; George H. Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome and its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature* (1906; repr. New York, NY: Blom, 1967), 319–320; 356–358; De Clercq, *Cinq Archevêques de Malines*, 1:124–129; Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 2:60–61. The list was completed with two more lists in 1704 and 1707 respectively. See De Clercq, *Cinq Archevêques de Malines*, 1:55–56, 97, 129–132.

196 “Libri autem, quos praesenti Decreto prohibemus quidam sunt manifeste haeretici, alii sine Censoris approbatione, & superiorum facultate editi, non nulli jam ante in aliis Diocesisibus proscripti: aliqui etiam adeo audaces ut contra expressam Indicis Tridentini regulam a nobis hic promulgatam & observari jussam, asserant Scripturam S. ab omnibus promiscue etiam in lingua vulgari legendam esse: lectionem hanc esse *omnibus non tantum utilem, sed quodammodo necessariam ad salutem*.” See De Clercq, *Cinq Archevêques de Malines*, 1:55.

197 Paquier Quesnel, *Très-humble remontrance à Messire Humbert de Precipiano, archevesque de Malines sur son decret du xv Janvier 1695 portant défense de lire, retenir ou débiter plusieurs livres, et particulièrement celui “de la Fréquente communion,” composé par Messire Antoine Arnauld Docteur en Sorbonne* (s.l., 1695).

Supplementum to the collected works of Van Espen, printed in 1768 in Brussels.¹⁹⁸ Archduchess Maria Elisabeth of Austria (1680–1741), governess of the Austrian Low Countries in the period 1725–1741, approved the Index under the influence of her confessor. The Council of Brabant, however, was opposed to the work and managed to convince the governess to assign them the task of book censorship. In the end, this Index never obtained a legal sanction and remained without force. This initiative should be situated in the context of the struggles between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, and the election of Cornelis Steenoven as the first bishop of the Church of Utrecht in 1723.¹⁹⁹

TABLE 5 Provincial councils and diocesan synods in the archdiocese of Mechlin

Archdiocese of Mechlin		<i>Regula Quarta?</i> (RQ)	<i>Nouveau Testament de Mons? (NTM)</i>
1569	Diocesan synod of Roermond		
1570	First provincial council of Mechlin		
1570	Diocesan synod of Roermond		
1571	Diocesan synod of Roermond		
1571	Diocesan synod of Bruges		
1571	Diocesan synod of 's-Hertogenbosch		
1572	Diocesan synod of Roermond		
1573	Diocesan synod of Roermond		
1574	Second provincial council of Mechlin		
1607	Third provincial council of Mechlin		
1609	Diocesan synod of Mechlin	RQ	
1609	Diocesan synod of Ypres	RQ	
1610	Diocesan synod of Antwerp		

198 Zeger-Bernard van Espen, *Supplementum ad varias collectiones operum* (Brussels: 1768), 13–30, 33–37.

199 Green, *The Encyclopedia of Censorship*, 267; Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome*, 320–322; Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 2:61–62; Abraham Jacob Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 8–2 (Haarlem, 1867), 1363–1371; Joseph Mendham, *The Literary Policy of the Church of Rome Exhibited in an Account of her Damnatory Catalogues or Indexes, both Prohibitory and Expurgatory: with Various Illustrative Extracts, Anecdotes and Remarks* (London, 1830–1831), 202–217.

TABLE 5 Provincial councils and diocesan synods in the archdiocese of Mechlin (*cont.*)

Archdiocese of Mechlin		<i>Regula Quarta?</i> (RQ)	<i>Nouveau Testament de Mons?</i> (NTM)
1612	Diocesan synod of 's-Hertogenbosch		
1613	Diocesan synod of Ghent	RQ	
1643	Diocesan synod of Antwerp		
1650	Diocesan synod of Ghent	RQ	
1685	Decree on Bible reading by De Precipiano (12 January 1685)	RQ	NTM
1689	Decree of Horne (2 August 1689)	RQ	
1689	Decree of Horne (13 August 1689)	RQ	
1691	First episcopal meeting and decree of De Precipiano (9 January 1691)	RQ	NTM
1691	Edict of the bishop of Antwerp	RQ	NTM
1691	Decree of Horne (7 September 1691)	RQ	NTM
1691	Pastoral letter of De Precipiano (31 October 1691)	RQ	NTM
1692	Second episcopal meeting by De Precipiano (March/April 1692)	RQ	
1692	Pastoral letter of De Precipiano (12 October 1692)	RQ	NTM
1693	Diocesan synod of Bruges	RQ	
1695	Diocesan decree and small Index of De Precipiano	RQ	
1697	Third episcopal meeting by De Precipiano (April/May 1697)	RQ	
1700	Pastoral letter of De Precipiano (21 July 1700)	RQ	
1735/6	<i>Catalogus preliminaris donec amplior sequatur, quorundam librorum tum prohibitorum, tum noxiorum aut periculosorum et proscriptorum e Belgio Austriaco</i>		

2.1.3.3 Utrecht

Turning now to the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht, the first diocesan synod took place in Haarlem in 1564 under the guidance of Nicolaas van Nieuwland, bishop from 1559 until 1569. Not a single word was mentioned about the implementation of the Tridentine decrees, because no order had been given yet to publish them, which would remain the case until December 1565 when Van Nieuwland finally received orders to do so. He apparently did not comply with this request, however, because three years later, in 1568, the Duke of Alba and Pope Pius IV reminded him of the order to implement the Tridentine decrees.²⁰⁰

Frederik Schenck van Toutenburg, the first Archbishop of Utrecht from 1561 until his death in 1580, was forced by Margaret of Parma to organize a provincial council in his diocese tasked with implementing the decrees of the Council of Trent. The first (and at the same time the last) provincial council of Utrecht took place in the autumn of 1565. The Tridentine decrees with regard to doctrine, sacraments and cult were accepted without any difficulties. The disciplinary decrees with regard to the jurisdiction and the practice of benefices encountered more resistance from the clergy, mainly because they were contrary to the rights and privileges of, *inter alia*, the various chapters that had been recognized and guaranteed under oath by the King and the Archbishop. In the end, the Archbishop was forced to intervene, and he decided to close the council because of his quarrel with the chapters. Moreover, Schenck van Toutenburg issued a formal order that the Tridentine decrees had to be observed under the penalties mentioned. During this council, the import of prohibited books, as well as books that had not been approved beforehand, was ultimately forbidden.²⁰¹ No mention was made of the *Regula Quarta*.

Godfried van Mierlo, bishop of Haarlem from 1570 until 1587, organized a second diocesan synod in 1571 that resulted in a short decree attesting to the perfect submission to the Index of Trent, not only with regard to the prohibition of reading or possessing forbidden books, but also with regard to the possible canonical penalties proposed by the Pope.²⁰² In the other dioceses of the

200 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 213–214.

201 “Item prohibemus quoque sub arbitraria correctione, ne peregrini importentur libri, aut distrahentur, nisi prius per eos, qui ad hoc commissi sunt, fuerint approbati.” See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:135–148, here 138. See also Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 191–200; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1731.

202 “Item mandat ac praecipit idem Reverendissimus, ne quis in universa hac dioecesi audeat aut praesumat habere, tenere, legere libros in catalogo Tridentino, Concilii ejusdem appendice prohibitos et non repurgatos, aut alias de haeresi suspectos, religionive catholicae perniciosos, sub poenis in edicto Pontifico comprehensis.” See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 7:741–744, here 743. See also Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 214–215; *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1728–1729.

TABLE 6 Provincial councils and diocesan synods in the archdiocese of Utrecht

Archdiocese of Utrecht	
1564	Diocesan synod of Haarlem
1565	First provincial council of Utrecht
1571	Diocesan synod of Haarlem

ecclesiastical province of Utrecht, the Tridentine decrees were published and accepted, often thanks to the (military) help of the Duke of Alba, but they had little or no influence in everyday life. In 1580, there were practically no traces left of the episcopal hierarchy in Utrecht that had been installed after laborious efforts starting from 1559. All bishops and the Archbishop either had passed away or had gone into exile, and large parts of the territory had fallen to Protestantism.²⁰³

To conclude, the decrees of the province of Utrecht do not contain any reference to the *Regula Quarta* (see table 6). In later years, vicar apostolic Van Neercassel and others would question whether the *Regula Quarta* still had any validity in the Northern regions, as will be demonstrated in the third and the fourth chapter of this study.

2.1.3.4 The Prince-Bishopric of Liège

The Prince-Bishopric of Liège was an independent political state within the Holy Roman Empire and was ruled by the Prince-bishop. In 1564, Robert de Berghes, Prince-bishop of Liège from 1557 until 1564, received an exemplar of the Tridentine decrees and the explicit order to publish them. However, he experienced difficulties with the chapters of his diocese who had taken over considerable parts of his episcopal jurisdiction. De Berghes therefore decided to postpone the publication of the Tridentine edicts. His successor Gerard de Groesbeeck, Prince-bishop from 1564 until 1580, was neither in a hurry to publish the Tridentine stipulations, mainly because of the opposition of the 63 secondary chapters of the diocese. However, during his term of office, as stated at the outset of this section, two catalogues of forbidden books with the Tridentine rules, and thus the *Regula Quarta*, appeared in Liège in 1568 and 1569. In 1573, Pope Gregory XIII addressed a reprimand to the Prince-bishop, in which he expressed his amazement that the Tridentine decrees had not yet

203 For the particular situation in the dioceses of Middelburg, Groningen, Leeuwarden and Deventer, see Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 213–224.

been implemented, although their validity was unquestionable. A few months later, a new brief was sent to Liège, this time to point the Prince-bishop at the necessity to visit his diocese because of the heresies that were spreading.²⁰⁴ In spite of various admonitions of the Holy See, the publication of the Tridentine decrees in the Prince-Bishopric of Liège was finally postponed until 1585. That year, the decrees were promulgated without any restriction in a synod²⁰⁵ convoked by Prince-bishop Ernest of Bavaria (t. 1581–1612) and the abovementioned Giovanni Francesco Bonomi, the first nuncio of Cologne and bishop of Vercelli, who had been sent to the Prince-Bishopric to expedite the implementation of the Tridentine reforms. The synod opened on 3 October 1585 and lasted three days, during which all the decrees of Trent were read out aloud.²⁰⁶ However, most of the prescriptions remained without force because of the resistance of the chapters who did not want to give up their jurisdiction in divine ecclesiastical matters.

In February 1613, Ferdinand of Bavaria, Prince-bishop of Liège from 1612 until 1650, summoned a diocesan synod in order to renew the Tridentine stipulations, but again the decisions remained without force. Five years later, in 1618, the Prince-bishop organised another diocesan synod. It was stated that printers and booksellers had to pronounce the Profession of Faith and had to swear that they would not print, sell or distribute any books, unless they communicated this in advance to the vicar or his deputy. If not, they had to undergo appropriate penalties that still had to be fixed. Moreover, they were obliged to have a copy of the Index in their offices.²⁰⁷ On 2 February 1619, the Prince-bishop issued an ordinance²⁰⁸ that forbade vernacular Bible reading unless

204 "Miramur jamdiu factum non esse id, quod quamprimum fieri oportuit, hoc est Sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum post tot annos in tua dioecesi nunquam promulgatum fuisse, neque in re tam perspicua, tamque utili atque adeo necessaria, et muneris Episcopalis propria monitore aut hortatore opus esse existimabamus." See *Analecta juris pontificii*, c. 1727–1728. See also Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 230–248.

205 The decrees and the various letters that were exchanged in preparation of this synod can be found in Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 8:498–517.

206 Willocx, *L'introduction des décrets du Concile de Trente*, 242–243.

207 "Similiter Impressores, & Bibliopolae, in manibus Vicarii nostri in Spiritualibus, aut per eum deputandi, facient Fidei professionem, inferius quoque adjiciendam: & jurabunt se nihil impressuros, aut impressum habituros, aut scriptum vendituros, aut venale expositu-
ros, seu quovis modo communicaturos, quod non prius eidem nostro Vicario, seu per eum deputando, communicaverint fideliter: & si in praemissis deliquerint, ultra perjurium, arbitrariis poenis subjacebunt: habebunt etiam in suis officinis catalogum librorum prohibitorum." See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 9:286–302, here 288.

208 The ordinance was included in the 1635 reprint of the work *Hortvs pastorum et concionatorum, sacrae doctrinae floribus polymitys* of Jacob Marchantius (1585–1648), and more particularly in the appendix *Summarivm resolutionvum et responsionvum*, 1, 1, 4.

TABLE 7 Provincial councils and diocesan synods in the Prince-Bishopric of Liège

Prince-Bishopric of Liège		<i>Regula Quarta?</i> (RQ)
1585	Diocesan synod of Liège	
1613	Diocesan synod of Liège	
1618	Diocesan synod of Liège	
1619	Ordinance of Ferdinand of Bavaria	RQ

the reader had obtained the explicit written permission (*licentia in scriptis*) from the vicar general or his deputies, in this way respecting more or less the stipulations of the *Regula Quarta*.²⁰⁹

2.1.3.5 Concluding Remarks

Although the *Regula Quarta* was unambiguously introduced in the Low Countries through the 1570 Index, it can be affirmed on the basis of the study of decrees of provincial councils and diocesan synods, that in both the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, this rule was not as strictly implemented and observed in the Low Countries. The archdiocese of Cambrai already implemented the *Regula Quarta* at the end of the sixteenth century, but had to repeat the stipulations at various times because it appeared that the practice of reading vernacular Bible translations continued. In Mechlin, the *Regula Quarta* was implemented for the first time at the beginning of the seventeenth century after a 25-year period without councils or synods. Afterwards, the *Regula*

209 “Cum hisce turbulentis & seditiosis Reipublicae temporibus a piis & doctis viris animadversum fit, diversas opiniones erroneas irrepsisse: eo quod tam facile omnes saeculares sacra Biblia in idioma vernaculum traducta in suis domibus, officinis, tabernis terant. Hinc est, quod nos huic malo obviam ire cupientes, mandamus omnibus & singulis Ciuitatis & Dioecesis notrae Leodiensis aëtoribus, quatenus proxima post praesentium receptionem Dominica, subditis suis e suggestu publicent, nemini deinceps licere huiusmodi Biblia in linguam vernaculam translata legere, nec domi retinere, nisi de expressa vicarii nostri generalis, aut illius deputationum, licentia in scriptis obtenta. Et si qui huiusmodi Biblia habeant, & illa legendi facultatem obtinuerint: Nihilominus illa suis Parochis intra octiduum examinanda reproducant, aliqui absolutionem peccatorum suorum non obtineant.” See Jacobus Marchantius, *Hortvs pastorum et concionatorum, sacrae doctrinae floribus polymixtus* (Cologne, 1635), 1–2. See also Martinus Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden in het lesen der H. Schrifte in ghemeyne taele, ten gronde ondersocht, ende bewesen.../...door Martinus Harney ... teghens de heftighe onbedachtigheden van monsieur A.A. [Antoine Arnauld] in synen boeck de la lecture de l’écriture sainte. Met sommige authentike stucken, hier toe dienende* (Antwerp, 1686), 62.

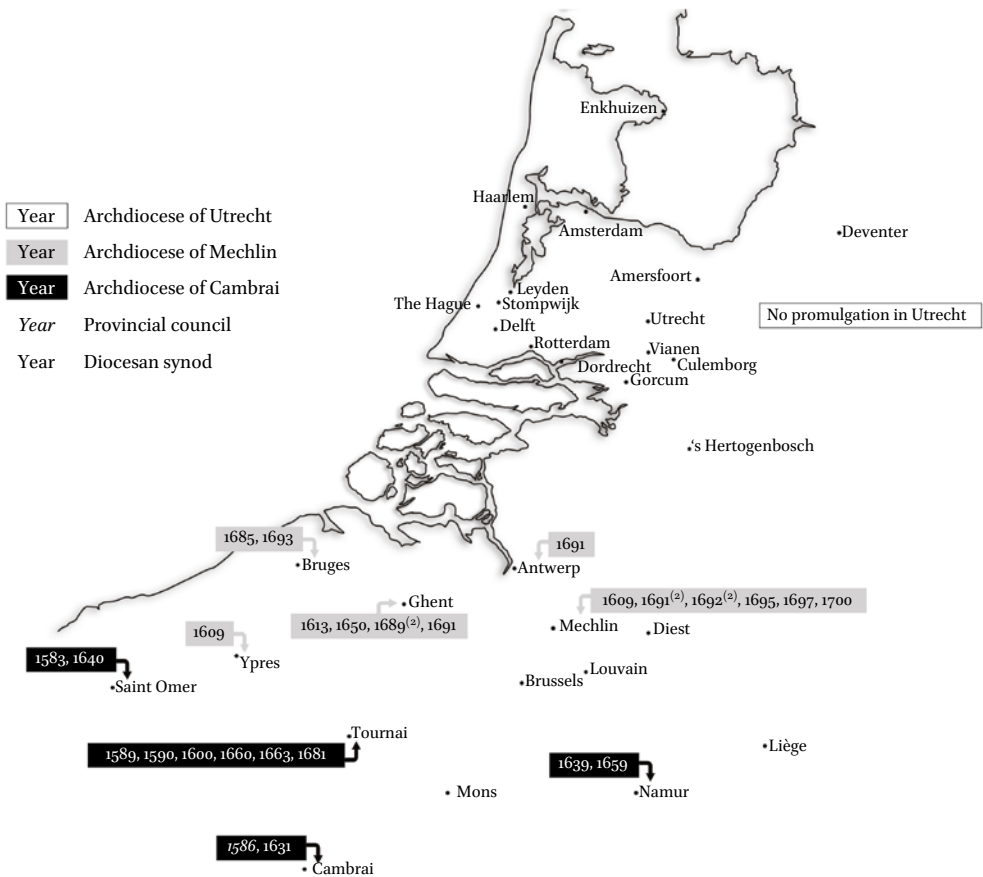


ILLUSTRATION 3 The reception of the *Regula Quarta* in the decrees of provincial and diocesan synods in the three ecclesiastical provinces of the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth century

Quarta was mentioned on a regular basis, as demonstrated. It is also important to point out the influence of Archbishop De Precipiano, who in fact adopted a middle position between strict prohibition of vernacular Bible reading and the free reading of vernacular Bibles. No references to the *Regula Quarta* are found in the few decrees that were promulgated in the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht, although vicar apostolic Van Neercassel and others later questioned the validity of the *Regula Quarta* in their writings. Although two catalogues of forbidden books with the Tridentine rules were published in the Prince-Bishopric of Liège in 1568 and 1569, no reference was made to the *Regula Quarta* in the (few) synods that were organized in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first part of the seventeenth century. The only overt reference

to the *Regula Quarta* was contained in an ordinance of Prince-bishop Ferdinand of Bavaria, dated in 1619.

2.1.4 *The Actual Observance of the Regula Quarta in the Low Countries*

As demonstrated in the previous section through the analysis of the decrees of the provincial councils and diocesan synods in Cambrai, Mechlin, Utrecht and the prince-bishopric of Liège, the *Regula Quarta* was not as strictly observed in practice – if at all – in the Low Countries. This section supports this assertion on the basis of four testimonies in theological treatises and the analysis of two Catholic Bible translations dating from the first half of the seventeenth century.

2.1.4.1 A Tolerant Practice in “Belgium” According to Testimonies in Theological Treatises

The Franciscan Petrus Marchant (1585–1661)²¹⁰ made some statements on vernacular Bible reading in his 1643 work *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile animarum in hac vita mortali* (*Sacramental and Visible Tribunal of the Souls in this Mortal Life*).²¹¹ In the section on the reading and keeping of heretical books, he affirmed that according to the Tridentine rules, and in particular the *Regula Quarta*, common people were not allowed to read vernacular Bibles unless they had received the necessary permission, since such reading was to be considered a mortal sin. Marchant quoted in this context 2 Pe 3:16, affirming that ignorant and unsteady people destroyed themselves by twisting the words of Paul; moreover, they often did the same thing with the other biblical books to their own harm and that of the parish. Only bishops, inquisitors, parish priests, confessors, and regular superiors were allowed to read these kinds of Bibles.²¹² Marchant went on to note that the *Regula Quarta* certainly was indeed valuable, but also affirmed that the customs of local churches had to be taken into

210 Bibliographical reference works describe Petrus Marchant as a man with exceptional erudition and eloquence. During his life, he was lector of theology and he occupied various positions within his order: he was custos of various territories, general definitor, visitor, and even minister general. See Lucianus Ceyssens, “Pierre Marchant, O.F.M., son attitude devant le jansénisme,” *Franciscana* 20 (1965), 26–65; van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 12/1:167; Joannes Franciscus Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica, sive Viro-rum in Belgio vitâ, scriptisque illustrium catalogus*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1739), 989; Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica: in qva Belgicae sev Germaniæ inferioris provinciae, vrbesq. viri item in Belgio vitâ scriptisque clari; & librorum nomenclatvra* (Louvain, 1623), 747.

211 Petrus Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile animarum in hac vita mortali*, 2 vols. (Ghent, 1642–1643). Reprints of Marchant's work were published in Antwerp by Petrus Bellerus in 1655 and in Cologne by Johannes Wilhelmus Friessem Junior in 1672. Both versions contain the section on the *Regula Quarta* and vernacular Bible reading.

212 Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:317–318.

account.²¹³ With regard to the situation in what was then known as Belgium, he declared that in various places in this territory, it appeared customary to allow certain honest persons to read the Bible in the vernacular, not by explicit approval but rather under the pretext of pious tolerance (*pia tolerantia*), which in fact went against a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta*.²¹⁴ Marchant attributed this silent approval to the presence of “heretical” communities in some parts of Belgium and thus to the necessity of “weaponising” Catholics against Protestant, Bible-based arguments. Therefore, bishops allowed polemical works in several vernacular languages because they were useful to read. When Catholics would read these polemical works of skilled contemporaries, they would be not deceived by poisonous words in their public controversies with heretics.²¹⁵ This practice had to be applied as long as there were regions where Catholics were infected with “heretical” tendencies. However, Marchant also underscored that debates and discussions were dangerous for the laity and ignorant people, especially in private circles, and that the reading of these polemical works was only destined to those who were skilled in doctrine and faith.²¹⁶

Marchant’s statements on vernacular Bible reading in Belgium were evidently considered an adequate representation of the actual situation in the Low Countries, since they were repeated almost word for word by at least three other authors. First, the Capuchin Eligius Bassaeus (1590/1591–1670),²¹⁷ also

213 “Etsi assignatae prohibitiones iustissimae sunt & utiliter observandae: non tamen ubique in tanto rigore peccati mortalis modo observantur, sed attendenda est Regionum consuetudo, quae ob causas rationabiles aut prohibitiones illas non ursit, aut utiliter aliquid de earum rigore remisit.” See Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:319.

214 “Sic in multis locis Belgii consuetudo invaluit ut honestis quibusdam Laicis Biblia vernacula legere permittatur dissimulatione potius piae tolerantiae, quam facultate & licentia expressa.” See Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:319.

215 “Ob haereticorum viciniam & permixtionem in Belgio sicut permittuntur ab Episcopis Controversiae nonnullae idiomate vulgari imprimi, sic permittuntur utiliter legi, ut in conversationibus civilibus Catholici cum Haereticis aliquando convenientes verbis venenosis non decipiantur cum sciunt & legunt ipsos in Controversiis illis ab exercitatis convictos.” See Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:319.

216 “Quoad disputationes vero, etsi in similibus Regionibus, ubi cum Haeresi infectis agendum est, liceat interdum, imo teneantur Catholici ad reprimendam proterviam Haereticorum quod de sua Fide sciunt & sentiunt aperto pectore edicere; omnis tamen altercatio per modum disputationis & contentionis periculosa est Laicis & idiotis: &, nisi doctrina specialis personae & exercitatio in dogmatibus Fidei excuset, vitandae sunt disputationes illae quantumvis privatae: ideoque qui se illis ingerit, iuxta periculum quod sibi vel aliis ex illis imminet, aut mortaliter aut venialiter peccat.” See Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:319.

217 Éloi Facon was a moral theologian who first entered the Augustinians Canons at the abbey of Cysoing. Later, he changed congregation and joined the Capuchins of the so-called Gallo-Belgian (Walloon) province of the order. He pronounced his vow on 31 (30, [sic]) No-

known as Éloi Facon or Éloi de Bassée, copied Marchant's ideas on vernacular Bible reading in the 1648 reprint of his Latin glossary *Flores totius theologiae practicae, tum sacramentalis, tum moralis* (*The Fruits of the Whole of Practical Theology, Sacramental as well as Moral*),²¹⁸ as he indicated at the end of the section on heresies.²¹⁹ Bassaeus stated that the Tridentine rules had not been received in England, Germany and France. Catholics in these countries continued to read books of heretical authors or books containing heresies without being excommunicated. Furthermore, he affirmed in the same wording as Marchant that it had become customary in many places in Belgium to grant permission to a number of honest laypeople to read vernacular Bibles – not with explicit approval, but rather under the pretext of pious tolerance.²²⁰ Also in line with Marchant, Bassaeus declared that it was due to the presence of “heretical” communities in some parts of Belgium that bishops allowed polemical works in several vernacular languages to be read. These works were useful and they prevented Catholics from being deceived by the poisonous words of their adversaries in public debates.²²¹ However, it was important to

vember 1630 and changed his name to Éloi de Bassée or Eligius Bassaeus. He was a lector of theology in various convents in the north of France and occupied several administrative functions. See Jacob Schmutz, “Eloi de Bassée (Eligius Bassaeus),” in *Dictionary of Seventeenth Century French Philosophers*, vol. 1, ed. Luc Foisneau (London: Thoemmes Continuum, 2008), 437–438; Edmond H.J. Reussens, “Facon (Eloi),” in *BN6* (Brussels, 1878), 846–847; Jean-Noël Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, vol. 10 (Louvain, 1767), 181.

218 This vast Latin glossary was first printed in one volume in 1637 by J. Serrurier in Douai. The work was reprinted in Antwerp by Petrus Bellerus in 1643 and 1648. In 1653, Jérôme de la Garde printed the first version of the *Flores* with the supplement in Lyon. The subsequent editions of the work all contained the supplement. The two volumes were reprinted in Antwerp by Cornelius Woons in 1659 and 1660, and by Hieronymus Verdussen III and Jan Baptist Verdussen in 1663. The work was also printed in Venice in 1655 by the house of Juntas, and in 1666 and 1690 by Nicola Pezzana. The references to the work in this paragraph are deduced from the 1643 version.

219 “[...]ut bene adnotat Petrus Marchantius in suo Tribunali.” See Eligius Bassaeus, *Flores totius theologiae practicae, tum sacramentalis, tum moralis* (Antwerp, 1648), 407.

220 “Quamvis in multis locis huius Belgii consuetudo invaluerit ut honestis quibusdam laicis biblia vernacula legere permittatur dissimulatione potius piaae tolerantiae, quam facultate & licentia expressa.” See Bassaeus, *Flores totius theologiae practicae*, 406. See also Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:319.

221 “Similiter, ob haereticorum viciniam & permixtionem in Belgio, sicut permittuntur ab Episcopis Controversiae nonnullae idiomate vulgari imprimi, sic permittuntur utiliter legi, ut in conversationibus civilibus Catholici cum Haereticis aliquando convenientes eorum verbis venenosis non decipiantur cum sciunt & legunt ipsos in Controversiis illis ab exercitatis convictos.” See Bassaeus, *Flores totius theologiae practicae*, 406. See also Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:319.

make sure that these books would not end up in the hand of ignorant people.²²² With regard to the stipulations concerning vernacular Bible reading and controversies of faith, Bassaeus noted that the prohibitions of the Church were right and just and had to be observed. However, he remarked that the penalty of mortal sin was not observed everywhere, and that the customs of the various regions must be taken into account.²²³

Secondly, the Dominican Louis Bertrand Loth (?–1652)²²⁴ integrated Marchant statements on vernacular Bible reading in “Belgium” in his posthumously printed work *Resolutiones Theologicae illustrium difficultatum contingentium in Belgio* (*Theological Resolutions of the Illustrious Difficulties that Affect Belgium*), which appeared in 1653.²²⁵ The book consisted of 24 treatises in which Loth discussed several theological problems in Belgium. In treatise thirteen on the communication with heretics, he examined the question whether it was permitted to read the Bible in the vernacular in Belgium. Loth first rejected the statement of the Lutheran theologian Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586)²²⁶ and other “heretics” that the Roman Church had forbidden the reading of vernacular Bibles by referring to the approvals contained in various French and Flemish Bible editions, and by providing a summary of the *Regula Quarta*.²²⁷

222 “Necessaria tamen etiam in hoc est Pastorum vigilantia, ne inutiles aut perniciosae aliquae controversiae vernaculo idiomate manibus simplicium terantur, qui curiositate ducti magis attendunt quid haereticus proponat, quam quid Doctor Catholicus resolvat & respondeat.” See Bassaeus, *Flores totius theologiae practicae*, 406. See also Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:319.

223 “Porro circa lectionem Bibliorum lingua vulgari et controversiarum fidei est advertendum quod etsi prohibitiones factae ab ecclesia iustissimae sint & utiliter observandae: non tamen ubique in tanto rigore peccati mortalis modo observentur, sed attendenda fit regionum consuetudo, quae ob causas rationabiles aut prohibitiones illas non ursit, aut utiliter aliquid de earum rigore remisit, ut bene adnotat *Petrus Marchantius in suo Tribunali*.” See Bassaeus, *Flores totius theologiae practicae*, 406–407.

224 Louis Bertrand Loth, born in Saint-Omer at an unknown date, studied theology and philosophy, and entered the order of the Dominicans at an advanced age. He pronounced his vows on 14 February 1628 and resumed at that time his studies. In 1644, he went to Rome to attend the general chapter of his order in his capacity of provincial. In 1646, Loth was honoured with the title of Master in Theology by Tommaso Turco, the General of his order. Loth was the first study regent of the Saint Thomas institute in Douai and was two times prior of the convent in Saint-Omer. See Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 11:652; Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas*, 1:539–541; Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 2:826.

225 The 1653 version of the work was printed in Douai by Balthasar Bellerus. In 1687 appeared a reprint in Bruges by Laurentius Doppes.

226 Martin Chemnitz, *Examinis concilii Tridentini... opus integrum* (Frankfurt, 1596), 1:54–55.

227 “Haeretici nostri tempore nobis obiiciunt, quod translationem sacrorum librorum in linguas vulgares, & earum usum perperam interdicat ecclesia Romana, cum lectio sacrae

However, he also affirmed that vernacular Bible reading was not reserved for all and sundry.²²⁸ Loth then enumerated several Bible passages in order to enforce his arguments, for instance 2 Pe 3:16, also used by Marchant in his argumentation. In the following point, Loth focussed on the role of pastors in the *cura animarum* as described by the Council of Trent: they had to explain the meaning of the Bible to the people regularly. He deemed it very probable that many pastors and preachers were not able to properly render the Gospels and the Epistles in the vernacular tongue and that they thus desperately needed vernacular versions of these Bible books.²²⁹ In other words, Loth pleaded in favour of a "clericalization" of vernacular Bible translations. In line with Marchant, he acknowledged that not everybody should read the Bible in the vernacular, and he repeated, almost as a refrain, that it had become customary in many places in Belgium to grant permission to a number of honest laypeople to read vernacular Bibles – not by an explicit approval, but rather under the pretext of pious tolerance.²³⁰ Loth concluded the paragraph on vernacular Bible reading with another word for word statement of Marchant when he declared that due to the presence of heretical communities in some parts of Belgium, bishops allowed polemical works in several vernacular languages

scripturae in lingua vulgari omnibus fit concedenda." See Louis Bertrand Loth, *Resolutiones Theologicae illustrium difficultatum contingentium in Belgio* (Douai, 1653), 307.

- 228 "Patent haec imprimis ex sacris bibliis gallice & Flandrice editis, & per eos quorum id est officii probatis. Ex regula 4. Indicis librorum prohibitorum a Pio 4. editi, ubi committitur Episcopo, aut Inquisitori, ut cum consilio Parochi, vel confessarii lectionem biblicorum sacrorum in linguam vulgarem a catholicis versorum, eis concedere possint, quibus judicaverint id futurum utile." See Loth, *Resolutiones Theologicae*, 307–308.
- 229 "Probabile est Pastores, concionatores, & alios similes uti posse sacris scripturis in linguam vulgarem per catholicos fideliter & perite conversis, absque ulla specialiter eis facta licentia; quia conc. Tridentinum sessio 22, cap. 8 mandat pastoribus & singulis curam animarum habentibus, ut frequenter inter missarum celebrationem, vel per se, vel per alios, ex iis, quae in missa leguntur, aliquid exponant, atque ut inter missarum solemnias, aut divinorum celebrationem, sacra eloquia, vernacula lingua explanent, quemadmodum dicitur sessio 24, cap. 7 & hoc ipsum iis mandat Pius 4. quatenus concilium illud approbavit: id vero exequi non possunt multi eorum, quibus mandatur, nisi legant biblia, aut novum saltem testamentum lingua vulgari, nam inter ea, quae in missa leguntur, sunt epistolae et evangelia, quae multi pastorum non possunt nec tenentur apte & perite vertere in linguam vulgarem ergo necesse est ut utantur versione alicunde facta in talem linguam, quae populo debent illa explanare." See Loth, *Resolutiones Theologicae*, 308.
- 230 "Nota tamen etsi dicte prohibitiones justissimae sint, & utiliter observandae, non tamen ubique in tanto rigore peccati mortalis modo observantur, ut bene notat Marchantius [...] nam in multis locis Belgii consuetudo invaluit ut honestis quibusdam laicis Biblia vernacular legere permittatur dissimulatione potius prae tolerantiae, quam facultate & licentia expressa." See Loth, *Resolutiones Theologicae*, 308–309. See also Marchant, *Tribunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:319.

because they were useful to read. When Catholics would be able to read these polemical works of skilled contemporaries, they would not be deceived by poisonous words in their public controversies with heretics.²³¹

Thirdly, the Dominican Johannes Baptista Verjuys (1610–1667)²³² quoted the statements of Marchant concerning vernacular Bible reading in Belgium in his 1664 work *Pastorale missionariorum cum resolutione casuum in missionibus apud haereticos et alibi occurrentium* (*Pastoral Work of the Missions with a Solution for the Calamities Occurring in the Missions to Heretics and Elsewhere*).²³³ Verjuys's work consisted of fourteen treatises in which he dealt with problems faced by missionaries in the Northern part of the Low Countries. In the tenth article of the fifth treatise, he discussed the fact that in some parts of the missionary area in the North it was permitted to read the Bible in the vernacular. Verjuys first briefly summarized the content of the *Regula Quarta*. In accordance with the works of Marchant and Loth, Verjuys quoted 2 Pe 3:16 to demonstrate that ignorant and unsteady people destroyed themselves by twisting the words of Paul and other biblical books. Verjuys also mentioned quotes of several Church fathers to enforce his argumentation that the Bible should not be read by unlearned people.²³⁴ Then, he referred to the works of Marchant and Loth when he stated that in certain areas of Belgium, it was

231 "Similiter in Belgio ob haereticorum viciniam & permixtionem, sicut permittuntur ab Episcopis controversiae nonnullae idiomate vulgari imprimi, sic permittuntur utiliter legi, ut in conversationibus civilibus Catholici cum Haereticis aliquando convenientes eorum verbis venenosis non decipiantur cum sciunt & legunt ipsos in Controversiis illis ab exercitatis convictos." See Loth, *Resolutiones Theologicae*, 309. See also Marchant, *Tri-bunal sacramentale et visibile*, 2:319.

232 Joannes Baptista Verjuys, born in Antwerp, entered the order of the Dominicans in his hometown. He started his studies of theology and philosophy in Louvain, but finished them in Sevilla in 1635 because of the war. Returned from Spain, he taught theology and philosophy in Antwerp and Louvain. In 1646, he obtained his Master's title in Theology in Louvain. He was also prior in Brussels and Louvain. From 1657 until his death in 1667, he was prefect of the mission of the Dominicans in the Northern Low Countries. In order to assist his fellow brothers working in this area, he published his work *Pastorale Missionariorum* in 1664. See Guilelmus Seguiet, *Laurea Belgica ff. Ordinis Praedicatorum in celebrantibus Belgii universitatibus Lovaniensi et Duacensi comparata adiunctis observationibus*, *Elementa historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum* 3 (1659; repr., Brussels: Vicariat Général des Dominicains, 1997), 110–112; Gerardus Augustinus Meijer, "Verjuys (Joan. Bapt.)," in *NNBW* 6, ed. Philippus Christianus Molhuysen and Petrus Johannes Blok (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1914), 1293; Bernardus De Jonghe, *Belgium dominicanum sive Historia provinciae Germaniae inferioris sacri ordinis ff. praedicatorum*, (Brussels, 1719), 238–239.

233 The work was printed in Brussels by Balthasar Verjuys in 1664. Johannes Baptista Verdussen issued a reprint in 1682 in Antwerp.

234 Johannes Baptista Verjuys, *Pastorale missionariorum cum resolutione casuum in missionibus apud haereticos & alibi occurrentium* (Brussels, 1664), 240–241.

customary in his days to allow prudent lay people to read the Bible in the vernacular, not with explicit permission but rather under disguise (*dissimulatio-ne*), although without mentioning the more positive *pia tolerantia*-argument that Marchant, Bassaeus and Loth had integrated in their works. Verjuys further added that the custom of lay people to read the Bible in the vernacular was also observed in some missionary areas in the North, but nevertheless recommended caution: the permission of pastors and missionaries was still required.²³⁵ Moreover, the Holy books should not be read out of curiosity but for the purpose of instruction.²³⁶ A more detailed research on provenance data and owners' marks in individual copies of Catholic Bible and New Testament editions may reveal further information about who possessed these books as well as the extent of lay ownership.

A possible reason for the not so strict observation of the *Regula Quarta* in the Low Countries seems to have been the publication of the Dutch Bible translation of Nicolas van Winghe in 1548, the so-called *Leuvense Bijbel*. Sixteen years before the promulgation of the Tridentine Index of 1564, the inhabitants of this region already had a decent vernacular Bible translation, based on the Vulgate, at their disposal. Moreover, the Vulgate had been promulgated as the authentic version of the Roman Catholic Church by the Council fathers in 1546. In addition, this translation had been authorized and approved by both the imperial authorities and the theologians of the Louvain Faculty of Theology. The translation of Van Winghe was reprinted and adapted on a regular basis.²³⁷ In 1553, Antonius Marie Bergaigne printed a revision in Louvain. In 1565–1566, Christopher Plantin prepared a reprint with a verse division. In 1599 appeared the so-called Moerentorf Bible, named after the Antwerp printer Jan Moerentorf (Moretus), Plantin's successor and son-in-law. This Bible was a revision of the *Leuvense Bijbel* based on the *Vulgata Clementina* of 1592 and was reprinted various times in the Low Countries. Apart from obvious adaptations of spelling and use of words, the translation remained the standard text for

235 "Notat vero Marchantius [...] & ex ipso Loth [...] quod in multis locis Belgii consuetudo jam invaluit, quod honestis, ac prudentibus personis saecularibus bibliorum lectio permittatur, dissimulatione potius quam concessa licentia, nec in hoc ab Ordinariis contradicitur. Quod magis adhuc est in usu in locis missionum. Advigilandum tamen ne quis hac consuetudine abutatur. Judico vero id non facile fieri debere sine consensu Pastorum aut Missionariorum, qui in illis partibus utuntur facultatibus Pastoralibus." See Verjuys, *Pastorale missionariorum*, 241–242.

236 "Nec Sacri illi libri legendi sunt ex vana curiositate, sed ad instructionem." See Verjuys, *Pastorale missionariorum*, 242.

237 See appendix 6, p. 410–413.

Catholic faithful up until the twentieth century.²³⁸ In the course of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century attempts were made to replace the Van Winghe-translation by new Catholic translations, as will be demonstrated in the following section.

2.1.4.2 Costerus and Van den Leemputte: Two Catholic Bible Translations Dating from the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

In spite of the measures against vernacular Bible reading, the so-called *Leuvense Bijbel* of Van Winghe, dating from 1548, continued to be reprinted and adapted on a regular basis in the Low Countries. As already stated, the Moerentorf Bible of 1599 was reprinted various times in the seventeenth-century Low Countries and remained the standard text for Catholic faithful up until the twentieth century. Also separate editions of the New Testament of the Van Winghe translation and the Moerentorf translation continued to be printed regularly in the Low Countries. In the Northern part of the Low Countries, the demand of Catholics for Bibles seemed to persist more resolutely, due to the predominant Protestant context. Therefore various reprints of the Moerentorf translation appeared in the Northern Low Countries, although the printing addresses mostly referred to the South, and especially to Antwerp. In other words, readers still had printed Bibles at their disposal, not only the reprints of the *Leuvense Bijbel* and the Moerentorf Bible, but also editions of older Bibles, like the Vorsterman Bible (1528). However, it is important to note that the production of new complete Catholic Bibles in the Southern Low Countries had stagnated by the end of the sixteenth century,²³⁹ and that the rhythm of

238 Wim François, "Die volkssprachliche Bible in den Niederlanden des 16. Jahrhunderts. Zwischen Antwerpener Buchdruckern und Löwener Buchzensoren," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 120, no. 2 (2009), 187–214; Cebus C. De Bruin and Frits G.M. Broeyer, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers. Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen vanaf de Reformatie tot 1637* (Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap; Brussels: Belgisch Bijbelgenootschap, 1993), 138–139, 149; Nico Tromp, "De ontvouwing van uw Woord verlicht. Driehondervijftig jaar rooms-katholieke bijbelvertaling in Nederland en Vlaanderen," in *Om een verstaanbare bijbel. Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen na de Statenbijbel*, ed. A.W.G. Jaakke & Evert Willem Tuinstra (Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 1990), 114–116; Bertilo de Boer, "De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior in de achttiende eeuw," *Franciscana* 22, no. 1 (1967), 15–35, there 15–17.

239 A quick analysis of the book production between 1530–1730 on the basis of Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby, eds., *Netherlandish books: books published in the Low Countries and Dutch books published abroad before 1601*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), the STCV, the STCN and the electronic Bible bibliography *Biblia Sacra* (www.bibliasacra.nl) reveals this stagnation of the production of complete Bibles in the Southern Low Countries. Further research is however required in order to confirm this hypothesis.

publication in the seventeenth century was significantly lower in comparison to the previous century.²⁴⁰

This section focuses on two adaptations of the 1599 Moerentorf translation of the New Testament.²⁴¹ Mention should be made first of the 1614 revision of the Jesuit Frans de Coster, also known as Costerus, with anti-reformational annotations in the margins of the text. This Bible was printed in Antwerp. Costerus was one of the main pulpit orators of his time and an important leader of the (literary) resistance against the Reformation. His sermons and polemical writings against the "new thinkers" made him popular and provided him with the nickname "hammer of the heretics." Another translation dating from this period was the 1622 New Testament of Henricus van den Leemputte, vicar of the chapter of 's-Hertogenbosch, which contained multiple woodcuts. Although the translation was described on the title page as a corrected version of the last official Roman text of 1592, Van den Leemputte also based himself on the *Leuvense Bijbel* of 1548 and the 1599 Moerentorf Bible.

2.1.4.3 Franciscus Costerus S.J.: "Hammer of the Heretics", Orator and Bible Translator

Frans de Coster or Franciscus Costerus was born on 16 (13?) June 1532 in Mechlin.²⁴² In 1548, he went to Louvain to study philosophy, where he became

²⁴⁰ François, "Die volkssprachliche Bible in den Niederlanden des 16. Jahrhunderts," 212–213. Further research is required in order to confirm this hypothesis.

²⁴¹ This section is based on Els Agten, "Costerus en Van den Leemputte: twee katholieke bijbelvertalingen uit de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw," in *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen*, ed. Paul Gillaerts, Henri Bloemen, Youri Desplenter, Wim François and August A. den Hollander (Heerenveen: Jongbloed, 2015), 395–405.

²⁴² Other name variants are Frans Coster, Frans De Custer of Frans de Costere. For biographical information on Franciscus Costerus, see Karel Porteman, "Na 350 jaar. De 'Sermoonen' van Franciscus Costerus," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 43 (1969), 209–269; Karel Porteman, *De Sermoonen van Franciscus Costerus (1532–1619): bijdrage tot de studie van de didactisch-polemiserende letterkunde van de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw in de Nederlanden* (Louvain: Unpublished Dissertation, 1966), 2–5; Jozef Andriessens, "Franciscus Costerus," *NBW* 1 (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1964), 333–341; Jozef Jageneau, "De jonge Franciscus Costerus S.J., student aan de Leuvense Alma Mater (1548–1552)," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 9 (1935), 302–311; Jozef Jageneau, "Twee catechismusuitgaven van P. Fr. Costerus S.J. in 1566 en 1568," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 8 (1934), 341–346; Jozef Jageneau, "Is P. Franciscus Costerus S.J. de zoon van Franchois de Costere, den factor der pioenen te Mechelen?," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 8 (1934), 338–340; René Hardeman, *Franciscus Costerus (1532–1619): een Vlaamsch apostel en volksredenaar, 2e helft 16e-begin 17e eeuw* (Alken: Bode van het Heilig Hart, 1933), 12–38; Jacob Muyldermans, "Franciscus Costerus S.J. (1532–1619)," *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal-en Letterkunde* 2 (1901),

magister artium on 19 March 1551. Hereafter, Costerus interrupted his study of theology to join the Jesuits in Cologne on 8 November 1552. On 5 April of the following year 1553, he was sent to Rome to continue his novitiate and his studies of theology. Costerus resided three years in the Eternal City in the house of the founder and the first general of the Jesuits, Ignatius of Loyola.²⁴³ On 9 April 1556, he was ordained a priest.

According to Andriessens, Costerus's life can be subdivided into three main periods. From 1556 until 1565, Costerus devoted himself to the education of the youth as professor of dialectics, philosophy, physics and theology at the Cologne gymnasium *Tricoronatum*, the most important institute of the Jesuits after the *Collegium Romanum* and a model institution of Jesuit education in Germany.²⁴⁴ In the period 1557–1564, he was novice master and from 1558 to 1564, he was prefect of studies, Justus Lipsius being one of his pupils. On 14 November 1560, Costerus obtained his doctorate in theology in Cologne. However, due to his poor knowledge of German, he could not display an extensive preaching activity during his stay in the German city.

During the second period in his life, from 1565 until 1589, Costerus was occupied with various administrative functions. In 1565, he was sent to the second general congregation of the Jesuits as representative of the Rhine Province. The superior general Franciscus Borgias named him vice-provincial of *Germania Inferior* or the Low Countries. It was not an easy period because of the *Beeldenstorm* or the *Iconoclastic Fury*, the rise of Calvinism in the Southern Low Countries and the subsequent coming of the Duke of Alba, who was not favourably disposed towards the Jesuits. From May 1567 until November 1571, Costerus worked as provincial of *Germania Inferior*. From the outset, he was an inspiring leader and a hard worker: he founded colleges in Douai and Saint-Omer, and led the resistance in Limburg against the upcoming Protestantism. This way, he enabled the Jesuits to make headway in the Southern Low Countries; his sermons against the heretics, for example, made a profound impression on his audience. In the following years, Costerus worked as rector of the Jesuit colleges of Douai and Bruges. His superiors thought of making him professor of theology in Louvain in succession to Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), but the college in Cologne insisted on his return. Eventually Costerus returned

258–306; Emmanuel Neeffs, "Decoster (François) ou Costerus," in *BN* 5 (Brussels, 1876), 12–16.

243 Costerus states in the foreword of his translation: "Dit heeft ons gheleert onsen heylyghen Vader Ignatius de Loyola, den eersten Fondateur deser Societeyt; daer ick dry iaren by ghevvoont ende geheleert hebbe [...]." See Franciscus Costerus, *Het nieu testament onses heeren Iesu Christi met korte uytlegghingen* (Antwerp, 1614).

244 Andriessens, *Franciscus Costerus*, 334–335.

to Cologne in the years 1574–1575, because after a conflict the gymnasium had suddenly lost three professors. He founded a Marian sodality that aimed at defending Catholic faith against the Reformation. In Cologne, Costerus revealed himself further as a polemicist and a writer of controversial treatises. In 1577, in spite of his poor knowledge of German, he was named provincial of the Rhine Province. His term of office was characterised by the further foundation of sodalities and frequent sermons against the heretics on various places of the territory. In 1585, Costerus was called back to the Low Countries for a second term of office as provincial. Again, the situation was not easy, but he could count on the support of the governor, Alexander Farnese, as the members of Farnese family were known as vehement supporters of the Jesuits. Costerus continued founding new sodalities²⁴⁵ and Jesuit colleges in the Southern Low Countries and kept on preaching in public against the heretics. Furthermore, he witnessed the conflict between Michael Baius and Leonard Lessius in Louvain (1586–1587). In 1589, Costerus was succeeded as provincial by Oliver Mannaerts (1523–1614).

The third period in Costerus's life, from 1589 until his death in 1619, took place for the most part in Brussels where he worked as preacher, confessor and writer. During this period, however, he was twice called to Rome. In Brussels, Costerus was free of administrative functions, and he could devote himself to the redaction of various polemical, meditative and didactic writings. He died on 6 December 1619 at the age of 87.

Costerus wrote more than forty works, most of them in Latin and Dutch, that were on the one hand targeted against the Reformation and on the other destined for his fellow Roman-Catholic believers of both the northern and southern part of the Low Countries.²⁴⁶ He published various books of meditation and also completed his 1576 catechism, printed in 1586 under the title *Libellus sodalitatis*, with reprints issued in 1603, 1604 and 1607.²⁴⁷ Other important works are his influential book *Enchiridion controversiarum praecipuarum nostri temporis de religion* (1586), which was reprinted and translated into

245 For more information on the Antwerp sodality that Costerus founded after his return from Cologne, see Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 139–141.

246 For an overview of the publications of Costerus, see Ferdinand Vander Haeghen, ed., *François Coster ou Costerus, S.J.: bibliographie. Publication de l'Université de Gand* (Ghent: Vyt, 1909); Carlos Sommervogel, ed., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus (nouvelle édition)*, vol. 2 (Heverlee: Ed. de la Bibliothèque S.J., 1960), 1510–1534; Neeffs, *Decoster (François) ou Costerus*, 13–16.

247 Jageneau, *Twee catechismusuitgaven van P. Fr. Costerus S.J. in 1566 en 1568*, 341–346; Harde-man, *Franciscus Costerus (1532–1619)*, 29–30.

various vernacular languages,²⁴⁸ the series *Catholijcke Sermoenen* (*Catholic Sermons*) (1598–1616) in which he collected his sermons of the past 25 years for his fellow believers²⁴⁹ and of course his translation of the New Testament, dating from 1614.

Because of his repeated and direct contact with Protestantism, Costerus's life was dominated by his struggle against the "heretics." It is therefore not surprising that this struggle emerged in his New Testament translation. The *Nieu Testament onses Heeren Iesu Christi Met korte uytlegghinghen* (*New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ with Short Explanations*) appeared in 1614 and was published by Joachim Trognesius in Antwerp. The translation was in fact an updated version of the Moerentorf Bible of 1599, but Costerus added elaborate anti-reformational annotations in the margins of the Bible text. These additions were not of his hand, but originated from the books of the Church fathers and other learned men, as he stated in the foreword to his translation.²⁵⁰ These men included the Spanish exegetes Alfonso Salmerón S.J. (1515–1585) and Juan Maldonado S.J. (1533–1583), but also the Louvain professors Ruard Tapper and Cornelius Jansenius of Ghent (1510–1576).²⁵¹ The translation was not only destined to the Catholic readership, but also to the doubters and the "stubborn heretics." It was considered an excellent means for (re-)education of laity.

There are two known editions of Costerus's translation, designated as the A-edition and the B-edition. Both editions contain the same adapted version of the Moerentorf translation and have an identical structure.²⁵² They differ, however, by their design: the A-edition contains 1003 numbered pages and has a very detailed engraved title page, while the B-edition counts 962 numbered pages and its title page is clearly a less detailed copy of the engraving of the

248 For more information on this work, see Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*, 147–151.

249 Porteman, *Na 350 jaar. De 'Sermoenen' van Franciscus Costerus*, 209–269; Porteman, *De Sermoenen van Franciscus Costerus (1532–1619)*; Hardeman, *Franciscus Costerus (1532–1619): een Vlaamsch apostel en volksredenaar*, 258–306; Jozef Salsmans, "Franciscus Costerus, S.I.: bij de 400e verjaaring zijner geboorte (1532–1932)," *Koninklijke Vlaamsche academie voor taal-en letterkunde. Verslagen en mededeelingen* 4 (1933), 393–398.

250 "Uyt de boecken van d'oude Vaders, ende van andere gheleerde mannen."

251 For the position of Jansenius of Ghent concerning vernacular Bible translation, see Wim François, "The Sixteenth Century Louvain Faculty of Theology and the Debate about Bible Reading in the Vernacular: The Positions of Cornelius Jansensius 'of Ghent' and Josse Ravesteyn 'of Tielt,'" in *Louvain, Belgium, and Beyond: Studies in Religious History in Honour of Leo Kenis*, BETL 299, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts and Ward De Pril (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), 3–22, there 15–20.

252 Some versions of the A-and B-edition contain a separate title page with the deviating title *Het Nieu Testament onses Heeren Iesu Christi met Uytlegginge der plaetsen die duyster luyden*.

A-edition.²⁵³ In addition, the printer of the B-edition made not only use of the setting "vv" to render the letter "w" but also of other illustrations. Thus, the Antwerp printer Joachim Trognesius evidently may be considered as the printer of the A-edition, while the B-edition probably was probably a pirated edition that was printed in the Northern Low Countries and circulated in that area.

As mentioned above, the structure of both editions is identical. The engraved title page is followed by a dedicatory letter to "the States General of the United Provinces of Holland, Zeeland etc.," the foreword to the pious reader, as well as the approbation of the ecclesiastical authorities. The Louvain professors Jacobus Jansonius and Johannes Malderus gave their approval to the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles on 11 August 1609, while the same Malderus and book censor Guilielmus Fabricius approved the Epistles and the Apocalypse on 19 April 1610. Next came the translation of the New Testament, followed by an afterword and a keyword register. The privilege of the secular authorities, dated 17 May 1614 and granted in the name of Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella by a certain Willem Steenhuyse, was found on the second to last page. The last page of the translation contained a reference to printer Joachim Trognesius. The Bible text was printed in black letter, while the preliminary matter and the introductions to the respective Bible books and chapters were printed in Roman type. Finally, the paratextual elements were printed according to the same subdivision: Roman type for the text and black letter for the Bible citations.

In his dedicatory letter, Costerus addressed himself to the States General of Holland, Zeeland and the other provinces, and he proved himself to be an advocate of the Roman principles concerning Bible reading. He stated that, contrary to the ideas of the "heretics," the Church was not opposed to the reading of Scripture. The Church fathers had taken both Tradition and Scripture as points of departure, and they had even affirmed, according to Costerus, that the apostles had not written down everything they taught. Costerus therefore held the opinion that the Protestants, being "lost sheep," had misunderstood the Bible by not taking into account Tradition, and that their declarations were on that account false. In contrast, the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church could not be put into question. Despite the resistance of the Protestants against the Jesuits in the Northern Low Countries, Costerus explicitly asked not to

253 Both editions are in the STCV: see number c:stcv6527108 for the A-edition and number c:stcv3119747 for the B-edition. References to Costerus's translation in this study originate from the A-version. See furthermore Vander Haeghen, ed., *François Coster ou Costerus, S.J.*, 394–398.

reject or ban his translation, but to read it carefully. Furthermore, he expressed the hope that the conflict between both groups would be solved. In other words, Costerus also directed his translation to the inhabitants of the North.

In his foreword and concluding postscript, Costerus emphasized that not the Bible, but its interpretation was considered as one of the main causes of the development of heresies. There was an important distinction between the real meaning of Scripture and its heretical explanation. Therefore, Costerus had first submitted his translation to the secular and ecclesiastical authorities to ask for their approval. Furthermore, he relied on the Church fathers because they were holy and learned, and because they had passed down the old or traditional doctrine of the apostles.

Costerus's translation contained various anti-reformational annotations. In the explanatory remark of Mt 16:18,²⁵⁴ he made clear again that the Church of Christ was not only based on Scripture, but also on the doctrine of the apostles, as a counterweight to the *sola scriptura*-idea of the Protestants. In addition, he stated that Peter had been chosen as the legitimate (human) successor of Christ, to defend the Church against all heretical deviations, and that his very appointment had itself countered all heresies. Elsewhere, in his comment on Ac 8:30,²⁵⁵ Costerus turned explicitly against the heretics when he stated that the Bible was not so clear as they pretended and learned from their pastors. Moreover, it was not forbidden for Catholics to read the Bible if they could profit from it, and if they explained it according to the doctrine of the Church.²⁵⁶ The Epistle to the Romans also received elaborate commentaries. In his remark on Rom 3:28,²⁵⁷ for example, Costerus mentioned that all people,

²⁵⁴ Mt 16:18: "Ende ick segghe u dat ghy Petrus zijt ende op desen steen sal ick mijne kercke timmeren ende de porten der helle en sullen teghen haer niet verwinnen." See Costerus, *Het nieu testament*, 46–47; "And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Douay-Rheims translation).

²⁵⁵ Ac 8:30: "Ende Philippus daert toe loopende heeft ghehoort dat hy Isaiam den Propheet las ende hy heeft ghesegt: Meynt ghy oock dat ghy verstaet het ghene dat ghy leest?" See Costerus, *Het nieu testament*, 401; "And Philip running thither, heard him reading the prophet Isaias. And he said: Thinkest thou that thou understandest what thou readest?" (Douay-Rheims translation).

²⁵⁶ He stated "Noteert tegen onse ketters 1. Dat de H. Schrifte soo klaer niet en is als sy roepen ende den volcke wijsmaken. 2. Dat het niemanden verboden is en wordt de H. Schrifte te lesen als hy dat profijtelick doet: te weten die niet uytlegghende na sijn goed-duncken maer die verstaende na d'uytlegghinghe der H. Kercke; die ons haren sin verklaert door Philippum dat is door gheestelicke leeraers ons daer toe van haer ghesonden." See Costerus, *Het nieu testament*, 401.

²⁵⁷ Rom 3:28: "Want wy houden voorwaer dat den mensch gherechtveerdicht wordt door 't gheloove sonder de wercken der wet." See Costerus, *Het nieu testament*, 491; "For we

Jews and heretics included, received forgiveness for their sins through the works of faith, and not through the works of the law. However, the heretics had come to another conclusion when applying the *sola gratia*-principle. According to Costerus, the works of faith were a preparation for the forgiveness of sins. Thus, in a Jesuit tradition, he emphasized the importance of good works for salvation.²⁵⁸

The Bible translation of Costerus was not reprinted, apart from the pirated edition. However, several testimonies make clear that the translation met with great response, particularly in the Northern Low Countries. In the decrees of the 1650 diocesan synod of Ghent, the reading of Costerus's translation was recommended, probably as an alternative for the 1599 Moerentorf translation, by then already considered outdated. Costerus's position was also quoted in some late seventeenth-century works on the issue of vernacular Bible reading in the context of the Jansenist controversy. The translation was not only praised in the preface of Van Neercassel's *Tractatus de lectio scripturarum* and in the episcopal letter contained in the French and Dutch translation of this work, but also in the main part regarding vernacular Bible reading of the three works. The translation was considered an important means by which to strengthen the faith of the Catholics in the North. Strangely enough, the anti-Jansenist theologian Martinus Harney stated in his work that Costerus could be counted among the writers that condemned vernacular Bible reading for the common people.²⁵⁹ In several of his works, the Jansenist Bible translator Andreas van der Schuur considered Costerus's comment on Ac 8:30 as an argument in favour of vernacular Bible reading; and he counted the translation respectable and even praise-worthy.

2.1.4.4 Henricus van den Leemputte: Bible Translator and Resident of 's-Hertogenbosch

Henricus van den Leemputte was born in 's-Hertogenbosch on 17 October 1587.²⁶⁰ He studied Latin under the supervision of his maternal grandfather

account a man to be justified by faith, without the works of the law" (Douay-Rheims translation).

258 Costerus, *Het nieu testament*, 491.

259 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der catholycke Nederlanden*, 176.

260 For biographical information on Van den Leemputte, see Johannes W.M. Peijnenburg, *Van roomsche zegeningen en paapsche stoutigheden: de geschiedenis van het bisdom van 's-Hertogenbosch 1559–2009* (Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers, 2009), 101–105; Johannes W.M. Peijnenburg, *De lange weg van Papenhulst naar Papenhulst. Vijf eeuwen priesteropleiding in het bisdom 's-Hertogenbosch* (Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers, 2007), 32–35; Anton Van Oirschot, ed.,

Johan Lanfort, while the humanist Petrus Vladeraccus taught him Greek and Hebrew. Van den Leemputte studied in Louvain, first philosophy at the Pedagogy of the Falcon and later theology while he was residing in the Pope's College until 1614, when he obtained the degree of licentiate in theology. Both Andreas²⁶¹ and Foppens²⁶² testify that Jacobus Jansonius, royal professor of Sacred Scriptures, often made appeal to Van den Leemputte's excellent linguistic knowledge in order to clarify several difficult scriptural passages. Van den Leemputte was ordained a priest and worked as a professor at the Seminary of Mechlin. In 1616, he returned to his native town of 's-Hertogenbosch to teach at the newly established Seminary.²⁶³ In this period, he wrote some theological works, amongst others on the sacraments, and he started the preparations for his translation of the New Testament. According to Andreas,²⁶⁴ he also composed a manual to explain Scripture entitled *Dialepsis quaestionum conducentium ad intelligentiam variorum locorum & verborum S. Scripturae* but this work seems to have been lost. In 1620, Van den Leemputte was named canon of the chapter of Saint John's Cathedral.

At that time, the city of 's-Hertogenbosch was the capital of the Meierij of 's-Hertogenbosch, one of the four parts of the former duchy of Brabant. In 1629, the city was conquered by Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange and henceforth it would belong to the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands. From that moment onwards, the city was confronted with measures that tried to make Catholic worship impossible. All male religious had to leave the city within two months, unless they had been born and bred in 's-Hertogenbosch.²⁶⁵ Since that was the case for Van den Leemputte, he could stay in the occupied city and carry on his pastoral activities, while other ecclesiastics were forced to leave. Van den Leemputte was named pastor of Saint John and he administered the parish in the name of bishop Michael Ophovius, (1570(?)-1637) who had been

Encyclopedie van Noord-Brabant, vol. 2 (Baarn: Market Books, 1985), 358; Ludovicus H.C. Schutjes, *Geschiedenis van het bisdom 's Hertogenbosch. Kerkelijke geschiedenis van het bisdom 's Hertogenbosch*, vol. 2 (Sint-Michiels-Gestel, 1870), 131-133; Josephus A. Coppens, *Nieuwe beschrijving van het bisdom van 's Hertogenbosch, naar aanleiding van het katholiek Meijerij'sch memorieboek van A. van Gils*, vol. 2 ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1840), 262-265; Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1:455; Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica: de Belgis vita scriptisq. claris. praemissa topographica Belgii totius seu Germaniae inferioris descriptione* (Louvain, 1643), 361.

261 Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 361.

262 Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1:455.

263 Peijnenburg, *De lange weg van Papenhulst naar Papenhulst*, 32-35.

264 Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 361.

265 Ton Vogel, *Schuilkerken en hun bedienaren in 's-Hertogenbosch 1629-1811* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Kring Vrienden van 's-Hertogenbosch, 2010), 5.

forced to leave the town. The Spanish troops did not want to give up the town and the surrounding area that easily. The period starting with the capture of the city in 1629 until the Peace of Münster in 1648 is therefore called the period of retortion (*retorsieperiode*).²⁶⁶ When Ophovius, also an important defender of the Counter-Reformation died in 1637, Van den Leemputte was appointed *vicarius capitularis* or vicar capitular. The administration of the diocese came into his hands, and he would hold this position until 1641.

In the period 1641–1647, Joseph Bergaigne acted as bishop of 's-Hertogenbosch. However, the States-General forbade him to enter the city and the Meierij. The bishop was therefore represented by Van den Leemputte, who had been named vicar-general and who disposed of the necessary authorities.²⁶⁷ When in 1647 Bergaigne died, Van den Leemputte became once again vicar capitular and held this position until his own death in 1657. On the occasion of the Peace of Münster in 1648, when a treaty was concluded between Spain and the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, an end was made to the Eighty Years' War, and the Spanish government officially handed over 's-Hertogenbosch to the Republic. At that time, Van den Leemputte was faced with many difficulties. After the capitulation of the city in 1629, for example, several clandestine churches had come into being in the city.²⁶⁸ Van den Leemputte did his best to protect the religious interests of the city, but he could not do much in the Meierij. In spite of the difficulties, he remained in his native town where he died on 17 February 1656.²⁶⁹

In 1622 appeared Van den Leemputte's translation of the New Testament entitled *t' Nieuw Testament ons Salichmakers Iesu Christi (The New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ)*.²⁷⁰ According to the information on the title page in red black print, the translation was printed by Cornelis Verschu(e)ren in Antwerp, but the colophon at the end of the final book, the Apocalypse, mentions Henrick van Hastens as printer.²⁷¹ Van Hastens had worked as a Catholic bookseller and printer in Leiden in the period 1596–1521, yet he eventually left

266 Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16^e en 17^e eeuw*, 2:526–597.

267 Peijnenburg, *Van roomsche zegeningen en paapsche stoutigheden*, 101–103.

268 Vogel, *Schuilkerken en hun bedienaren*, 9–17.

269 Peijnenburg, *Van roomsche zegeningen en paapsche stoutigheden*, 105.

270 Henricus Van den Leemputte, *t' Nieuw Testament ons Salichmakers Iesu Christi, mitsgaders d'Epistelen uit t'Oude Testament, soo die jaerlijcx inden dienst der H. Kercken ghelesen worden* (Antwerp, 1622).

271 Van den Leemputte, *t' Nieuw Testament*, 752. See also Chris Coppens, "Steadfast I Hasten: The Louvain Printer Henrick van Ha(e)stens," *Quaerendo* 17, no. 3 (1987), 185–204, there 191.

the town, probably because of financial and religious reasons, and went to Louvain where he worked as bookseller and printer of the city and the University in the period 1622–1629. Upon his departure from Leiden, he changed his name from He(y)n(d)rick (Lodewijcksz. van) Haestens or Henricus Ludovici ab Haestens to Henrick van Hastens for religious books (and possibly the Bible translation of Van den Leemputte) and into Henricus Hastenius for Latin treatises.²⁷² It turns out that Van Hastens could have printed the translation in Louvain. As mentioned above, Van den Leemputte had studied in Louvain and probably still maintained contacts in the city; however, the work is not mentioned in the publication list of Van Hastens, drafted by Coppens and De Schepper.²⁷³ There are also no visual indications that may point in Van Hastens's direction, like for instance the five ornaments that he used frequently.²⁷⁴

The translation counted 808 numbered pages and contained multiple woodcuts with biblical scenes, of which 83 in the Gospels, one in the book of Acts and another in the Epistle to the Romans.²⁷⁵ The remainder of the translation did not contain any more illustrations. The preliminary matter was restricted and consisted of an approval of book censor Guilielmus Fabricius and a privilege of King Philip IV in black letter, signed by the above-mentioned Willem Steenhuyse. It is remarkable that the privilege mentioned two Antwerp printers, namely Cornelis Verschu(e)ren, whose name was mentioned on the title page, and Hieronymus I Verdussen, whose name by contrast was not mentioned, and of course Henrick van Hastens at the end of the book Apocalypse, after which followed a saint's calendar in red black print.

The short introduction to the respective Bible books and chapter was printed in Roman type, while the Bible translation was printed in black letter. All cross-references to parallel Bible passages in the margins were also printed in black letter. The translation was described on the title page as a corrected version of the last official Roman text, the *Vulgata Clementina* of 1592. Van den Leemputte based his text on the famous *Leuvense Bijbel* of 1548 and the Moerentorf translation of 1599, which he updated where he deemed necessary. Some examples make this clear (see table 8).

272 Chris Coppens and Marcus De Schepper, "Printer to Town and University: Henrick van Hastens at Louvain. With a Check-list (1621–28)," in *Across the Narrow Seas: Studies in the History and Bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries, Presented to Anna and C. Simoni*, ed. Susan Roach (London: British Library, 1990), 107–126; Anna E.C. Simoni, "Henrick van Haestens, from Leiden to Louvain via 'Cologne,'" *Quaerendo* 15, no. 3 (1985), 187–194.

273 Coppens and De Schepper, *Printer to Town and University*, 107–126.

274 For an overview of these ornaments, see Coppens, *Steadfast I Hasten*, 185–204.

275 The Gospel of Matthew counted 30 illustrations, the Gospel of Mark contained 15 illustrations and the Gospel of Luke and John counted both 19 illustrations.

TABLE 8 The New Testament of Van den Leemputte (1622) as an update of the *Leuvense Bijbel* (1548) and the Moerentorf translation (1599)

	Leuvense Bijbel (1548)	Moerentorfbijbel (1599)	Van den Leemputte (1622)
Mt 3:2	ende segghende. Doet penitencie, want het rijck der hemelen sal naken.	ende segghende: Doet penitencie want het rijck der hemelen is naby.	Ende seggende: Doet penitentie want het rijck der hemelen is genaect.
Rom 3:28	Want wij houden voorwaer dat die mensch gerechtver- dicht wort, door tgheloove, sonder die wercken des wets	Want wy houden voorwaert dat de mensch gerechtveer- dicht wort door geloove sonder de wercken des wets.	Want wy houden voorwaert dat de mensch gerech- tveerdicht wort door tgheloove sonder dewerck- en des wets.
Jas 5:14	Isser iemant onder v lieden sieck? die hale die priesters der kercken, ende laet die over hem bidden, salvende hem met olien, in den naem des Heeren.	Isser yemandt onder u lieden sieck? die hale de priesters der kercken ende laet die over hem bidden salvende hem met olien inden name de Heeren.	Isser yemant onder u lieden sieck? die hale de priesters der kercken ende laet die over hem bidden salvende hem met olien inden naem des Heeren.

The translation consisted of three parts: a translation of the New Testament (p. 1–752), a translation of the liturgical lessons of the Old Testament (p. 753–791) and finally a register of the Epistles and Gospels that were to be read throughout the year, imposed by Rome and by the provincial synod of Mechlin (p. 792–808). According to the introduction, Van den Leemputte used the Roman Missal to compile this register. However, some passages did not coincide with this Missal, and these were marked with an *a.*–referring to the habit followed in some Dutch villages that fell under the dioceses of Liège, Cologne or Utrecht. In other words, Van den Leemputte intended his translation for a broad audience.

Van den Leemputte's New Testament translation was popular, both in the Northern and in the Southern Low Countries, as witnessed by the fact that the translation was reprinted until late in the eighteenth century in both regions. Through a query in the STCN and the STCV, various reprints of the New Testament translation were accessed, dating from 1630, 1637, 1643, 1646, 1650, 1653, 1663, 1672, 1686, 1696, 1704, 1753, 1764 and 1767. One edition without mention of the year was probably printed after 1750. According to the information on the title page, these reprints were mainly printed in Antwerp for printers in the North. On the basis of this information, it remains unclear, however, whether these Bibles were actually printed in the South. The 1646 New Testament contained illustrations and woodcuts made by Christoffel van Sichem (II).²⁷⁶ Apart from the separate editions of Van den Leemputte's New Testament, the 1646 Van den Leemputte edition was also integrated in two reprints of the complete Moerentorf translation in 1653 and 1657, also known as the "Paets Bibles." These editions also contained the woodcuts made by Christoffel van Sichem (II).²⁷⁷

2.2 The Port-Royal Translation Project

During the second half of the seventeenth century, the Jansenist party came to the fore and stimulated the laity – women and children included – to read the Bible in the vernacular, with no restrictions whatsoever. This way, they challenged the more wary position of their opponents with regard to vernacular Bible reading, varying from observance of the *Regula Quarta* to sharp rejection of the laity's right to read the Bible in the vernacular. Their reluctance with regard to vernacular Bible translation had been shaped in the preceding century in the controversies with humanists and especially the reformers. At that time, several leaders of the Catholic Church considered idiosyncratic readings and interpretations of the Bible to be one of the most important sources of "heresies." As already stated in the first part of this section, the Council of Trent had chosen to remain silent on the question of the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translations during the Fourth Session in 1546, mainly because proponents and adversaries of Bible reading in the vernacular kept each other in balance. In 1564, this silence was disrupted by the publication of the *Index Tridentinus* and the ten Tridentine rules, in particular the *Regula Quarta*.

²⁷⁶ These woodcuts can be consulted online via http://www.pitts.emory.edu/dia/image_details.cfm?ID=108327 (accessed 2 June 2019).

²⁷⁷ See www.bibliasacra.nl for the illustrations of the 1657 Dutch Bible of Pieter Jacobsz. Paets.

Although the Jansenists are generally bracketed together with severe theological debates on grace, free will and predestination, they also gained a reputation as advocates of Bible reading in the vernacular, thanks to their strong emphasis on the need for a Christian revival. Inspired by the method of positive theology, Jansenist scholars relied on Scripture and Tradition as sources of theology. They studied not only the writings of the Church fathers, but also the liturgical practice of the early Church. In this way, they rediscovered the role of the laity in the liturgical life of the Church, and as a consequence thanks to vehement effort granted lay people access to translations of the Bible and of liturgical texts. The Jansenists' plea was supported by the production of new Bible editions in the Abbey of Port-Royal, by means of which the so-called *Messieurs de Port-Royal* aimed at spreading a new ideal of spiritual devotion among the laity. Their translations meant the beginning of a new era in the perception of vernacular Bible reading and signified a break with the restrictive Tridentine rules concerning Bible reading in the vernacular.²⁷⁸ It is important to note that the Jansenism of Port-Royal and the Jansenism of the Louvain theologians represent two different manifestations due to a different spatio-temporal context.²⁷⁹ Both groups, however, certainly had ideas in common and were influenced by each other, for instance in their ideas on vernacular Bible reading.

This section aims at shedding light on the Jansenist ideas of vernacular Bible reading. The first part discusses Port-Royal, Antoine Arnauld and the Port-Royal Bible translation project. The defence of vernacular Bible reading was a major topic in the works of Antoine Arnauld, one of the leading intellectuals of the Jansenist group of Port-Royal. The Bible translation project constituted an important impetus for the translation activity of the Jansenist circles in the Low Countries. The second part of this section focuses particularly on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, the French New Testament translation of Port-Royal. This translation proved to play an important role for the Dutch Catholic Bible translations that were produced in Jansenist milieus and successfully brought on the Netherlandish market in the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. The final part of this section pays attention to the life and works of Pasquier Quesnel, the successor to Antoine Arnauld as leader of the Jansenists of Port-Royal, and underlines his influence on the Dutch clergy and the three important Dutch Bible translators De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst.

278 Ellen Weaver, "Scripture and Liturgy for the Laity: The Jansenist Case for Translation," *Worship* 59 (1985), 510–521, there 510–511. See also Ellen Weaver, "The Bible and Port-Royal," *Cîteaux. Revue d'histoire cistercienne* 41 (1990), 66–100.

279 Sellier, "Qu'est-ce que le jansénisme (1640–1713)?," 55–99.

2.2.1 *Port-Royal, Antoine Arnauld and the Bible Translation Project*

The abbey of Port-Royal des Champs played an important part in the spread of the Jansenist ideas, especially those related to vernacular Bible reading. The abbey, situated in the valley of Chevreuse near Paris, was founded by Mathilde de Garlande (?–1224) in 1204, on the advice of the bishop of Paris, Eudes de Sully (?–1208). With approximately thirteen or fourteen religious sisters, it was a rather modest community, governed by the Rule of Saint Benedict. However, under the influence of the neighbouring abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay, the abbey was eventually placed under the jurisdiction of the Order of Cistercians in 1235.

By the sixteenth century, religious life had wilted in the abbey, to the extent that reform became necessary. As discussed in the first chapter, a Catholic restoration movement soon appeared, recalling the decrees of the Council of Trent. In France, this revival manifested itself in the enforcing of strict adherence to Church doctrine, reform of the monastic orders and the efflorescence of spiritual life. In 1602, Mère Angélique (1591–1661), born Jacqueline Arnauld, one of the sisters of the French Jansenist Antoine Arnauld, became the new abbess of Port-Royal, and she started this reform in 1609 by reinstating strict doctrinal teachings and by moving the focus to spiritual life. From the start, the Arnauld family was very closely connected to the abbey and even donated eleven clerics to the community in only two generations' time. In 1625, Angélique Arnauld with her nuns left the swampy, unhealthy place where Port-Royal des Champs was situated in order to settle in Paris. This new settlement was named Port-Royal de Paris. In 1627, the abbey was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Cîteaux and subjected to the Archbishop of Paris. Later on, in 1648, when the number of monastic sisters had increased again and the old domain was remediated, a part of the community returned to the initial location. In 1665, it came to a final split and Port-Royal de Paris became an independent community, which would last until 5 September 1792. The last religious at Port-Royal des Champs left the abbey on 29 October 1709 in the wake of the Jansenist controversy, after which the site was almost completely destroyed from June 1710 until the summer of 1711. By 1713, practically no trace of the abbey remained.

In the seventeenth century, Port-Royal des Champs, as well as the settlement in Paris, grew to become a centrepiece for the spiritual life. The abbey attracted all sorts of figures from the higher echelons of society. In 1637, Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, also called the *Abbé de Saint Cyran*, became the spiritual director of the abandoned abbey of Port-Royal des Champs. As mentioned earlier, he was a good friend of Jansenius. It is therefore from that moment that close relations were made between the ideas of Duvergier de Hauranne,

Port-Royal and Jansenius. The community at Port-Royal des Champs was extended with the *Solitaires*, Frenchmen who chose to retreat there and live a life of asceticism, for instance Antoine Le Maistre, Louis-Isaac Le Maistre, called "De Sacy," and even the famous Blaise Pascal. They were the only residents of Port-Royal des Champs. Later on, these men would be called the *Messieurs de Port-Royal*. Because of the presence of various *Petites Écoles* at the site, Port-Royal became a widely renowned educational institute; the system of the *Petites Écoles* would function until 1660.²⁸⁰

Another important member of the Arnauld family was the theologian Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), also called *le Grand Arnauld*, who was one of the younger brothers of Mère Angélique.²⁸¹ Antoine Arnauld was born in Paris on 6 February 1612 as the twentieth and last child of Antoine Arnauld senior and his wife. Although at the beginning his interests lay more in the field of jurisprudence, in imitation of his father who was a lawyer, Arnauld would eventually study theology in Paris. In 1635, he received his bachelor's degree and six years later, in 1641, he obtained a doctorate in theology and was ordained a priest. That same year 1641, the first French edition of Jansenius's *Augustinus* appeared in Paris, and Arnauld embarked on a new career. Already during his studies, he had shown interest for the Augustinian ideas. Stimulated by his father and through the influence of Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, his spiritual leader, who advised him to read the fathers of the Church, Arnauld got closely connected to the abbey of Port-Royal and became one of the leading intellectuals within the Jansenist group. With an inexhaustible energy, Arnauld joined the *Solitaires* of Port-Royal around 1640 and became directly involved in the controversies surrounding the *Augustinus*. Although he never met Jansenius in

280 Information on the history of Port-Royal can be accessed from Jean Mesnard, "Les naissances de Port-Royal," *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 55 (2005), 9–22; Marie-José Michel, "L'histoire de Port-Royal des Champs," *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 55 (2005), 23–33; Jean Lesaulnier, "Chronologie," *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 54 (2004), 13–26; Frédéric Delforge, "Port-Royal, Abbaye de," in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, Dictionnaires et références 11, ed. Jean Lesaulnier and Antony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2004), 831–834; Frédéric Delforge, "Port-Royal de Paris," in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, Dictionnaires et références 11, ed. Jean Lesaulnier and Antony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2004), 836–838; Paule Jansen, "Port-Royal de Paris, son histoire (1624–1792)," *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 40 (1991), 23–72.

281 For biographic information on Arnauld, see Jean Lesaulnier, "Arnauld, Antoine, dit le Grand Arnauld," in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, Dictionnaires et références 11, ed. Jean Lesaulnier and Anthony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2004), 78–85; Spiertz, *Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690*, 152–153; Emile Jacques, "Antoine Arnauld défenseur de Jansénius," in *L'image de Jansenius*, BETL 79, ed. Edmond J.M. van Eijl (Louvain: University Press, 1987), 66–68; Emile Jacques, "Un anniversaire: l'édition des Oeuvres complètes d'Antoine Arnauld (1775–1783)," *RHE* 70 (1975), 705–730; Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 42:1–26.

person, Arnauld became acquainted with Jansenius's characteristic disposition and his main ideas, thanks to Duvergier de Hauranne. Moreover, Arnauld became convinced of the necessity that a return to the ancient sources was needed in the field of theology—most of all, to the Bible and the Church fathers, with Augustine taking pride of place. It was partially thanks to his teacher that Arnauld wrote two apologies for Jansenius, in 1641 and 1645 respectively. However, Arnauld did not limit himself to the field of theology, but also showed interest in philosophy, especially under the influence of René Descartes and Cartesianism. He was furthermore a skilled practitioner of mathematics and logic, and he engaged in matters of jurisprudence, linguistics (grammar) and even pedagogy, through which he sustained the *Petites Écoles* at Port-Royal des Champs. In his polemic works, Arnauld combatted amongst others Protestantism and defended Augustinianism and Jansenism, inspired by the ideas of Duvergier de Hauranne. In other words, gifted with an unflagging zeal, Arnauld was a controversialist with a versatile mind, an encyclopaedic spirit, and the attitude of a team player. Later on in his life, he was also active as a Bible translator and an impassioned pleader for the spread of Scripture in the vernacular. Throughout his life, Arnauld alternated periods of living in the abbey of Port-Royal with periods of hiding to escape from his opponents. From 1679 onwards, he went into voluntary exile in the Southern Netherlands and travelled throughout the region.²⁸² He finally settled in Brussels, where on 8 August 1694 he died at the age of 82. Arnauld's complete works (38 books in 43 volumes) were published in Paris in the period 1775–1783.

Arnauld collaborated actively to the Port-Royal Bible translation project, which constituted an important impetus for the translation activity of the Jansenist circles in the Low Countries. The project can be divided into four important phases.²⁸³ The first period between 1653 and 1662 was a preparatory phase. Antoine Le Maistre²⁸⁴ initiated the preparations for the translation of the New

282 For more information on Arnauld's exile, see Emile Jacques, *Les années d'exil d'Antoine Arnauld (1679–1694)*, BETL 63 (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1976).

283 Philippe Sellier, "La Bible de Port-Royal," in *Port-Royal et la littérature*, vol. 2 *Le siècle de Saint Augustin, La Rochefoucauld, Mme de Lafayette, Sacy, Racine*, *Lumière classique* 34 (Paris, Champion, 2012), 147–159; Bernard Chédozeau, "Les grandes étapes de la publication de la Bible catholique en français. Du Concile de Trente au XVIII^e siècle," in *Le Grand Siècle et la Bible*, *Bible de tous les temps* 6, ed. Jean-Robert Armogathe (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 341–360; Bernard Chédozeau, "La publication de l'Écriture par Port-Royal (XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles): *Historia et concordia evangelica* (1653)," *Cahiers de Littérature du XVII^e siècle* 6 (1984), 53–65.

284 Antoine Le Maistre, also written Lemaistre or Le Maître, was born in Paris on 2 May 1608. He was a nephew of *le Grand Arnauld*. In imitation of his ancestor Antoine Arnauld the Lawyer (1560–1619), Le Maistre studied law and became a famous lawyer. He maintained

Testament, in particular the Gospels and the Apocalypse around 1653, but the project came to a standstill. Other works that appeared during this period were, among others, a prayer book containing about 60 Psalms, entitled *Heures de Port-Royal* (1659), translated by Louis-Isaac Le Maistre, called "De Sacy,"²⁸⁵ Antoine's brother, under the pseudonym of J. Dumont.

good relations with Jean Duvergier de Hauranne and other religious of Port-Royal. In December 1637, Le Maistre unexpectedly gave up his career at the bar and went to Port-Royal where he placed himself under the spiritual direction of Duvergier de Hauranne. However, this withdrawal did not meet with the approval of Cardinal Richelieu, who regretted the loss of a talented advocate. On 10 or 17 January 1638, Antoine Le Maistre and his brother Simon installed themselves in Port-Royal des Champs and they were joined by others, for instance by their brothers Jean, Charles and Louis-Isaac Le Maistre, but also by Claude Lancelot. This Jansenist group under the guidance of Duvergier de Hauranne soon became known as the *Solitaires* of Port-Royal des Champs. On 14 May 1638, Duvergier de Hauranne got arrested and the group got dispersed. In August 1639, Antoine Le Maistre returned to Port-Royal des Champs and he started to devote himself to the writing of various publications, among others a work on Bernard of Clairvaux, an edition of three comedies of Terentius and works in defence of Port-Royal. He also actively contributed to the Port-Royal translation project. Meanwhile, in 1643, Duvergier de Hauranne was released but died that same year. When the campaigns against the Jansenists were forced up, Antoine Le Maistre went to Paris to hide with his uncle Antoine Arnauld. He closely followed the condemnation of his uncle by the Parisian Faculty of Theology in 1656 and helped with the publication of Blaise Pascal's *Lettres provinciales* (1656–1657) in defence of Arnauld and Jansenism. Le Maistre died on 4 November 1658 in Port-Royal. See Jean Lesaulnier, "Le Maistre, Antoine," in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, Dictionnaires et références 11, ed. Jean Lesaulnier and Anthony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2004), 626–632.

- 285 Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy (1613–1684), brother of Antoine Le Maistre and nephew of Antoine Arnauld, was placed under the spiritual guidance of Port-Royal from an early age on. Duvergier de Hauranne initiated him in the reading of the Church fathers and Augustine. He was ordained a priest in 1649 and became confessor for the returned religious sisters of Port-Royal des Champs. De Sacy is mostly known for his translation work for Port-Royal, both of Latin literature for the *Petites Écoles* and of biblical works. His translations of 60 Psalms, entitled *Heures de Port-Royal* (1659) and his translation *De l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ* (1662) for instance were reprinted several times. He was also the driving force of the *Bible de Port-Royal*, also surnamed the *Bible de Sacy*. On 13 May 1666, De Sacy was imprisoned in the Bastille, where he remained until 14 November 1668. During his captivity, he completed the French translation of the Old Testament, started by his brother Antoine. From 1672 until his death in 1684, De Sacy revised his translation of the Old Testament and started the preparations for the *Commentaires* that had to accompany each Bible book. After his death in 1684, his work was continued by Pierre Thomas who published the entire translation from 1685 to 1693. See Jean Lesaulnier, "Le Maistre de Sacy, Louis-Isaac," in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, Dictionnaires et références 11, ed. Jean Lesaulnier and Anthony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2004), 635–640; Thérèse Monthéard, "Quelques personnages illustres," *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 54 (2004), 35–55, there 42–43.

During the second period, in the years of 1662–1667, Port-Royal published several devotional books in French. In 1662 for instance, *De l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*, a translation of Thomas à Kempis's work appeared, also translated by De Sacy, but this time under the pseudonym of Sieur de Beuil, prieur de Saint Val. This translation was followed by two translations of the book of Psalms in 1665, one according to the Hebrew version and another according to the Vulgate. The fact that the Gospels and the book of Psalms were taken as the first books to be translated illustrates that the translators followed the ancient traditions of the Church. A milestone in the undertaking of Port-Royal was the publication of a French translation of the New Testament in 1667 known as the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, which will be discussed in the next part. It should be noted, however, that there had already been meritorious attempts in France to produce a more readable translation of the New Testament by, among others, François Véron (1646–1647), Michel de Marolles (1649) and Antoine Godeau (1668).²⁸⁶

During the third period, in the years 1672–1693, all the books of the Old Testament were translated under the guidance of De Sacy. Until 1693, the French Jansenists had relied on the French translation of the Old Testament included in the so-called *Bible des Théologiens de Louvain*,²⁸⁷ which was considered

286 For more information on these three translations, see Bernard Chédozeau, "La Bible française chez les Catholiques," *Les Bibles en français: histoire illustrée du Moyen Age à nos jours*, ed. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 138–140; Frédéric Delforge, *La Bible en France et dans la francophonie: histoire, traduction, diffusion*, La France au fil des siècles (Paris: Société biblique française, 1991), 107–109, 123–143.

287 One should not confuse the *Bible des théologiens de Louvain* with the so-called French *Bible de Louvain* of 1550 that had appeared within the scope of the project of the *Leuvense Bijbel*. The *Bible des théologiens de Louvain*, printed for the first time by Plantin in Antwerp in 1578, was based on the translation of the Frenchman René Benoist. The New Testament translation, compiled by the *Théologiens de Louvain*, according to the information on the title page, had already been published by Plantin in 1573. Benoist had felt the need for a vernacular Catholic Bible for the laity to support resistance to the Protestant translations. Moreover, he invoked the decisions of the Council of Trent in order to justify his work. His translation appeared for the first time in Paris in 1566. The *Bible des théologiens de Louvain* was revised three times before 1620, both from the exegetical and stylistic point of view. See Alison Carter, "René Benoist: Scripture for the Catholic Masses," in *Moderate voices in the European Reformation*, St. Andrew studies in Reformation history, ed. Luc Racaut and Alec Ryrie (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 162–177; Elizabeth Molrey Ingram, "Dressed in Borrowed Robes: The Making and Marketing of the Louvain Bible (1578)," in *The Church and the Book: papers read at the 2000 Summer meeting and the 2001 Winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical history society*, Studies in Church History 38, ed. Richard N. Swanson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 212–221; Yuka Mochizuki, "Un prélude à la 'guerre civile de la langue française': la polémique littéraire autour du Nouveau Testament de Mons," *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 51 (2002), 429–465, there 444–445; Francis M. Higman,

archaic and outdated. In their translation, les *Messieurs* provided a Latin version and a French translation for every Bible book, accompanied by a short preface and, preceding each chapter, an extensive explanation concerning the literal and spiritual meaning of the texts. The separate volumes of the translation were printed in-octavo and appeared with different editors, for instance the widow of Charles Savreux, Guillaume Desprez or Pierre Le Petit.²⁸⁸ The re-edition of the separate books of the translation rarely occurred, with exception of the book of Psalms that was reprinted several times.²⁸⁹ The complete Bible was re-edited in-duodecimo in 1696 in Lyon and Amsterdam. Some important reprints of this Bible were issued in the Low Countries, for instance in Brussels by Eugène Henri Fricx or François Foppens, who had pirated the privilege that belonged to Guillaume Desprez of Paris;²⁹⁰ and in Antwerp by Gaspar Moretus.²⁹¹ Also in 1701, *La Bible de Port-Royal* appeared in Liège, printed by Jean-François Broncart in two folio volumes.²⁹²

During the fourth phase, between 1696 and 1708, in continuation of the *Bible de Port-Royal*, the *Messieurs* revised and republished the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, in accord with the same method they had used for the books of the Old Testament. The enterprise resulted in a translation of the Bible consisting of 32 volumes in-octavo, entitled *La Sainte Bible contenant l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*.²⁹³ Besides these translation efforts, the *Messieurs de Port-Royal* also continued to publish their commentaries of the New Testament and edited translations of the liturgy.

Lire et découvrir: la circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 326 (Genève: Droz, 1998), 563–571; Pierre-Maurice Bogaert and Jean-François Gilmont, "De Lefèvre d'Étaples à la fin du xvi^e siècle," in *Les Bibles en français: histoire illustrée du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 91–102; Chédozeau, "La Bible française chez les catholiques," 137–138; Delforge, *La Bible en France*, 107–109.

288 Chédozeau, "La Bible française chez les catholiques," 147–150.

289 Bernard Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible: un siècle d'or de la Bible en France, 1650–1708*, Univers Port-Royal 7 (Paris: Nolin, 2007), 64.

290 Bettye Thomas Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles*, vol. 2 *Seventeenth century French-language editions of the Scriptures*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 282 (Genève: Droz, 1994), 823–828.

291 Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles*, 2: 832.

292 Delforge, *La Bible en France*, 140–141.

293 Sellier *La Bible de Port-Royal*, 161–173; Bernard Chédozeau, "La publication de l'Écriture par Port-Royal, deuxième partie: l'Ancien Testament dans la Bible de Sacy, 1672–1693," *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 35 (1986), 195–203.

2.2.2 *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons (1667)*

The *Nouveau Testament de Mons*,²⁹⁴ published in 1667, proved to play an important role for the Dutch Catholic Bible translations that were produced in Jansenist milieus and successfully brought on the Netherlandish market in the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. The *Nouveau Testament de Mons* was a joint undertaking of several *Messieurs* de Port-Royal, including Antoine Le Maistre, Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy, Antoine Arnauld, Pierre Nicole and Blaise Pascal.

Antoine Le Maistre had, as mentioned above, already begun the preparations for this translation around 1653. He translated the Gospels and the Apocalypse, but only on the basis of the Vulgate, which did not satisfy the other *Messieurs*, who preferred the original Greek text.²⁹⁵ Then the translation of the New Testament came to a standstill for a couple of years. At the end of 1656, or the beginning of 1657, Le Maistre re-launched the project together with his brother Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy, and in cooperation with Antoine Arnauld, Pierre Nicole and Blaise Pascal, who among others acted as correctors. The original Greek text and the Latin Vulgate constituted the initial point of departure, but also variant readings of other translations and different interpretations of the Latin and Greek Church fathers were incorporated. When Antoine Le Maistre died on 4 November 1658, his brother Louis-Isaac continued the translation work, and therefore his name appears on the front-page of the complete translation, which is also surnamed the *Bible de Sacy*.²⁹⁶ Antoine Arnauld was charged with translating the remaining books of the New Testament, namely the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. Moreover, together with Pierre Nicole and a team of correctors, he presided over the revision of the books that had already been translated on the basis of the Greek text, existing Latin and French translations, and patristic writings.²⁹⁷ After another standstill in the period 1660–1665, due to the renewal of the Formulary

294 This section is based on Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible*, 333–346; Béatrice Mairé and François Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, “Contrefaçons des éditions bibliques de Port-Royal: le Nouveau Testament de Mons (1667–1710) et la Bible ‘avec les grandes explications’ (1678–1698),” in *Les presses grises: la contrefaçon du livre (XVIe–XIXe siècles)*, ed. François Moureau (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1988), 171–201; Emmanuel Pétavel, *La Bible en France ou les traductions françaises des Saintes Ecritures: étude historique et littéraire* (1864; repr. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 139–150.

295 Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 6:iii.

296 Antoine Arnauld mentioned in his 62nd and 66th difficulties proposed to M. Steyaert that “M. de Sacy y avait le plus travaillé” and that he was “le principal auteur.” See Antoine Arnauld, *Sixième partie des difficultez proposées a Mr. Steyaert sur le Nouveau Testament de Mons* (Cologne, 1700), 25, 112.

297 Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 6:iii.

controversy in France, the final revision of the translation took place clandestinely with the help of some specialists and was finalized in 1666. De Sacy wrote the foreword on 13 May 1666, the day that he landed in the *Bastille* during persecutions against the supporters of Port-Royal. He was only set free in 1668 during the period of the Clementine Peace.

In the meantime, the translation of the New Testament was submitted to the French statesman and chancellor Pierre Séguier for approval in order to be printed. Séguier, however, refused the privilege, probably because he had a marked preference for the French New Testament translation of Denis Amelote (1609–1678), published in 1666–1668.²⁹⁸ Indeed, the General Assembly of the Clergy of France had entrusted the Oratorian Amelote with the task of making a French translation of the New Testament. For various reasons, Amelote and the *Messieurs* of Port-Royal were engaged in rivalry. Amelote's translation was given royal approval and was soon considered an appropriate alternative to the Port-Royal version, the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. Moreover, Louis XIV ordered the distribution of 150,000 copies of Amelote's translation to the Protestants who had converted to Catholicism after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685–1687.

The *Messieurs* therefore turned to the Low Countries, where there was a more favourable attitude towards the translation. On 12 October 1665, the Archbishop of Cambrai, Gaspard Nemius, gave his approval for printing to the Mons book seller Gaspard Migeot on the assumption that the translation would be, or had already been, approved by a royal censor. The Louvain theologian Jacobus Pontanus gave his approval to the translation on 14 June 1666.²⁹⁹ Further approbation for the translation came from Joannes Wachtendonck, bishop of Namur, in October 1666. Finally, the Spanish King Charles II (1661–1700) provided a royal printing privilege for six years. Both in the privilege of Charles II and in the approval of Gaspard Nemius, quite remarkably, Arnauld is the only one to be designated as translator, with the remark that the translation was the work of "a doctor of the Sorbonne." This indication was probably added to emphasize the authority and the quality of the translation.³⁰⁰ It is

298 Chédozeau, "La Bible française chez les catholiques," 142–146.

299 Jacobus Pontanus also had approved all the works of Jansenius (*Tetrateuchus*: 10 May 1639; *Augustinus*: July 1640; *Pentateuchus*: 5 March 1641; *Analecta*: 17 June 1644). Chédozeau states that these approvals testify both of the desire of the Tridentine fathers to explain the texts from a pastoral point of view, and of the wish to return to Tradition and the writings of the Fathers for the explanations of the scriptural texts. See Chédozeau, "Aux sources de la publication de la Bible catholique en français," 102.

300 Arnauld had obtained his doctorate in theology in 1641. The approbation of Gaspard Nemius affirms "Gaspard Nemius, Dei & Apostolicae Sedis gratiâ, Archiepiscopus & Dux

important to note that the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* did not receive any French permissions, approbations or privileges.

According to the information on the title page, the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* was published in 1667 in Mons (Bergen in Dutch) by printer Gaspard Migeot. This was, however, a false printing address, because the translation was actually printed in Amsterdam by Daniel Elzevier. The manuscript was brought to Amsterdam by Sébastien-Joseph du Cambout, abbot of Pontchâteau (1634–1690).³⁰¹ During the first six months, more than 5.000 examples of the translation were sold and the translation was reprinted several times during the seventeenth century, undoubtedly aided by the Clementine Peace, but also long thereafter.³⁰² The fact that De Precipiano vehemently reacted against the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* in his decrees demonstrates that the translation also circulated at a large scale in the Southern Netherlands. In addition, the translation was known in the North, since the Jansenist Bible translators De Witte and Van der Schuur used the Mons translation for their Dutch translations, as will be demonstrated in the fourth and fifth chapter.

The prologue to the translation, written by De Sacy, consisted of two parts. In the first part, De Sacy dealt with the excellence of the Gospels and the others books of the New Testament, and he explained the method according to which these books should be translated properly. The second part enumerated various difficulties that the translators were accustomed to face during their work.

Cameracensis [...] hinc est quod Novum Testamentum e Vulgatâ Latinâ editione **per unum Doctorem Sorbonicum** in idioma Gallicum fideliter translatum [...].” The privilege of Charles II states: “Charles [...] a donné Privilege à Gaspard Migeot, libraire juré en la ville de Mons, de pouvoir lui seul, imprimer ou faire imprimer, vendre & distribuer, par tous les pays & Seigneuries de Sa Majesté, le Nouveau Testament traduit du latin en françois, **par un Docteur de Sorbonne**, & ce pour le terme de six ans [...]” (emphasis ours). See Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible*, 343–346; Arnould, *Oeuvres*, 6:iv–v, xxxi–xxxii

301 Bruno Neveu, *Sébastien Joseph Du Cambout de Pontchâteau (1634–1690) et ses missions à Rome: d’après sa correspondance et des documents inédits*, École française de Rome. Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire. Suppléments 7 (Paris: de Boccard, 1968), 321–328.

302 Five editions were published in 1667, and four more in the following year. In 1684, already 25 editions had been printed. Arnould testified in a letter to the religiously tolerant landgrave Ernest of Hesse-Rheinfels-Rotenburg, dated 12 April 1683 that already more than 40.000 exemplars of the translation had been sold. He stated: “Presque tous les Evêques de France font beaucoup d’estime de cette traduction, dont il s’est vendu plus de quarante mille exemplaires.” See Arnould, *Oeuvres*, 2:224. See also Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible*, 346. For more details concerning the various (re)prints of *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons*, see Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles*, vol. 2; Léopold De Saille, *Étude bibliographique du Nouveau Testament de Port-Royal, dit de Mons et des impressions du Librairie Migeot de 1664 à 1703* (Mons: Dequesne, 1926); Renier H.G. Chalon, *Recherches sur les éditions du Nouveau Testament de Mons* (Brussels, 1844); Arnould, *Oeuvres*, 6:v.

The French scholar Chédozeau describes the preface as a technical manual of translation, a study book for the reading of the Bible and a small treatise of spirituality. De Sacy justified the (moral) obligation to read the New Testament, and the Bible in general, the following way: the reading of the Bible is the reception of God's Word, just as the Eucharist is the reception of Christ's body. In other words, De Sacy established a strong relationship between God's Word and Christ's body, the Gospels and the Eucharist, in line with Thomas à Kempis whose work he had translated into French in 1662, and other spiritual literature. The reading of the Bible could be considered a sacramental act that helped to prepare one for the Eucharist, and in this way the Holy Spirit brought about a fruitful encounter with God in word and sacrament. Chédozeau therefore states that the most spectacular element of the preface is its affirmation of the necessity of reading the Bible by all faithful. The reading of the Bible, and especially of the New Testament, was not a right, but even an imperious obligation for everybody.³⁰³

It is not surprising that the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* was severely contested in France as well as in the Low Countries, not only immediately after its publication in 1668, but also in the following decades of the seventeenth century. The *Nouveau Testament de Mons* was criticized at three levels. The majority of the reactions against the translation came from the Society of Jesus or from religious circles influenced by them; second, and to a lesser degree, the secular and royal authorities intervened in the discussions; third, the translation was submitted to the dogmatic judgments of the Holy See. Antoine Arnauld, sometimes assisted by other *Messieurs*, undertook various endeavours, the majority of them anonymously, to defend the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and the Port-Royal principle of vernacular Bible translation and reading. Of course he was not the only one to react to the allegations against the translation. This section does not intend to give an exhaustive overview of all the works Arnauld wrote in favour of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, but only discusses a few examples – particularly those that played a role in the controversy on vernacular Bible reading between the Jansenist-minded circles in the Low Countries and their opponents.

The French Jesuit and historian Louis Maimbourg (1610–1686) was the first to react to the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* in his sermons, given in the period

303 Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible*, 368–388; Denise Leduc-Fayette, "Lire l'Écriture Sainte: un "droit"?", *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 44 (1995), 97–112, there 99–100; Chédozeau, "La Bible française chez les Catholiques," 145–147. For the tekst of the prologue, see Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible*, 347–367.

August–October 1667 in Paris.³⁰⁴ He stated that the translation was full of errors and faults, and that it had been compiled to favour the Calvinist heresy. Those who read or (had) bought the translation had to be excommunicated.³⁰⁵ Arnauld retorted to Maimbourg in 1667 in seven pamphlets. These pamphlets were collected in one volume that was printed in 1668 under the title *Deffense de la tradvction du Nouveau Testament imprimé à Mons* and accompanied by a foreword of Pierre Nicole. The work aimed at justifying the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* against the invectives of Maimbourg, who had questioned the translation of several biblical passages. According to Maimbourg, the translators had not followed the Vulgate, but rather the Greek text; moreover, the translation was not literal but already expressed an disputable interpretation of the biblical text's meaning. Arnauld, for his part, refuted these allegations with an elaborate argumentation. Moreover, he discussed some important topics of Christian doctrine and theological questions, for instance the debate on attrition in the context of the Form of Alexander VII.³⁰⁶ Also in 1668, Maimbourg defended his sermons in his *Deffense des sermons faits par le R.P. Maimbourg jesuite*, but this work soon fell out of use.³⁰⁷

The Archbishop of Paris at that time, Hardouin de Beaumont de Péréfixe (1606–1671), issued two ordinances against the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, in which he attacked the reading, selling, and recitation of the translation without permission of the bishops by appealing to the Tridentine decrees, and the *Regula Quarta* in particular. The first ordinance, dated 18 November 1667, criticized the translation because of a lack of conformity to the Vulgate text, due to the use of the Greek text. Four days later, on 22 November, the translation was forbidden under the form of an *Arrest du Conseil d'Estat* or an Arrest of the State Council, which forbade the selling and reciting of the translation.³⁰⁸

304 Leduc-Fayette, "Lire l'Écriture Sainte: un 'droit'?", 102; Louis Ellies du Pin, *Histoire ecclésiastique du dix-septième siècle*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1714), 222.

305 For more background information on the controversy between Maimbourg and Arnauld, see Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 6:vi–ix.

306 Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole, *Deffense de la tradvction du Nouveau Testament imprimé à Mons. Contre les sermons du p. Meinbourg jesuite. Avec la réponse aux remarques du p. Annat* (Cologne, 1668). This edition was a slightly modified reprint of the seven original pamphlets and has been inserted in Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 6:551–784.

307 L.D.S.F. (= Louis de Sainte Foi = Louis Maimbourg), *Deffense des sermons faits par le R.P. Maimbourg jesuite, contre la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons* (Paris, 1668). See also Dieudonné, *La paix clémentine*, 102.

308 For the text of both prohibitions, see Du Pin, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3:222–228. See also Dieudonné, *La paix clémentine*, 99–100.

Arnauld and Nicole reacted, probably in 1668, with the work *Abus et nullitez de l'ordonnance subreptice de Monseigneur l'archevesque de Paris*.³⁰⁹ In this work, they dealt with nine so-called nullities that they claimed to find in De Péréfixe's ordinance, and with nine moral questions concerning the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.³¹⁰ The indignant Archbishop, most probably at the instigation of the Jesuits, reacted by writing a second and more extensive ordinance that appeared on 20 April 1668. This time, he condemned the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* on the basis of the censures of the Parisian theologians of the previous century against the Benoist translation and vernacular Bibles in general. The Archbishop enumerated six arguments and stated for instance that the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* was not in accordance with the Vulgate, the authentic version of the Latin Church, as declared by the Council of Trent. He furthermore proposed to extend the punishment of excommunication to all who dared to print, sell, distribute, or recite the translation, instead of only the printers and book sellers.³¹¹

In imitation of De Péréfixe, and thus encouraged by the Jesuits, several French (Arch)bishops condemned *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons*. An important voice in the debate was the Archbishop of Embrun, George d'Aubusson de La Feuillade (1609–1697), who ordered his vicar-general, assisted by some Jesuits, to write an ordinance that was published in the beginning of December 1667. In this decree, it was put forward that translations such as that of Mons were at the basis of the heresies of the days.³¹² Henri Cauchon de Maupas (1606–1680), bishop of Evreux, and cardinal Antonio Barberini (1659–1671), Archbishop of Reims, also wrote ordinances against the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, dated respectively 27 November 1667 and 4 January 1668.³¹³ As a reaction to these decrees, Arnauld and Noël La Lane (1618–1673) addressed an appeal to Louis XIV on 10 May 1668, in which they requested an audience with the King before receiving a possible condemnation. They also rejected the allegations that the Archbishop of Embrun had made against them.³¹⁴

309 Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole, *Abus et nullitez de l'ordonnance subreptice de Mgr l'archevesque de Paris, par laquelle il a défendu de lire et de débiter la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimé à Mons* (n.p., 1668 (?)).

310 Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 6:ix–x.

311 Du Pin, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3:212–216, 234–243; Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 7:vi–vii.

312 Du Pin, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3:229–232.

313 Dieudonné, *La paix clémentine*, 102; Du Pin, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3:232–234; Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 7:ii–vi.

314 Du Pin, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3:248–252.

As far as the secular and royal authorities were concerned, they had intervened in the discussions through the publication of the aforementioned prohibition, dated 22 November 1667 and issued by the State Council, to which King Louis XIV added a short charge. This prohibition forbade both the selling and recitation of the anonymous *Nouveau Testament de Mons* without the permission and approbation of the French bishops. Furthermore, all exemplars of the translation had to be handed over to the secretary of the Parisian provost, or to the local royal judges. In practice, however, the prohibition was not observed. It is notable that this document is one of the few to which Arnauld did not react – maybe out of self-preservation because he wanted to avoid difficulties with the royal authorities?

The *Nouveau Testament de Mons* was also submitted to the dogmatic judgments of the Holy See in Rome. On 20 April 1668, the same day that De Péréfixe's second ordinance was published, the Jesuits sent a text on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* to Rome. Pope Clement IX condemned the translation that same day, not in a bull, but rather in a simple brief.³¹⁵ However, the papal nuncio in Paris sent this document to the French bishops without consulting the Parliament, and thus without the necessary approvals. The royal prosecutor considered this an act against the rights of the bishops and the freedom of the Gallican Church. As a consequence, the brief could not be received in France. Louis XIV ordered the nuncio to retract all the briefs he had sent to the bishops, an order which he readily carried out. The same brief had also been sent to the papal nuncio of Brussels and the bishops of the Low Countries, although it too had not been submitted to the Royal Council of the Low Countries for approval. The Provincial Council therefore issued a prohibition to publish the brief on 10 July 1668.³¹⁶ In short, Clement IX's brief was not executed in France nor the Low Countries, undoubtedly in the aftermath of the Clementine Peace. However, Innocent XI condemned the translation again on 9 September 1679.

Besides the reactions mentioned above, objections against the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* came from, among others, the Jesuit François Annat (1607–1670), one of the foremost opponents of Jansenism, in his work *Remarques sur la conduite qu'ont tenu les Jansenistes en l'impression et publication du Nouveau Testament imprimé à Mons* (1668). The Jesuit Michel le Tellier (1603–1685) also took part in the controversies surrounding the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*

315 Mairé and Dupuigrenet Desroussilles, *Contrefaçons des éditions bibliques de Port-Royal*, 171–201.

316 Du Pin, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3: 243–248; Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 7:x–xii.

and published three works in 1672, 1675 and 1684,³¹⁷ to which Arnauld never reacted.³¹⁸

Again under the impulse of the Jesuits, Charles Mallet (1608–1680), canon and vicar-general of Rouen, violated the Clementine Peace in 1676 with his *Examen de quelques passages de la traduction française du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons*,³¹⁹ which consisted mainly of a recapitulation of Maimbourg's argumentation. Three years later, in 1679, Mallet published his *De la lecture de l'Écriture Sainte en langue vulgaire*. In the preface to his work, Mallet emphasized both the requirements of capacity and permission to read vernacular Bibles,³²⁰ an explicit reference to the *Regula Quarta*. In his work, he did not refer to the *Observatio circa regulam quartam* or the Index. The French historians Leduc-Fayette and Chédozeau³²¹ therefore consider Mallet a vehement defender of a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* of Trent. According to Arnauld, however, all Christians were obliged to read the Bible, and he reacted vehemently to the assertions expressed in Mallet's works. Arnauld also considered the Tridentine rules as human laws that applied to specific circumstances. When the circumstances changed, these rules could also stop being laws. Moreover, he considered the fact of forbidding vernacular Bible reading a pretext for the Protestants to attack the Catholics³²² and vehemently defend the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. In 1680, he published his *Nouvelle défense de*

317 These works were entitled *Réponse aux principales raisons de la nouvelle défense du Nouveau Testament de Mons* (Rouen, 1672); *Avis importants et nécessaires aux personnes qui lisent les Traductions Françaises des Saintes Ecritures, et particulièrement celle du Nouveau Testament, imprimée à Mons* (Lyon, 1675); *Observations sur la nouvelle defense de la version française du Nouveau Testament imprimée a Mons, pour justifier la conduite des papes, des evesques & du roy à l'égard de cette version* (Rouen, 1684).

318 Dieudonné, *La paix clémentine*, 101–102; Du Pin, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3:233; Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 7:xii–xiv; xxvi–xxvii.

319 A second reviewed and corrected edition of this work appeared in 1677. A third version was posthumously published in 1682.

320 "On voit aujourd'huy le nouveau Testament en François entre les mains de toutes sortes de personnes qui ne sont aucun scrupule de le lire sans permission, & qui sont abusez jusqu'à ce point, que de croire que cette lecture est à tout le monde une action de pieté, importante à la gloire de Dieu, & necessaire à leur salut." See Charles Mallet, *De la lecture de l'Écriture Sainte en langue vulgaire* (Rouen, 1679).

321 Leduc-Fayette, "Lire l'Écriture Sainte: un 'droit'?", 100; Bernard Chédozeau, *La Bible et la liturgie en français: l'Eglise tridentine et les traductions bibliques et liturgiques (1600–1789)* (Paris: Cerf, 1990,) 213–217.

322 For an overview of the controversy between Mallet and Arnauld, see Leduc-Fayette, "Lire l'Écriture Sainte: un 'droit'?", 97–112; Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 8:i–iii.

la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons in two volumes.³²³ That same year, the work was followed by the *Continuation de la nouvelle défense de la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons*.³²⁴ As a reaction to Mallet's more general work of 1679, on the reading of the Holy Scriptures, Arnauld wrote his *De la Lecture de l'Écriture sainte contre les paradoxes extravagants et impies de M. Mallet, docteur de Sorbonne*,³²⁵ also published in 1680. Mallet's last work, *Réponse aux principales raisons qui servent de fondement à la nouvelle défense du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons*, was posthumously published in 1682.³²⁶

2.2.3 Pasquier Quesnel and Vernacular Bible Reading

Pasquier Quesnel was another important leading intellectual of the Jansenist group of Port-Royal. He can be considered as the successor to Antoine Arnauld. In imitation of Arnauld, he was forced to flee France, and went into exile in the Northern Low Countries after a stay in Brussels. He found refuge in Amsterdam in 1703, and stayed there until his death in 1719.³²⁷ This is not surprising as in the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, the Northern Low Countries, and the city of Amsterdam in particular, transformed into a crossroad and a place of interchange of ideas for Jansenist refugees originating from France and the Southern Low Countries. During his exile in the North, Quesnel entered into contact with the three important Dutch Bible translators,³²⁸ Aegidius de Witte, Andreas van der Schuur and Philippe

323 Antoine Arnauld, *Nouvelle défense de la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons; contre le livre de M. Mallet, docteur de Sorbonne, chanoine et archidiacre de Rouen, où les passages qu'il attaque sont justifiés, ses calomnies confondues, et ses erreurs contre la foy réfutées*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1680). This work was reprinted several times, also in Northern Low Countries where it appeared with a false title.

324 Antoine Arnauld, *Continuation de la nouvelle défense de la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons contre le livre de M. Mallet [...] où les passages qu'il attaque sont justifiés, ses calomnies confondues & ses erreurs contre la foy réfutées* (Cologne, 1680).

325 Antoine Arnauld, *De la Lecture de l'Écriture sainte contre les paradoxes extravagants et impies de M. Mallet, docteur de Sorbonne, chanoine et archidiacre de Rouen, dans son livre intitulé: De la Lecture de l'Écriture sainte en langue vulgaire* (Antwerp, 1680).

326 Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 7:xv–xxii.

327 Paul Dibon therefore rightly affirms in the preface of Tans's work that it is "difficile de comprendre la France du 17^e siècle, ou du moins les grands courants de pensée auxquels elle a participé, sans songer aux Pays-Bas." See Joseph A.G. Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas: correspondance, publiée avec introduction et annotations*, Publications de l'Institut français d'Amsterdam. Maison Descartes 6 (Groningen: Wolters, 1960).

328 See in this regard Els Agten, "Pasquier Quesnel et la traduction de la Bible en langue vernaculaire en Hollande. La situation avant et après le choc de l'*Vnigenitus*," *Chroniques de Port-Royal* 64 (2014), 51–69.

Verhulst, whose translations were considered Jansenist, as will be demonstrated in the fourth chapter of this study.

Pasquier Quesnel, born on 14 July 1634, joined the Oratorians in 1657 and was ordained on 20 September 1659. In February 1685, Quesnel refused to sign the anti-Jansenist Form of Alexander VII, in spite of the insistence of François de Harlay (1625–1695), then Archbishop of Paris, to whom the Oratorians had promised obedience. Quesnel voluntarily went into exile, first in Orléans and then in Brussels, where he arrived on 25 February 1685. He took refuge in the house of his 73-years old friend Antoine Arnauld, who already resided and worked in the Southern Low Countries for six years.³²⁹ During his exile in Brussels, Quesnel helped Arnauld in his struggle against the anti-Jansenists, particularly the Jesuits, and the Protestants. Encouraged by Arnauld, Quesnel completed his *Abrégé de la morale de l'Évangile*, written in 1672, with an *Abrégé de la morale des Actes des Apôtres, des Epistres de Saint-Paul, des Epistres canoniques et de l'Apocalypse* (1687), which resulted in the publication of his famous *Nouveau Testament en français avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset* [...] (1692, 21693). The work was a success, witnessed by the fact that it was reedited several times and Quesnel was repeatedly given high praise. However, the reedition of the *Réflexion Morales* in 1693 also gave rise to accusations.³³⁰ In spite of all criticism, the Latin translation of the Gospels appeared in 1694–1695, followed by the Latin translation of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles in 1698, while the accusations against Quesnel and his works accumulated. The translation of the *Réflexions Morales* was revised in Paris in 1695 and deferred to Rome in 1699. One year later, in 1700, the Jesuits reported 63 propositions to be considered erroneous to the Holy Office, but in vain. Quesnel defended his stand in several works, for instance his *Motif de droit*, published in 1704. He also composed polemical works that he often published anonymously or under a pseudonym. Apart from these activities, Quesnel

329 Lucianus Ceyssens, "Quesnel à Bruxelles (1685–1703)," *Augustiniana* 44 (1994), 137–148, there 138–139; Josephus A.G. Tans and Henri Schmitz du Moulin, *La correspondance de Pasquier Quesnel. Inventaire et Index analytique*, vol. 1, BRHE 74 (Brussels: Nauwelaerts, 1989), ix; Josephus A.G. Tans and Lucianus Ceyssens, *Autour de l'Unigenitus: recherches sur la genèse de la constitution*, BETL 76 (Louvain: Leuven university press, 1987), 583–603.

330 Henri Schmitz du Moulin, "Quesnel, Pasquier," in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, Dictionnaires et références 11, ed. Jean Lesaulnier and Anthony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2004), 635–640. For more detailed information on the realisation, the reedition and the defense of the *Réflexions Morales*, see Tans and Ceyssens, "Autour de l'Unigenitus," 633–648.

conducted a lively and intense correspondence with a broad network of friends of different nationalities on spiritual, doctrinal and political questions.³³¹

After the death of Arnauld in 1694, Quesnel carried on the work of his friend, for instance as advisor of vicar apostolic Peter Codde, and was therefore considered the successor of Arnauld as leader of the Jansenists. From that moment onwards, Quesnel started to exercise a major influence on the Dutch clergy. Moreover, he made several trips to the Northern Low Countries and stayed there some time. Codde considered Quesnel as “one of them” and conducted an active correspondence with him on problems that dominated the relations between Rome and the Church of the Northern Low Countries, for instance the juridical statute of the Church and the authority of the vicars apostolic, which were appointed by Rome. It was also at the request of Codde that Quesnel wrote his *La foi et l'innocence du clergé de Hollande défendues contre un libelle diffamatoire [...]* in 1700. The work reacted against the *Breve memoriale de statu ac progressu Jansenismi in Hollandia* of the Jesuit Louis Doucin (1652–1726), written in 1697.³³² With this work, Doucin aimed at discrediting the Church of the Northern Low Countries by denouncing the rigorist practices and the Jansenist sermons, books and catechisms.³³³

On the ecclesiastical level, the city of Brussels fell under the authority of the anti-Jansenist Archbishop De Precipiano and problems were not long in coming in spite of Quesnel's prudence. Moreover, De Precipiano's residence was located nearby Quesnel's house.³³⁴ On 30 May 1703, Quesnel was arrested and imprisoned in the archiepiscopal palace of Brussels for four months. On the night of 12–13 September, he managed to escape thanks to the help of some friends. Quesnel hid in Brussels and on 2 November, he was able to escape to the North and proceeded to Amsterdam on the invitation of Codde.³³⁵ In the

331 Tans and Schmitz du Moulin, *La correspondance de Pasquier Quesnel*, 1:ix–x; Ceyssens, “Quesnel à Bruxelles (1685–1703),” 142–143. Ceyssens provides in his contribution a detailed overview of the letters written by Quesnel during his stay in Brussels. He makes a distinction between the period with Arnauld and the period after the death of Arnauld. See also Tans and Ceyssens, *Autour de l'Unigenitus*, 603–604.

332 Already in 1698 appeared the French translation of the *Breve Memoriale* under the title *Mémoire touchant le progrès du Jansenisme en Hollande*. French being the international language at that time, the translation was probably made to maximize the diffusion of the book. The Dutch translation of the work entitled *Nederduytsche vertaling van het berugte boekje, genaamd Breve memoriale* was published in 1705. For more information on these works, see Tans and Ceyssens, *Autour de l'Unigenitus*, 457–481, here 465.

333 Schmitz du Moulin, “Quesnel, Pasquier,” 847–848.

334 Ceyssens, “Quesnel à Bruxelles (1685–1703),” 142–157.

335 Codde extended his invitation in a brief dated 13 October 1703: “Que notre mission serait heureuse que de vous recevoir dans son sein. Pensez-y, s'il vous plaît, et soyez assuré,

meantime, the archives of both Arnauld and Quesnel in Brussels were confiscated, examined and sorted out by ten Jesuits before being sent to the different courts in order to warn for the danger of Jansenism and Quesnel. These documents served in the preparation of the condemnation of the *Réflexions Morales*, and they justified the arrest of Quesnel and other Jansenists. The files of the dossier were published in 1705 under the title *Causa Quesnelliana*.³³⁶

In Amsterdam, Quesnel lived a sedentary and studious life. He defended himself against the allegations of De Precipiano, and continued his intensive correspondence. He also helped the Dutch clergy with his advice in the difficult situation created by the suspension of Codde in 1702 and the subsequent attempts of Rome to appoint another vicar apostolic. Moreover, when the shortage of priests became urgent in the Northern Low Countries, Quesnel sought to find foreign bishops willing to ordain candidate-priests who were provided with dimissory letters from the vicariate of Utrecht or the chapter of Haarlem. In this way, Quesnel contributed to the future rupture of the Church of the Northern Low Countries with Rome, although he was himself opposed to any form of schism. However, in order to meet the need for priests, the vicariate of Utrecht henceforth elected its own bishops without waiting for the acceptable nominations to arrive from Rome.³³⁷

In 1708, undoubtedly during the immediate aftermath of the confiscation of his papers in Brussels, a Roman decree prohibited the reading of Quesnel's *Réflexions Morales*. Later, the book was condemned by the bishops of Luçon, La Rochelle and Agen, and the text of these condemnations was sent to Rome. In 1711, Louis XIV revoked the privilege assigned to the book, and by so doing he cleared the way for the Holy Office to examine the work with the desired effect. In 1713, 101 propositions originating from the *Réflexions Morales* were condemned by Pope Clement XI in the famous bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius*. Obviously, Quesnel continued his defence against the allegations until his death on 2 December 1719 in Amsterdam. He had only returned once to France to settle up some financial matters; indeed, Quesnel clearly preferred the freedom of speech that he had enjoyed in the Northern Low Countries. Ultimately, Quesnel

Monsieur, que vous trouverez ici de bons et fidèles amis, et que vous pourrez disposer de tout ce que j'ai et de tout ce que je suis [...]" See Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 178–179.

336 Ceysens, "Quesnel à Bruxelles (1685–1703)," 174–176; Tans and Schmitz du Moulin, *La correspondance de Pasquier Quesnel. Inventaire et Index analytique*, 1:x–xi; Tans and Ceysens, *Autour de l'Unigenitus*, 604–606.

337 Schmitz du Moulin, *Quesnel, Pasquier*, 848.

was buried in Warmond, a village in the western part of the Northern Low Countries close to Leiden, in the same tomb as Codde.³³⁸

From the 101 propositions condemned in *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, and originating from Quesnel's *Réflexions Morales*, propositions 79 to 85 constituted a plea in favour of vernacular Bible reading and translation.³³⁹ Proposition 79 stipulated that it was useful and necessary at all times, in every place and for all kinds of people, to study and to know the spirit, piety and indeed the mysteries of Holy Scripture.³⁴⁰ In other words, the reading of the Bible was open to all, as expressed in proposition 80,³⁴¹ and the holy obscurity of God's word was not a reason to withdraw the laity from reading Scripture, as mentioned in proposition 81.³⁴² Christians were to sanctify the Lord's day with pious reading, and especially of Holy Scripture. Proposition 82 stated that it was harmful to deter them from such reading.³⁴³ Perhaps surprisingly, according to proposition 83, it was an illusion to think that women did not have any knowledge of the mysteries of religion through the reading of the sacred books. Indeed, the abuse of Scripture and the rise of heresies were not the outcome of women's simplicity but of the proud knowledge of men.³⁴⁴ In addition, proposition 84 stated that snatching the New Testament from the hands of Christians or not allowing them to open it, thus depriving them from understanding it, was to close Christ's mouth.³⁴⁵ Finally, to forbid Christians to read Holy Scripture, particularly the Gospel, was to forbid the use of light to children of the light, and was tantamount to a kind of excommunication, as proposition 85 stipulated.³⁴⁶

338 Schmitz du Moulin, *Quesnel, Pasquier*, 849.

339 The English translation of the propositions is based on DH, n. 2479–2485.

340 Proposition 79: "Utile et necessarium est omni tempore, omni loco, et omni personarum generi studere et cognoscere spiritum, pietatem, et mysteria Sacrae Scripturae (1 Cor 14:5)."

341 Proposition 80: "Lectio Sacrae Scripturae est pro omnibus (Ac 8:28)."

342 Proposition 81: "Obscuritas sancta verbi Dei non est Laicis ratio dispensandi se ipsos ab ejus lectione (Ac 8:31)."

343 Proposition 82: "Dies Dominicus a Christianis debet sanctificari lectionibus pietatis, et super omnia Sanctarum Scripturarum. Damnosum est velle Christianum ab hac lectione retrahere (Ac 15:21)."

344 Proposition 83: "Est illusio sibi persuadere quod notitia mysteriorum Religionis non debeat communicari fæminis, lectione Sacrorum librorum. Non ex fæminarum simplicitate, sed ex superba virorum scientia ortus est Scripturarum abusus et natæ sunt hæreses (Jn 4:26)."

345 Proposition 84: "Abripere e Christianorum manibus novum Testamentum, seu eis illud clausum tenere auferendo eis modum illud intelligendi, est illis Christi os obturare (Mt 5:2)."

346 Proposition 85: "Interdicere Christianis lectionem sacrae Scripturae, praesertim Evangelii, est interdicere usum luminis filiiis lucis et facere, ut patiantur speciem quamdam excommunicationis (Lk 11:33)."

In contrast to the patristic school of Port-Royal, Quesnel may be considered as the main representative of the moral school (1672–1692). He no longer made use of a compilation of patristic sources for biblical interpretation, but rather inserted his own Christian thoughts in his *Nouveau Testament en français avec des Réflexions morales*, which was in fact a corrected and adapted version of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. Moreover, Quesnel emphasized the moral sense of the Holy Books in his work. He proposed a reading of the New Testament that replaced the patristic reading with a reading partially characteristic of the author.³⁴⁷ Both Port-Royal and Quesnel considered the reading of the Bible as a duty, but Quesnel went one step further: the legitimacy of Bible reading by the faithful laity being evident, he considered vernacular Bible reading as a necessity and even as an absolute requirement.³⁴⁸

2.3 Concluding Remarks

On the basis of the discussions on the implementation and the interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* of Trent and the Port-Royal translation project, Chédozeau developed a framework that consists of three general positions with regard to vernacular Bible reading in France and the Low Countries from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards.³⁴⁹ Obviously, Chédozeau was aware that this subdivision did not take into account the numerous intermediate positions within the wide spectrum of positions toward vernacular Bible translation at that time in France and the Low Countries.

However, while acknowledging Chédozeau's contribution, it is possible to refine this framework on the basis of the findings in this chapter with regard to the reception of the *Regula Quarta* in the Low Countries. Moreover, this adapted framework will help to situate and understand the positions vis-à-vis vernacular Bible reading of the anti-Jansenist theologians and Jansenist-minded Bible translators that will be discussed in the following chapters of this study.

347 Bernard Chédozeau, *Le Nouveau Testament autour de Port-Royal: traductions, commentaires et études (1697–fin du XVIIIe siècle)*, Lumière classique 95 (Paris: Champion, 2012), 271.

348 Chédozeau, *Le Nouveau Testament autour de Port-Royal*, 460.

349 Chédozeau, *Port-Royal et la Bible*; Chédozeau, *La Bible et la liturgie en français*, 73–260; Bernard Chédozeau, "La Bible française chez les catholiques," in *Les Bibles en français: histoire illustrée du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991), 134–135; Bernard Chédozeau, "Port-Royal et la Bible. Le refus de la regula iv de l'Index Romain chez Jean de Néercassel et Guillaume le Roy," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 72, no. 3 (1988), 427–435.

According to Chédozeau, the following three positions with regard to vernacular Bible reading in France can be distinguished: (1) the French Ultramontane position; (2) the French-Catholic position; (3) the position of Port-Royal. We will apply this trichotomy, as demonstrated in the table below, using the following general terms: (1) the Ultramontane position; (2) the “Roman-Catholic” position;³⁵⁰ (3) the Jansenist position.

Chédozeau states that the French Ultramontanists objectively, in line with the Spanish Inquisition, had adopted an ultra-restrictive position with regard vernacular Bible reading and that they prohibited every translation of biblical and liturgical texts.³⁵¹ He rightly points out that the Spanish Inquisitors had formulated and promulgated more restrictive rules than the Tridentine rules, prohibiting every translation of biblical and liturgical texts.³⁵² He goes on to state that the Spanish interpretation was assumed by the French Ultramontanists, who placed strong emphasis on the power, privileges and authority of

350 Given the fact that the Jansenists considered themselves as good Roman Catholics, this name will be put between quotation marks in order to distinguish the Roman Catholics without Jansenist sympathies.

351 Chédozeau, *La Bible et la liturgie en français*, 73–161.

352 The Spanish Indices included an enormous number of books of all types, though special attention was dedicated to religious works, and, particularly, vernacular Bible translations. In 1551, general inquisitor Fernando Valdés (1483–1568) published the first Index of forbidden books in Spain, which was in fact a reprint of the Louvain Index of 1546, accompanied by an appendix dedicated to Spanish books. In 1559, Valdés published another Spanish Index, this time with the support of Pope Paul IV. This Index was again based on already existing foreign Indices, but much more severe than the 1551 edition and adapted to the Spanish context. It also contained several more general disposition with regard to book censorship. However, in 1561, Pope Pius IV mitigated this severe Index in an edict, much against Valdés’s will who openly forbade the publication of the Pope’s decision. The following two Spanish Indices were published under the auspices of Inquisitor-General Gaspar de Quiroga (1512–1595) in 1583 and 1584 respectively. Again these Indices were based upon already existing foreign Indices, particularly the Tridentine Index of 1564. The 1583 Index included all the interdictions of the Tridentine Index, together with the condemnations of Valdés’s Index of 1559 and those of the Antwerp Index of 1570. The 1584 Index was a so-called expurgatory Index. Both editions were accompanied by fourteen rules that codified the norms of book censorship and the circulation of other books not contained in the Indices. These rules were based on both the Tridentine rules and the 1559 regulations of Valdés. However, the Spanish rules adopted a much more severe attitude towards vernacular Bibles than their Tridentine counterparts. See Fernández López, *Lectura y prohibición de la Biblia en lengua vulgar*, 46–47, 112–126; Jesús Martínez de Bujanda and René Davignon, *Index de l’inquisition espagnole*, Index des livres interdits 5–6, 2 vols. (Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke. Centre d’études de la Renaissance, 1984–1993), 1:68–80, 881–886; Martínez de Bujanda and Davignon, *Index de l’Inquisition espagnole*, 2:63–76, 90–120; Jesus Enciso, “Prohibiciones españolas de las versiones bíblicas en romance antes del Tridentino,” *Estudios bíblicos* 3 (1944), 541–554.

the Pope, in some cases even over the authority of the local secular or ecclesiastical hierarchy. In other words, the French Ultramontanists vehemently opposed vernacular Bible translation.

However, Chédozeau appears to have overlooked the strict position of the Roman authorities at the end of the sixteenth century. Fragnito affirms that the *Observatio circa regulam quartam* contained in the 1596 Index of Clement VIII rescinded the *Regula Quarta* and restored the strict position that had already been adopted by Pope Paul IV in the first Index of 1559.³⁵³ The Congregation of the Inquisition was again in charge of all matters relating to vernacular Bible reading; moreover, this process marked the desire to enlarge the power of the Roman authorities, to the detriment of the local bishops. The Roman Index forbade Bibles in all vernacular languages (*Biblia quocumque vulgari idiomate conscripta*). However, as already stated, the Clementine Index and especially the *Observatio* could only be fully implemented in countries as Italy, Spain and Portugal and had no reception in the Low Countries. Chédozeau is quite right when he states that the Spanish Inquisition was even more severe than the Roman Inquisition in matters of book censorship.

In Chédozeau's scheme, the so-called French Roman Catholics represent a second and more moderate group.³⁵⁴ Their position can be generalised as the "Roman Catholic" position (without Jansenist sympathies). This group defended the principle of vernacular Bible reading and claimed the right for lay people to read the sacred texts within the strict framework of the Tridentine rules, and more in particular of the *Regula Quarta*. In addition, this group emphasized the primacy of the Roman authorities and the Roman Inquisition in this matter. However, they were not bound to the *Observatio circa regulam quartam* because of the 1603 dispensation of Clement VIII. In their opinion, lay people were allowed to read the sacred texts, on the condition that they had the capacity and the individual permission of the ordinary, as stipulated in the *Regula Quarta*. In France, this approach found a particularly willing ear in the Gallican milieus. Indeed, the Gallicans were also defenders of a free access to Bible translations and wanted in fact to legitimate vernacular Bible translations as a function of their nationalistic position. The French New Testament translation of Amelote (1666–1668) was for instance an important result of his group's position. The position of the French "Roman Catholics" was shared by the (anti-Jansenist) ecclesiastical authorities of the Low Countries. As already

353 "La *Observatio* cassava, quindi, la regola iv e ripristinava, inasperendolo, il divieto del 1559." See Fragnito, "La censura libraria tra congregazione dell'indice, congregazione dell'inquisizione e maestro del sacro palazzo (1571–1596)," 172.

354 Chédozeau, *La Bible et la liturgie en français*, 185–260.

TABLE 9 Three positions with regard to vernacular Bible reading in France and the Low Countries

The Ultramontane position	The “Roman-Catholic” position (without Jansenist sympathies)	The Jansenist position
An ultra-restrictive interpretation of the Roman rules on book censorship	The strict framework of the Tridentine rules	The right and the imperious obligation to read the Bible (in the vernacular)
– The Clementine Index and <i>Observatio circa regulam quartam</i> (1596) – Primacy of the Roman authorities, especially the Pope – Permission of the Roman Inquisition – Vernacular Bibles were virtually forbidden	– A strict reading of the <i>Regula Quarta</i>: permission by the superior and capacity of the readers – Dispensation from the <i>Observatio circa regulam quartam</i> – Permission by the bishop or the inquisitor after advice of the parish priest or the confessor	– The <i>Regula Quarta</i> is no longer valid. – (Vernacular) Bible reading as a moral obligation for every lay person, even for women – Free reading of the Bible without any authorization
Spanish Inquisition	Mallet, De Precipiano, Hazart, Harney, Steyaert	Arnauld, Quesnel, Van Neercassel, De Witte, Van der Schuur

demonstrated, Archbishop De Precipiano was in favour of a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* and made particularly use of this rule in his struggle against Jansenism. The third chapter of this monograph will demonstrate that several (anti-Jansenist) Louvain theologians also belonged to this category.

In the period 1665–1667, a third group came to the fore. The rise of Port-Royal had given a powerful impetus to the promotion of vernacular Bible reading. The *Messieurs* of Port-Royal developed a third, much broader attitude towards vernacular Bible translation, and were opposed to the more reserved attitude of the two aforementioned groups. The adherents of Port-Royal aimed

at spreading a new ideal of spiritual devotion among the laity, based on printed writings. The reading of vernacular Bible translations was not a right, but an obligation for every lay person, even for women. They consequently considered the Tridentine Regulations and the *Regula Quarta* outdated. In their opinion, the specific circumstances requiring the creation of the *Regula Quarta* had disappeared after about a century. From 1653 to 1708, the *Messieurs de Port-Royal* undertook a massive translation project that consisted in the translation of Catholic devotional books and biblical texts into French and that resulted in, among other publications, the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* in 1667 and the *Bible de Port-Royal* (1667–1693). The main goal of this translation project was to provide every believer with a translation of the main texts of Christian devotion.³⁵⁵ The three Jansenist Bible translators Aegidius de Witte, Andreas van der Schuur and Philippus Laurentius Verhulst held the same opinion as the *Messieurs* of Port-Royal. The fourth chapter will show that they not only compiled vernacular Bible translations, but also reflected on the interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* in confrontation with their anti-Jansenist opponents.

355 Philippe Sellier, "Traduire la Bible," in *Teorie e pratiche della traduzione nell'ambito del movimento port-royaliste*, Quaderni del seminario di filologia francese 5, ed. Jean-Robert Armogathe, Luigi de Nardis and Roger Zuber (Genève: Slatkine, 1998), 103–116.

Anti-Jansenist Polemicists in the Southern Low Countries and Their Ideas on Vernacular Bible Reading

Een Christen mensch moet al zijn werk en zeden
Bestieren naer 't bevel en naer de reden,
Niet van een Schrijver van den nieuwen trant,
Maer naer 't bevel en reden door Gods hand
Geschreven in de goddelijke Boeken.
Hij moet geen schijn, maer vaste waerheid zoeken.
De liefde die al 't goed in ons verwekt,
De waerheid die ons tot een regel sterkt,
't Moet beide door het vuur en door de stralen
Des Heil'gen Geests in onze herten dalen.
Die Geest is 't die door liefde 't hert bekeert,
Die Geest is 't die ons alle waerheid leert:
Dus moet het al van Gods genade koomen.
Dit leert den mensch met beven en met schroomen
Zijn zaligheid betragten, als hy merkt
Wie 't willen en 't volbrengen in ons werkt,
Te weeten, God naer eigen welbehagen.
Zoo leert hy zig voor God ootmoedig dragen,
Hem geven van de deugd den lof en d'eer,
In al zijn werk betrouwen op den Heer,
Hem onvermoeid om hulpe en bystand smeeken.¹



Many anti-Jansenist polemicists were active in the Southern Low Countries. This section focuses on three anti-Jansenists who took a clear stand in the

¹ Van der Schuur, *Ware afbeelding*, 7–8.

discussions on vernacular Bible reading, namely Cornelius Hazart, Martinus Harney and Martinus Steyaert.² The Flemish Jesuit and controversialist Cornelius Hazart worked most of his life as a preacher in Antwerp and was known as an opponent of both Protestantism and Jansenism. At the end of the seventeenth century, the Faculty of Theology of the Louvain University was considered an important crossroad of both Jansenist and anti-Jansenists ideas. Several anti-Jansenist theologians strongly emphasized the ban on vernacular Bible reading for the laity, as was the case for the Dominican Martinus Harney and the Louvain professor Martinus Steyaert. These two men were good friends and there are many parallels to be drawn between their lives, the first of which being that they were primarily known as theologians with Jansenist sympathies before turning into vehement anti-Jansenists.

The three men under consideration each discussed a different aspect of the debates on the permissibility of vernacular Bible reading that had been dragged up again in the Low Countries in the confrontation with Jansenism. Not only the discussions regarding the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* (1667) and the interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* proved to have an influence on their works, but also the efforts of Archbishop De Precipiano to ban Jansenism should be taken into account. It appears that the struggle against the Jansenists and their ideas on vernacular Bible reading really took hold in the year 1685, when four important events took place in the Low Countries that might have influenced the anti-Jansenists. First, on 12 January 1685, De Precipiano, bishop of Bruges at that time, issued the above-mentioned decree on Bible reading, in which he affirmed that it was explicitly forbidden to read the vernacular Bible on the basis of a restrictive interpretation of the *Regula Quarta*.³ This decree was the first in a long series of decrees against vernacular Bible reading.⁴ Second, in February 1685, the French Jansenist Pasquier Quesnel came into exile

2 This chapter is a further elaboration of the following two contributions: Els Agten, "Vernacular Bible Reading in the Broad Seventeenth-Century Netherlands. A Confrontation between 'Jansenist' Defenders and 'Anti-Jansenist' Opponents," *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 106, no. 3 (2016), 129–152, there 132–139; Els Agten, "'Jansenisme' en bijbelvertalingen in de volkstaal. Drie vertaalinitiatieven," in *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen*, ed. Paul Gillaerts, Henri Bloemen, Youri Desplenter, Wim François, and August A. den Hollander (Heerenveen: Jongbloed, 2015), 451–473.

3 "[...] het lesen van de *Heylighe Schrifture* inde ghemeene tale uytdruckelijck ende expresselijck is verboden door den *Paus Pius IV.* door den vierden Reghel op de tafel vande verboden Boecken." For the text of the decree, see Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyte der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 67–68.

4 For an overview of De Precipiano's decrees, see table 5, p. 120–121.

in Brussels and assisted Arnauld in his struggle against the anti-Jansenists. Third, the Dutch translation of Johannes van Neercassel's 1677 Latin treatise on vernacular Bible reading was published in 1685. Fourth, the anti-Jansenists got the majority among the regents of the *Collegium Strictum* of the Louvain Faculty of Theology on 20 September 1685, when they accepted Martinus Steyaert as a member. Steyaert, a former Jansenist, had become an anti-Jansenist, undoubtedly because this reversal would help to climb the career ladder at Louvain University. In addition, around 1685 vicar apostolic Van Neercassel entrusted his former secretary Andreas van der Schuur with the task of compiling a new and complete Dutch Bible translation. Also in 1685, Cornelius Hazart, under the pseudonym of Antonius Suivius, entered into a controversy with vicar apostolic Van Neercassel on the reading of the Scriptures. They exchanged several pamphlets and treatises, particularly focussing on the consequences of vernacular Bible reading for the laity and the Protestant ideas in this regard. The conflict inspired Van Neercassel to write his convictions down in the extensive Dutch work *Gods Woord verdedigd* (*A Defence of God's Word*).

Although the Dominican Martinus Harney was professor of theology in his order and Martinus Steyaert worked as a professor of scholastics, they both wrote treatises on Bible reading, probably because the classes of the anti-Jansenist Nicolas Du Bois, royal professor of Sacred Scriptures from 1654 until 1696, left much to be desired. The treatises of Harney and Steyaert complemented each other well: the more general discussions, for instance on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and the *Regula Quarta*, were covered by Harney in three works, published in 1686, 1689 and 1693 respectively, while Steyaert's 1693 work functioned as a practically-oriented manual. With their works, these two Louvain theologians probably wanted to indicate, in the first place, that anti-Jansenists also showed interest in the reading of the Bible, and did not simply avoid the discussions. Moreover, they emphasized that a good education of the clergy as mediators of God's Word would discourage the laity from reading the vernacular Bible.

To conclude, throughout this chapter, it will be demonstrated that there were various contacts between the anti-Jansenist polemicists of the South, the Bible translators De Witte and Van der Schuur, the ecclesiastical authorities and the two exiled leaders of Port-Royal, Arnauld and Quesnel, as indicated on the geographical network map.⁵

⁵ See appendix 1, p. 393.

3.1 Cornelius Hazart

3.1.1 *A Flemish Jesuit Polemicist and Controversialist*

Cornelius Hazart,⁶ also known as Ant(h)onius Suivius, was born on 26 October 1617 in Oudenaarde in the County of Flanders.⁷ He probably studied the humaniora at the Jesuit College in his native town and followed a complementary course of six months in the Jesuit College of Tournai. Around 1633, he went to Douai to study philosophy in the famous *Collège de Marchiennes*. In 1634, Hazart returned to Oudenaarde because his father was on his deathbed. He did not return to Douai, but finished his philosophical study with the help of the Dutch Jesuit Adrianus Cools, who was to become his novice master. Indeed, Hazart joined the novitiate of the Society of Jesus in Mechlin on 24 September 1635.

After taking his first vows, Hazart went to Courtrai where he entered the juniorate to refresh his studies in order to be ready for teaching. Hereafter, he went to Louvain to take a two-year formation in philosophy that he could finish in only one year, thanks to the program he had already followed in Douai. During this period, Hazart taught in the Jesuit college of Louvain. At that time

6 Spelling variants of his last name are Hazaert, Hazard, Hazardt or Hasart.

7 For biographical information on Cornelius Hazart, see Joep W.J. van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies, 1682–1690," in *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540–1773)*, BETL 251, ed. Robertus Faesen and Leo Kenis (Louvain: Peeters, 2012), 177–196; Birgitte Martens, "Nederlandstalige religieuze controversepublicaties en de kunst van het argumenteren in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1591–ca. 1688)," *Trajecta* 19–20, no. 3–4 (2010–2011), 241–272, there 247–250; Joep W.J. van Gennip, "Cornelis Hazart S.J., *Kerckelijcke historie* (1669)," in *Jesuits books in the Low Countries 1540–1773*, ed. Paul J. Begheyn, Bernard Deprez, Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis, (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), 182–183; Joep W.J. van Gennip, "Een roomse strijder met pen en preek. De Antwerpse controversist Cornelius Hazart S.J. (1617–1690)," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 10, no. 4 (2007), 100–109; Omer Van de Vyver, "Hazart (Hazaert), Cornelis," in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático*, vol. 4 Piatti-Zwaans, ed. Joaquín María Domínguez and Charles E. O'Neill (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), 1892; Elsa Vandermeersch-Lantmeeters, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. 1617–1690. Controversist," *Handelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige kring Oudenaarde* 33 (1996), 83–128; Ludwig Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon: die Gesellschaft Jesu einst und jetzt*, vol. 1 (1934; repr. Heverlee: Verlag der Bibliothek S.J., 1962), c. 776; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 4:181–197; Karel Peeters, *Barokke Geest en Vorm in den "Triomph van de Christelycke Leere" van Pater Cornelius Hazart, S.J., Contrareformatorisch Apologeet en Controversist (1617–1690)* (Louvain: Unpublished Dissertation, 1946), 7–10; Emile Van Arenbergh, "Hazart (Corneille)," in *BN* 8 (Brussels, 1884–1885), 12–16; Herman J. Allard, "Pater Cornelius Hazart S.J.," *Volksalmanak voor Nederlandsche Katholieken* 20 (1871), 3–75; Edmond van der Straeten, *Notice sur Corneille Hazart, controversiste de la Société de Jésus, natif d'Audenarde* (Audenarde, 1851); Lodewyk van Lerberghe and Jozef Ronsse, *Audenaerdsche Mengelingen*, vol. 1 (Oudenaarde, 1845), 422–425.

already, he enjoyed the reputation of being a *perfectus orator*. Next, he was assigned to study theology, not in Antwerp in the study house of his order, as was customary, but at the Louvain Faculty of Theology, probably because of his familiarity with the town. Hazart was ordained a priest on 6 April 1647 by bishop Gaspard Nemius of Antwerp. He moved to Brussels where he was active as professor of rhetoric, prefect of studies and professor of controversy. In 1650, he left for Dunkirk to undertake the Tertianship, the final stage of his formal Jesuit training. Hazart worked as a preacher for over 30 years, first in Brussels (1652–1654), before settling in the professed house in Antwerp. In 1654, he became preacher *de controversiis* of the Flemish Jesuit Province. Besides writing, he also delivered many sermons in the newly built Jesuit church of the professed house at Antwerp, which was at that time dedicated to Ignatius of Loyola.⁸ He pronounced his final vows in Antwerp on 18 May 1657, as it was customary to wait a few years after the Tertianship.⁹ Hazart died in Antwerp on 25 October 1690.

Hazart was one of the most important voices in the struggle against the Reformation in the Low Countries, and particularly against the Calvinists. He reacted from the pulpit by pronouncing sermons on controversial questions. These sermons were delivered in Antwerp at the Jesuit church or outside, at the open marketplace of the city on the occasion of public festivities. They lasted approximately 45 minutes and soon became a weekly habit on Sundays, attracting both Catholics and Calvinists. The Calvinists could assist at the sermons because they did not form an official part of the Latin Mass. It is thus not surprising that Hazart was considered the main controversialist of the Southern Low Countries during the second half of the seventeenth century. Many of his sermons were also printed.¹⁰

In the period 1657–1688, Hazart wrote almost 80 works, most of them in Dutch, on various controversial topics, for instance the Holy Mass, the Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, the power of good works, the

8 Martens, *Nederlandstalige religieuze controversepublicaties*, 248.

9 Van Gennip notes that according to the handwritten copy of the *Index archivi Provinciae Flandro-Belgicae* (395) Harney would have pronounced his final vows on 18 May 1651. This is probably a copy mistake. See Van Gennip, “Een roomse strijder met pen en preek,” 108–109, n. 55.

10 His most famous collections of sermons are the *Gront-reghel van P. Cornelius Hazart priester des Societeyt Jesu, dat alle de ghene die wilt Calvinist zyn gheen redelyck mensch en kan syn. Ghepreeckt voor vele Calvinisten op den lest-geleden kermis-dagh van Antwerpen, den 13. van Junius in 't jaar 1683. In de kercke van het Professien-huys der Societeyt Iesu and Het tweede deel vanden gront-reghel van P. Cornelius Hazart, priester der Societeyt Jesu, dat alle de ghene die wilt Calvinist zyn alleen syne eyghen phantasye moet volghen. Ghepreeckt in de kercke van het professien-huys der selver Societeyt, binnen Antwerpen op den 22 Augusti 1683*. Both works were printed in Antwerp by Michiel Cnobbaert in 1683.

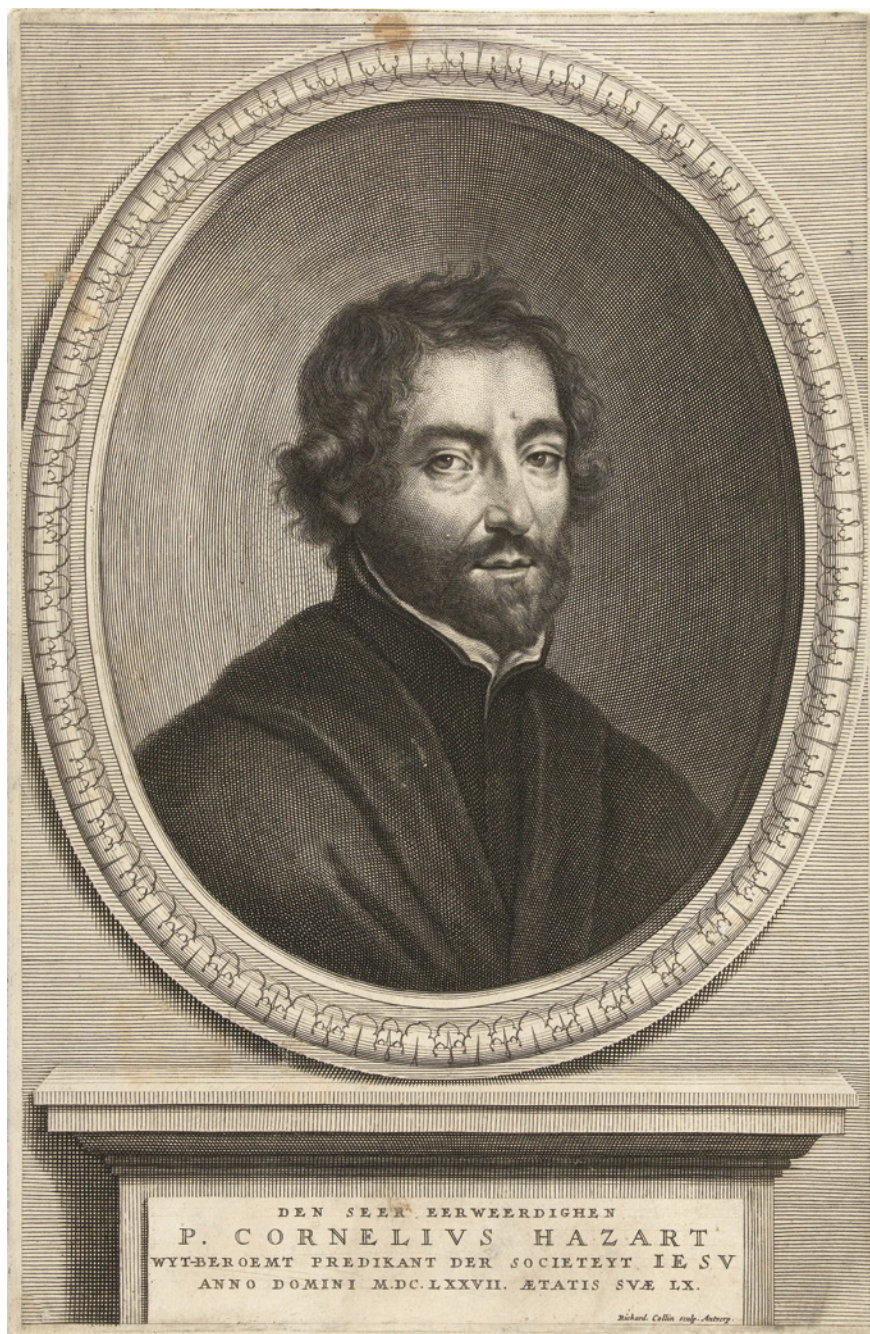


ILLUSTRATION 4 Cornelius Hazart (1617–1690), seventeenth-century engraving
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 USED WITH PERMISSION

infallibility of the Pope, the Roman Catechism, but also on vernacular Bible reading by the laity. Nearly all his works were printed by the Antwerp Cnobbaert family¹¹ and they were almost all marked as apologetic and polemical, often carrying pompous titles. The main goal of Hazart's works consisted in the defence of the Catholic faith by criticizing the Protestant doctrines and by attacking Calvinist ministers. He wrote in a popular and accessible style that testified of his erudition. Nevertheless, it appears that his judgment of historical facts often left much to be desired and that he lacked a critical spirit. The main sources for his works were Scripture and the Fathers of the first four centuries. Van Gennip divides the written production of Hazart into four categories:¹² (1) Replies and letters to Calvinist ministers (38 works); (2) Small polemical treatises on one specific topic (29 works); (3) Published sermons and speeches (5 works); (4) Extensive historical treatises and surveys, often with an apologetic accent (4 works).

The historical works of Hazart deserve special mention. In 1667–1671, he wrote a quadripartite religious-didactical work entitled *Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele wereldt* (*Universal Church History*).¹³ Later, the work was also translated into High German and added to by other Jesuits. In it, Hazart described the historical development of the Roman Catholic Church in all parts of the known world at that time. He provided not only a Biblical history and a history of the Church, but also a history of the voyages of discovery and the Christian missions, with an emphasis on the Jesuit missionary activities and all the sorrow that went with them. In other words, Hazart conjoined profane and religious history into a narrative style presented from a Catholic point of view. The third part of the book was dedicated to the church history of the Low Countries, and here Hazart particularly focussed on the history of the Dutch Revolt. He paid attention to the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648) and the struggles between Catholics and Calvinists, taking both Catholic and Calvinist works as a starting point.¹⁴

11 According to Van Gennip, "Michiel Knobbaert (active ca. 1660–1691) seemed to be the 'house printer' of the professed house of the Jesuits, where Hazart lived most of his life. Almost his entire oeuvre was printed by him." See Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 177, n. 3.

12 Van Gennip, "Cornelis Hazart S.J., Kerckelijcke historie (1669)," 184; Van Gennip, "Een roomse strijder met pen en preek," 104–105.

13 Cornelius Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele wereldt namelyck vande voorgaende ende teghenwoordighe eeuwe*, 4 vols. (Antwerp, 1667–1671). The work can be consulted online on <http://www.flandrica.be/items/show/1029/> (accessed 6 June 2019).

14 Van Gennip, "Cornelis Hazart S.J., Kerckelijcke historie (1669)," 184–186; Jo Tollebeek and Tom Verschaffel, "De jezuieten en de Zuidnederlandse kerkgeschiedschrijving," *Trajecta* 4 (1992), 313–331, there 315–316; Van der Straeten, *Notice sur Corneille Hazart*, 10.

The following three works aimed at defining what he considered the foundations of the Catholic Church: the *nota ecclesiae*, the papal supremacy and the Catholic doctrine. In 1673, Hazart wrote his *Triumph vande waerachtige Kercke* (*Triumph of the True Church*) in which he lashed out at atheists, Protestants, Jews and Muslims in order to prove that the Catholic Church was the only and true Church.¹⁵ It took Hazart ten years to write his tripartite work *Triumph der pausen van Roomen* (*Triumph of the Popes of Rome*).¹⁶ This polemical work was published in 1678–1681 and provided an ecclesiastical and institutional history of the Church. Hazart's primary concern was not to provide an objective history of the Church, but rather to support the faith and the position of the Catholic Church. He also aimed at telling the history of the various Popes up until the currently presiding Pope Innocent XI, and at refuting the allegations that the Protestants and other heretics had raised or could raise against the Popes as an enduring feature of the universal Christian faith. In other words, the ultimate goal of this work was to show the triumph of the Catholic Church. Every paragraph of the book therefore contained a *wederlegginghe vande sectarissen* or a refutation of the heretics, particularly the Protestants and the Jansenists, in which their misconceptions and lies were enumerated.¹⁷

The last work in the series of three was Hazart's two-volume Catechism, entitled *Triumph vande christelycke leere ofte Grooten catechismus* (*Triumph of Christian Doctrine or Great Catechism*) and published in 1683.¹⁸ The work was intended for the clergy of the Northern and Southern Low Countries and aimed not only at transferring the Tridentine guidelines, but also at making a stand against the Heidelberg Catechism. It was immediately an enormous success in both parts of the territory. Hazart claimed that his work had been submitted to the Holy See; however, in spite of a privilege of Charles II and two approbations, one by Ludovicus de Camargo, the Jesuit provincial of the

15 Cornelius Hazart, *Triumph vande waerachtige kercke ende vande catholycke religie over de atheïsten, mahometanen, heydenen, ioden, schismatycken, alle soorten van ketters, ende sectarisen* (Antwerp, 1673). The work was translated into German in 1697 and 1776.

16 Cornelius Hazart, *Triumph der pausen van Roomen over alle hare benyders ende bestryders met eene volkomen, ende overtuyghende vvederlegginghe van alle de lasteringhen, en valscheden vande sectarisen*, 3 vols. (Antwerp, 1678–1681). The work was reprinted in 1679 and 1681.

17 Tollebeek en Verschaffel, "De jezuïeten en de Zuidnederlandse kerkgeschiedschrijving," 316–317; Van der Straeten, *Notice sur Corneille Hazart*, 10–11.

18 Cornelius Hazart, *Triumph vande christelycke leere ofte Grooten catechismus*, 2 vols. (Antwerp, 1683). The work was reprinted in 1739. For an analysis of the baroque style of writing of the work, see Peeters, *Barokke Geest en Vorm in den "Triumph van de Christelycke Leere,"* 21–58. See also Van Arenbergh, "Hazart (Corneille)," 8:16.

Provincia Flandro-Belgica, and another by the Antwerp book censor Ant(h)onius Hoefslag, the orthodoxy of the book was soon attacked, not by the Protestants, but by the several Jansenist secular priests who believed to have accessed several inaccuracies and ideas regarding Christian doctrine and charity.¹⁹ These priests reacted in 1684 with several refutations against Hazart's ideas on free will and frequent communion.²⁰ In addition, both Van Neercassel and Arnauld took actions against Hazart's publication: Van Neercassel collected judgments and opinions against the work, while Arnauld informed his contacts in Rome about the events with the aim of putting Hazart's work on the Index.²¹

Although Van Neercassel had forbidden his priests to take a stand against Hazart's ideas, or to publish anything against his work because he feared the reactions of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, reactions were bound to come. On 2 July 1683, Arnauld announced in a letter to Louis-Paul Du Vaucel, the Jansenist agent in Rome, that Gabriel Gerberon, a French Jansenist monk who was living as a religious refugee in the Northern Low Countries, was preparing a (French) refutation of the work.²² Gerberon wrote under the pseudonym of Ignatius Eykenboom, and his refutation was translated in Dutch at the request of Van Neercassel.²³ The Frenchman also published two letters in which he attacked Hazart's ideas.²⁴

In April 1684, Carolus de Bont (1647–1702), the Jansenist pastor of Vlaardingen, issued his Dutch refutation of Hazart's Catechism in which he corrected

19 Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 188.

20 For a schematic overview, see Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 188–195, particularly 189.

21 Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 190.

22 "Le premier est du P. Hazart Jésuite d'Anvers, qui a quelque réputation pour la controverse. Il a fait un livre in folio intitulé, *Le triomphe de la doctrine chrétienne, ou le grand Catéchisme*, où il y a beaucoup d'erreurs contre la grace & contre la Pénitence, & beaucoup de venin contre la Fréquente Communion. Notre Ami [= Gabriel Gerberon, sic] travaille à recueillir ses erreurs & à les réfuter" (Letter ccccxix). See Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 2:289.

23 Ignatius Eykenboom (= Gabriel Gerberon), *Algemeen afbeeldsel van den Triumph ofte den grooten catechismus van pater Hazart S.J., vertoonende sijne vervalsingen van Gods woort, dwalingen, lasteringen, smaatheden, ende onwetentheden* (Cologne [= Amsterdam], 1684).

24 Ignatius Eykenboom (= Gabriel Gerberon), *Ignatii Eykenbooms Christelycke zendbrief, dienende tot wederlegginge van de bescherminge die P. Cornelius Hazart voor sijnen grooten catechismus in 't licht gegeven heft* (Cologne, 1684); Ignatius Eykenboom (= Gabriel Gerberon), *Ignatii Eyckenbooms Tweeden christelyken zendbrief, dienende tot verdere wederlegginge vande bescherminge die P. Hazart voor sijnen Grooten catechismus in 't licht gegeven heft* (Cologne, 1684).

several errors.²⁵ One month later, in May 1684, De Bont published another work in which he criticized Hazart and his laxist moral attitude, without naming him directly.²⁶ At the end of August, he wrote a third reaction against Hazart's work.²⁷ Johannes Roos (1619–1703), archpriest of Delft, also refuted the Catechism in several writings.²⁸ Finally, the exiled Bible translator Andreas van der Schuur compiled three polemical tracts²⁹ against Hazart, in which he dealt with “predestination, the doctrine of grace, confession, penance, absolution, the frequency of the Communion and Mary as a refuge for all sinners”.³⁰

Hazart did not hesitate to react and accused Eykenboom and De Bont of being new Calvinists.³¹ In the meantime, Van Neercassel still attempted to withdraw his clergy from writing any further reactions to the works of Hazart, mainly because his position as a vicar apostolic was at stake. Notwithstanding

- 25 Carolus de Bont, *De catholyke overwinnende waerheid, gestelt tegen den Triomph ofte Groote catechismus van P. Corn. Hazart* (Ypres [= Amsterdam], 1684). See also Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en 17e eeuw*, 2:305.
- 26 Carolus de Bont, *Regtmatic onderscheid tusschen het catholyk geloof, en de gevoelens der protestanten en anderen: rakende het geheim van de goddelijke praedestinatie, en de gratie van onse zaligmaker Jesus Christus [...]* (Ypres [= Amsterdam], 1684). Van Gennip states that this work was translated into French by Gerberon in 1688 and placed on the Index in 1704. See Van Gennip, “Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies,” 192, n. 71.
- 27 Carolus de Bont, *Bericht van Carolus de Bont, priester licentiaet in de H. Godheyt enz. gegeven aen alle oprechte catholycken over de toemate vanden eerwaardigen P. Cornelius Hasart* (Cologne, 1684).
- 28 For an overview, see Léopold Willaert, *Bibliotheca Janseniana Belgica: répertoire des imprimés concernant les controverses théologiques en relation avec le Jansénisme dans les Pays-Bas catholiques et le pays de Liège aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, vol. 1 *Années 1476–1679*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de Namur 4 (Namur: Faculté de philosophie et lettres, 1949), n. 4503 (De Bont), 4504 (De Bont), 4536 (Eyckenboom), 4537 (Eyckenboom), 4538 (Eyckenboom), 4548 (Hazart), 4665 (Gerberon).
- 29 Van der Schuur wrote the following three works against Hazart's work: *Zendbrief van A. vander Schuur aan deerwaardige pater Cornelius Hazart, wegens 't gene, waar mede dees pater hem in zijn laatste boekjen, genaamd: Bescherming van de Groote catechismus van P. Cornelius Hazart, tegen alle regt en waarheid beschuldigd heeft* (1684); *Samenspraeck tusschen Waermond en Rechthert over den laetsten triomph van pater Cornelius Hazart* (1684); *Tweede samenspraeck. Tusschen Waermond en Rechthert over Den laetsten triomph van pater Cornelius Hazart en over de Beschermingh door hem naderhand tot verdediging van zijn Triomph of Grooten catechismus in't licht gegeven* (1685).
- 30 Van Gennip, “Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies,” 194.
- 31 Cornelius Hazart, *Bescherminghe vanden grooten catechismus van P. Cornelivs Hazart, Priester der Soceiteyt Jesu, van hem ghemaect teghen de leugenachtige, infame, scandaleuse, ende sotte pasquille van Ignatius Eykenboom. Met eene toemaete teghen Carel de Bont* (Antwerp, 1684). See also Van Gennip, “Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies,” 191–192.

these reactions, the Hazart's Catechism was reprinted in Antwerp in 1739 by the widow of Pierre Jouret.

Hazart was indeed known as a vehement opponent of Jansenism, which he considered as Calvinism in disguise. He particularly took offence at "the Jansenist secular priests in the Republic and their rigorous theological ideas concerning private confession, grace, penance, Communion, and their preference to read the scripture in the vernacular to the benefit of the laity".³² Hazart's reactions against Jansenius's ideas were of such intensity that a dispute arose in the period 1685–1688 on the occasion of the publication of his *Triumph der pausen van Roomen*. In this work, Hazart had made the following statement on Jansenius: "Sijn vader was geus, alhoewel dat sijnen sone, nu meerder gheworden sijnde, zijn selven uytgaf voor Catholijck".³³ The great-nephews of Jansenius took offense at this statement and brought an action for slander against Hazart with the intention to rehabilitate their ancestor. Hazart was accused of defamation and book censor Hoefslaght of partiality.³⁴ In addition, both men would have asserted the following: (1) Jansenius was born of a Protestant father, and was raised in the Protestant heresy; (2) Jansenius had converted to Catholicism at a ripe age, but only in name; (3) During his voyage to Spain, Jansenius had barely escaped the Inquisition because of his heretical ideas; (4) Jansenius would have had intention to replace Catholicism by deism.³⁵

The most influential people of that time, divided into two groups, were closely associated with the conflict. The Jansenists were represented by Jacobus Boonen, Archbishop of Mechlin at that time, Johannes van Neercassel, Antoine Arnauld, Gabriel Gerberon and others. The anti-Jansenist group included, among others, internuncio Sebastiano Antonio Tanara, Thyrsus Gonzales, Superior General of the Jesuits, and the then bishops of Antwerp, Bruges and Namur. In addition, both groups claimed the support of the religiously tolerant, and apparently very influential, landgrave Ernest of Hesse-Rheinfels-Rotenburg (1623–1693). The landgrave, who had converted to Catholicism in

32 Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 177–178.

33 "His father was a beggar, although his son, attained the age of majority, posed as a Catholic." See Hazart, *Triumph der pausen van Roomen*, 297. Van Gennip states that Hazart repeated this statement in his 1683 work *Triumph vande christelycke leer*. See Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 185.

34 Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 185.

35 Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 30:xlvi–lxii; Allard, "Pater Cornelius Hazart S.J.," 67–68; Van Arenbergh, "Hazart (Corneille)," 8:15.

1652, was interested in religious matters and lived in Cologne with his family.³⁶

However, Jansenius's heirs encountered opposition of internuncio Tanara who refused to indicate a judge, as testified by Arnauld in several letters to Du Vaucel.³⁷ In the end, both the ecclesiastical court and the secular court declared the complaint inadmissible. The Jansenists reacted with four writings, the so-called *Facti*, which were in favour of the relatives of Jansenius and directed against Hazart. One of these *Facti* was written by Gerberon and the other three by Arnauld in the period 1685–1688.³⁸ According to Van Gennip, Van Neercassel had forbidden Ernest Ruth d'Ans, the disciple and secretary of Arnauld, to publish the *Facti* because it could "harm his strained relations with the anti-Jansenist internuncio, his Roman relations and also 'his Church' in the Republic".³⁹

3.1.2 *Hazart, Van Neercassel and the Reading of Sacred Scripture*

The discussion on the permissibility of vernacular Bible reading constituted another important theme in Hazart's works. Writing under the pseudonym Antonius Suivius, he entered into a fierce controversy with vicar apostolic Van 3 on this topic. Both men exchanged several writings, mainly in Dutch, as demonstrated in table 10.

As already stated at the outset of this chapter, the controversy on the Jansenist ideas on vernacular Bible reading really took off in 1685. On 12 January of that year, De Precipiano, bishop of Bruges, issued the decree below against vernacular Bible reading.⁴⁰ De Precipiano, who had been educated by the Jesuits, found immediately an important ally in Hazart in his struggle against the Jansenists. However, it should be emphasized that De Precipiano had a very poor knowledge of Dutch. The question, therefore, is to what extent he participated actively in the redaction of the decree. In other words, to what extent did De Precipiano's advisory board influence his anti-Jansenist stand?

According to the text of the decree, the main reason its compilation was in fact that some members of the clergy had incited the laity to read the vernacular

36 Hazart's *Epistola ad Landgravium Hassiae-Rheinfeldtium* shows that he also maintained contacts with Germany. For a copy of this letter, see Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 2:608–609. Arnauld too wrote several letters to the landgrave in order to convince him to change his mind.

37 Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 2:270–271, 289–292, 493–497, 530–531, 533–534, 606–608, 614–616, 634–637, 657–660, 668–669, 730–731, 732–734, 750–752, 781–782.

38 The four *Facti* can be found in Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 30:480–579.

39 Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 186.

40 For the text of the decree, see Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 67–68.

TABLE 10 The Controversy between Cornelius Hazart (Antonius Suivius) and Johannes van Neercassel

Year	Author	Work
1677	Johannes van	<i>Tractatus de lectione scripturarum</i>
1680	Neercassel	<i>Traité de la lecture de l'Écriture Sainte</i>
1685		<i>Verhandeling van 't lezen der H. Schriftuure</i>
1685	Antonius Suivius	<i>Lectio Sacrae Scripturae omnibus saecularibus noxia</i> <i>Het schadig lezen der H. Schrifture</i>
1685	Anonymous (= Johannes van Neercassel)	<i>Weynige staeltjens van de mis-slagen ende onwetentheden Antonii Suivii, in syn boeckxke genaemt het Schadich lezen der H. Schrifture</i>
1685	Antonius Suivius	<i>Voorder bevestinge als dat het schadigh ende niet geloorloft en is aen alle ongeleerde personen de H. Schrifture in de gemeyne taal te lesen</i>
1685	Johannes van Neercassel	<i>Gods Woord verdedigd ofte bemerkingen over zeeker Boexken</i>

Bible under a pretext that this practice was not forbidden. By pointing at the *bequamigheyt* and the *begrip* of the listeners, the decree referred (indirectly) to the condition of capacity, included in the *Regula Quarta*. De Precipiano referred explicitly to the *Regula Quarta* of Pius IV and affirmed that this rule had been confirmed by Clement VIII in his 1596 Index. He did not allude to the *Observatio circa regulam quartam*, also contained in the 1596 Index, but which had not been promulgated in the Low Countries. In addition, De Precipiano mentioned the 1569 edict of Philip II, contained in the 1569 Antwerp Index, in which the King ordered the observance of the Index of Pius IV in Flanders. Also the so-called Mechlin Catechism of 1623 had forbidden Bible reading with explicit permission as expressed in the *Regula Quarta*. De Precipiano concluded his decree by prohibiting the free reading of the vernacular Bible for all the faithful of his diocese. In addition, he prohibited preachers and other clerics from proclaiming that vernacular Bible reading was not forbidden. However, it is important to note that De Precipiano did not refer the possibility of a permission by the bishop or the inquisitor in the text of this decree. In other

words, he seemed to transform the *Regula Quarta* into a blunt prohibition of vernacular Bible reading, which was in fact an inaccurate interpretation.

It appears from the analysis of the decree that De Precipiano mainly reacted against the fact that the faithful read the vernacular Bible at the instigation of pastors and preachers, without the necessary permission of the bishop or the local inquisitor prescribed by the *Regula Quarta*. In other words, he was in favour of a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta*, and can therefore be ranked in the category of the so-called “Roman Catholics” in the framework of vernacular Bible reading.⁴¹

3.1.2.1 Tractatus de lectione scripturarum (1677)

In 1677, Johannes van Neercassel issued the 493 page Latin work *Tractatus de lectione scripturarum* (*Treatise on the Reading of Sacred Scripture*).⁴² According to the information on the title page, the work was printed in octavo form by Arnold van den Eynden in Emmerik, but this was a fictitious address, since Van den Eynden worked in Utrecht. The treatise was approved by Josse Houbraken, vicar apostolic of ‘s-Hertogenbosch (1677–1681), Ant(h)onius Hoefslag and Arnoldus Eyben in Antwerp on 11 November 1676. One of the main reasons for writing this treatise appears to have been the difficult confessional context in which Van Neercassel lived and worked, as he was a Catholic bishop working in a Protestant territory. Although he was on friendly terms with the Protestants, Van Neercassel tried at the same time to reinforce the position and the identity of the Catholics. The confrontation with Protestantism and the *sola scriptura* principle induced him to adopt an open attitude towards Bible reading in the vernacular tongue. Van Neercassel also dedicated himself to the promotion of scriptural studies and the defence of the central place of the Bible in the formation of priests and the instruction of the laity.

The Latin treatise was translated into French⁴³ in 1680 by Guillaume Le Roy (1610–1684), the Jansenist abbot of the Cistercian abbey Haute Fontaine in Ambrières, one of the main centres for the diffusion of Jansenism and Jansenist writings in the eastern part of France.⁴⁴ Contrary to Van Neercassel, Le Roy did

⁴¹ See table 9, p. 170.

⁴² Van Neercassel mentioned his title of bishop of Castorie on the title page.

⁴³ Johannes van Neercassel, *Traité de la lecture de l'écriture sainte, où l'on réfute la pratique des Protestans dans cette lecture, et où l'on montre la solidité de celle des catholiques. Avec une dissertation de l'Interprète de l'Écriture Sainte. De la traduction de M.L.R.A.D.H.F.* (= Messire [Guillaume] Le Roy, Abbé De Haute-Fontaine) (Cologne, 1680).

⁴⁴ Régine Pouzet, “Le Roy, Guillaume,” in *Dictionnaire de Port-Royal*, Dictionnaires et références 11, ed. Jean Lesaulnier and Anthony McKenna (Paris: Champion, 2004), 657–658.

not find any French ecclesiastical instance that was willing to approve his work. Therefore, his translation contained the three approbations of the Latin treatise and an extra approbation of J.D. Cuyper, a book censor from Brussels, dated 16 May 1680. According to Chédozeau,⁴⁵ Le Roy did not find approval in France because at that time the persecutions against Port-Royal were resumed, and because of the conflict between Arnauld and Charles Mallet, the canon of Rouen, on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. Frans van Hoogstraeten (1632–1696) translated Van Neercassel's work into Dutch in 1685, probably on the basis of the French translation of Le Roy, as will be demonstrated.⁴⁶ Van Hoogstraeten was a Dutch bookseller who worked in Rotterdam and Dordrecht, and who was also active poet and translator.⁴⁷

The Latin, French and Dutch versions of the treatise consisted of the same texts, but these were placed in a different order as is shown in appendix 5.⁴⁸ Moreover, the Latin preface to the reader was not translated into French and Dutch, but was integrated in the translation of Van Neercassel's undated pastoral letter to the Catholics of the United Provinces. In addition, the vernacular versions of this letter were subdivided into twelve paragraphs. The French and Dutch translations also contained an extra text: a translation of a book review that had appeared in Italian in the *Giornale de Letterati* in Rome.⁴⁹ Besides the pastoral letter, which formed a brief summary of the work, Van Neercassel's work contained two important treatises: on the one hand an elaborate treatise on the reading of Sacred Scripture against the ideas of the Protestants, consisting of eighteen chapters; on the other hand a shorter dissertation of the interpreter of Holy Scripture against the philosophers, consisting of five chapters, in which Van Neercassel reacted against the philosophical method of explaining the Word of God that relied on human reason and that was used by the Protestants.⁵⁰ With this text, Van Neercassel probably reacted against the religious-philosophical developments that questioned the truth claims of

45 Chédozeau, "Port-Royal et la Bible. Le refus de la regula IV," 433.

46 Johannes van Neercassel, *Verhandeling van 't lezen der H. Schriftuure, Waer in d'oeffeninge der Protestanten in de zelve te lezen wederleid, en de vastigheid van 't lezen der Catholijken getoont word. Mitsgaders Een Verklaringe van den Uitlegger der Heilige Schriftuure. En nu vertaelt door F.v.H.* (= Frans Van Hoogstraeten) (Antwerp [= Rotterdam], 1685).

47 R. Zuidema, "Hoogstraeten, (Frans of François van) (1)," in *NNBW* 8 (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1930) 833–834.

48 See p. 407.

49 Francesco Nazari, *Giornale de Letterati dell' anno 1678* (Rome, 1678), 36–40.

50 It is important to note that the *Dissertatio* has its own title page and pagination.

the Catholic Church and that stood at the beginning of the gradual process of secularisation in the Northern Low Countries.⁵¹

Content-wise, the three versions of the treatise corresponded for the most part with each other. However, the French and Dutch translations were characterized by various additions and a more developed argumentation. In addition, explanatory subtitles were added in the margins of the vernacular versions, in order to increase readability. According to the *Avis du traducteur de ce livre* (*Advice of the translator of this work*), the modifications in the French translation occurred with the consent of Van Neercassel.⁵² However, one may wonder whether Van Neercassel agreed with Le Roy's ideas that were even more radical. Chédozeau states in this regard that Van Neercassel and Le Roy cannot be dissociated, and that Van Neercassel most probably adopted his views.⁵³ Because of the presence of the same additions in the Dutch translation, it can be concluded that Frans van Hoogstraeten used the French version of Van Neercassel's treatise as a starting point for his translation.

The larger treatise on the reading of Sacred Scripture principally dealt with the question of the permissibility of vernacular Bible reading. The analysis below particularly focuses on Van Neercassel's position vis-à-vis the *Regula Quarta*, clarified in the ninth chapter of the treatise. Van Neercassel revealed himself to be an ardent supporter of vernacular translations. The complete title of the work⁵⁴ already showed its twofold aim: on the one hand refuting the Protestant *sola scriptura*-principle, which maintained that Scripture was the only inspired and authoritative source for Christian doctrine; and on the other, showing the solidity of the Catholic practice of reading Scripture. In other words, Van Neercassel intended to demonstrate, in imitation of the Tridentine decree concerning the relation between Scripture and Tradition, that the *depositum fidei* was transmitted through two important channels: written books (*libris scriptis*) and unwritten traditions (*sine scripto traditionibus*). In addition, he aimed at refuting the claim that the Church had discouraged and even forbidden the reading of Scripture. He did this on the basis of Bible pericopes and

51 More information and an elaborate bibliography on this topic can be found on the website of the *Biblical Criticism & Secularisation* project of Utrecht University and Huygens ING. See <http://www.phil.uu.nl/bcs> (accessed 7 June 2019).

52 "Si on trouve des endroits dans cette traduction ou differens du Latin ou étendues, c'est que M. l'Evesque de Castorie sachant que je travaillois à mettre son livre en François, m'a envoyé des memoires qu'il a désiré que je suivisse, afin que cette version fust conforme à une nouvelle édition qu'il se disposoit de faire de l'original."

53 Chédozeau, "Port-Royal et la Bible. Le refus de la regula IV," 434.

54 The complete title reads as follows: *Tractatus de lectione Scripturarum, in quo protestantium eas legendi praxis refellitur, catholicarum vero stabilitur.*

the writings of Greek and Latin Church fathers from the first four centuries, for instance Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Chrysostom. In fact, Rome had not condemned the principle of vernacular Bible reading *in se*, but the unreliable and bad translations that had been published. Van Neercassel also emphasised the important role of the Church as the sacred deposit of faith and the living and perpetual interpreter of the Divine Will.⁵⁵ The *praeceptores* or teachers of the Church had to introduce and instruct the faithful in the meaning of Scripture, and had to explain its hidden and underlying message.

In the ninth chapter of the treatise, Van Neercassel defended the legitimacy of the *Regula Quarta*.⁵⁶ It should be noted that the French and Dutch translation of this chapter contained several additional passages in which, somewhat contradictorily, the invalidity of the *Regula Quarta* was also demonstrated. Van Neercassel started this chapter by stating that the Council of Trent had not forbidden (vernacular) Bible reading, contrary to several Protestant allegations. The French and Dutch version of his treatise explicitly added to this assertion that the Council had praised Bible reading and its utility. Next, Van Neercassel explained that the *Regula Quarta* of Pius IV⁵⁷ did not constitute a prohibition on Bible reading in the biblical and vernacular languages, but that it had been intended as a precautionary (disciplinary) measure to avoid abuses in the sixteenth-century Church. The unreliable and suspect character of vernacular Bible translations had caused problems and not their language as such. If someone, whether he be an ecclesiastic or a layman, had the intention to read the (vernacular) Bible, he was only allowed to do so if he disposed of the necessary permission (*permissio*) of the bishop or the inquisitor, as the *Regula Quarta* stipulated.

55 "Deinde si Adversarii illa Scripturarum Oracula, quae praecipunt audiri Ecclesiam, eamque honorari ut columnam & firmamentum veritatis, atque teneri Traditiones, debito honore fuissent dignati, nec non prudenti gravitate expendissent, Traditiones & Definitiones Ecclesiae non a Regula fidei exclusissent, sed Ecclesiam coluissent tamque illustriorum sacrorum Dogmatum custodem, & tamquam viventem & indeficientem divinae voluntatis interpretem, quae non atramento sed spiritu; non mortuis literariis, sed vivis vocibus; non tinctis coloribus, sed moribus splendidibus; non characteribus, qui ignominiam perversi sensus suo dolore testari non possunt, sed cordibus, quae injuriam Scripturis illatam suo horrore testari possunt, scientiam divinae voluntatis, (quae ex parte sacris Codicibus, sed tota impressa est mentibus fidelibus) conservat, praedicat, declarat & propagat." See Van Neercassel, *Tractatus de lectione Scripturarum*, 44–45.

56 Chédozeau also discussed Neercassel attitude vis-à-vis the *Regula Quarta*. See Chédozeau, "Port-Royal et la Bible. Le refus de la regula IV," 427–435.

57 It should be noted that Van Neercassel consequently attributes the *Regula Quarta* to Pius IV and not, as stated by O'Malley, to the commission at Trent that had actually produced the rules. See O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 266.

Van Neercassel furthermore demonstrated that the *Regula Quarta* did not contravene with the argumentation that Chrysostom, Jerome, Gregory the Great and Augustine had developed in their respective works. However, the French and Dutch translation affirmed in an additional passage that the specific circumstances requiring the creation of the *Regula Quarta* after about a century had already disappeared. In other words, the *Regula Quarta* was no longer valid because a decent vernacular Bible translation had been published, and because bishops and writers had not only pointed out the reliability of this translation, but also encouraged the faithful to consult it. Reference in this regard was made to an unfinished treatise of the French Cardinal Richelieu entitled *Traité qui contient la méthode la plus facile et la plus assurée pour convertir ceux qui se sont séparés de l'Église* (*Treatise Containing the Easiest and Surest Method to Convert Those Who Have Separated from the Church*) and published in 1657.⁵⁸ Another example of a disciplinary measure that had been abolished was the law expressed in Ac 15:20, according to which Gentiles converting to God had to refrain themselves from the pollutions of idols, from fornication, from things strangled, and from blood.

To conclude, the ninth chapter of the French and Dutch translation of the treatise thus considered the *Regula Quarta* as a purely disciplinary measure and demonstrated both its validity and invalidity, depending on the circumstances of time. In other words, in line with the position of Port-Royal, all Catholics had the right to read the Bible and they were urged to read it on a daily basis.⁵⁹ The fact that the *Observatio circa regulam quartam* of Clement VIII

58 "Le Cardinal de Richelieu observe dans son traité des Controverses, que la défense de la lecture de l'Ecriture Sainte ne regarde que certaines personnes, & qu'elle ne doit durer qu'autant de tems que les mauvaises explications & les abus seront à craindre à cause des hérésies. Les ordonnances de cette nature cessent d'obliger lorsqu'on ne craint plus les maux qui avoient donné occasion de les faire." See Van Neercassel, *Traité de la lecture de l'écriture sainte*, 199–200. For the Dutch version, see Van Neercassel, *Verhandeling van 't lezen der H. Schriftuure*, 222. See also Chédozeau, "Port-Royal et la Bible. Le refus de la regula IV," 431, n. 17.

59 "Il faut donc conclure que le decret de Pie IV. touchant la lecture de l'Ecriture Sainte en langue vulgaire a cessé d'obliger les Chrétiens aussi-bien que les autres ordonnances dont nous venons de parler, après que non seulement une Université très-catholique & très-docte [the Louvain University, *sic*] a publié une version de toute la Bible en langue vulgaire; mais aussi après que de très-savans Auteurs des controverses, & de Saints Evesques ont non seulement assuré les Fidelles de la sincerité de quelques versions de l'Ecriture en langue vulgaire, mais les ont encore exhortez à les lire, sachant qu'on ne devoit nullement craindre de cette lecture le mauvais effet que Pie IV. craignoit de son tems, mais qu'au contraire on devoit espérer que maintenant les Fidelles tireroient de l'étude & de l'amour de l'Ecriture Sainte tous les mesmes avantages que S. Jean Chrysostôme & les autres Peres ont enseigné de leur tems qu'on en tireroit." See Van Neercassel, *Traité de la lecture de l'écriture sainte*, 201–202. For the Dutch version, see Van Neercassel, *Verhandeling*

was not mentioned seems to prove the assertion that this observation did not have to be observed in the Low Countries in the aftermath of the 1603 dispensation of Clement VIII.⁶⁰

In short, Van Neercassel's position vis-à-vis vernacular Bible reading can be summarized as following: (1) The Council of Trent had not forbidden (vernacular) Bible reading; (2) The *Regula Quarta* had not forbidden (vernacular) Bible reading, but had been installed to prevent abuses, mostly originating from unreliable and suspect vernacular Bible translations; (3) Bishops had praised and encouraged the reading of good Bible translations; (4) Right from the beginning, the Church fathers had encouraged the faithful to read the Bible in whatever language; (5) The *Regula Quarta* applied to some persons for a limited period of time.

3.1.2.2 Lectio Sacrae Scripturae omnibus saecularibus noxia (?1685)

As already stated at the outset of this section, De Precipiano, bishop of Bruges, had issued a decree on 12 January 1685 in which he forbade the reading of vernacular Bibles in his diocese, on the basis of a restrictive interpretation of the *Regula Quarta*. Hazart, a good friend of his, had gone one step further in his treatise *Lectio Sacrae Scripturae omnibus saecularibus noxia* (*The Reading of the Holy Scripture, Harmful for All Lay People*) in which he opposed the reading of Scripture, whether in the biblical languages or vernacular. It is not clear when this work was written and printed,⁶¹ for it was not mentioned in Van Neercassel's 1677 Latin work or in the French or Dutch translations. The vicar apostolic only made mention of the treatise and the fact that it had been printed in Leyden in a letter to Arnauld, dated 27 July 1685.⁶² It can therefore be

van 't lezen der H. Schriftuure, 223. See also Chédozeau, "Port-Royal et la Bible. Le refus de la regula IV," 432.

60 Chédozeau states that Van Neercassel and Le Roy either ignored the existence of this observation or pretended not knowing it: "Méconnaissant ou feignant de méconnaître l'*Observatio ad regulam quartam*." See Chédozeau, "Port-Royal et la Bible. Le refus de la regula IV," 429.

61 The *Utrechts Archief* situates the Latin work of Hazart in the period 1675–1685 on the basis of a draft of Van Neercassel's later refutation. Sommervogel does not clarify the publication date of the work, while Willaert and the *Bibliotheca Catholica Neerlandica Impressa 1500–1727* date this work in 1675. See *Verhandeling tegen geschriften van Antonius Suivius. Concept. Latijn, [tussen 1675 en 1685]*, *Utrechts Archief*, 1003, inv. nr. 320, Utrecht; Sommervogel (ed.), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 4, 197, n. 86; *Bibliotheca catholica neerlandica impressa 1500–1727* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1954), 407, n. 13370; Willaert, *Bibliotheca Janseniana Belgica*, 1:3814.

62 *Van Neercassel to Arnauld*, 27 July 1685, *Utrechts Archief*, 1003, inv. nr. 254, Utrecht; Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 2: 538–539. See also Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 184.

concluded that the work was printed in the early part of 1685, considering the commotion it caused and the reactions that did not take long in coming. According to Arnauld,⁶³ a fellow Jesuit had taken the Latin work to a book printer in Leyden. When the Magistrate of that city had learned that the treatise was printed there, he had sent a bailiff to confiscate all the copies. However, after an examination of the work, the bailiff had come to the conclusion that the work criticised Catholicism. Therefore, the Magistrate had decided to distribute the treatise among the merchants, causing confusion among the Catholics and joy among the Protestants who thought that they had found a way to win even more people for their cause. In his letter, Arnauld advised therefore Van Neercassel to issue an ordinance that would condemn Hazart's work because it contained an outrageous doctrine and moreover because it was causing scandal. Arnauld also suggested that Van Neercassel might make use of the argumentation contained in his 1677 *Tractatus de lectione Scripturarum*. This work had been received well in Rome, as evidenced from the book review in the *Giornale de Letterati* that had been reproduced in the French and Dutch translation of the treatise. On 3 August 1685, Van Neercassel addressed a Latin letter to Arnauld, in which he agreed with the condemnation of Hazart's work. Van Neercassel also stated that a refutation entitled *Gods Woord Verdedigd* (*A Defense of God's Word*) was almost ready and would soon be printed.⁶⁴

Although the Latin version of Hazart's treatise appears to have been printed in Leyden there are no copies left – probably as a result of the confiscation by the Leyden bailiff. However, in 1685, the Dutch translation of the work, entitled *Het Schadig Lesen der H. Schrifte* (*The Pernicious Reading of the Holy Scripture*) which was dedicated to Archbishop De Precipiano, was published in Mechlin.⁶⁵ Ant(h)onius Hoefslag, canon of the Antwerp cathedral and

63 Arnauld mentioned this event in a letter to Du Vaucel dated 31 July 1685. See Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 2: 541–542.

64 “Consilium tuum de condemnando, vir clarissime, libello cui titulus: Lectio Sacrae Scripturae omnibus Saecularibus noxia, mihi antequam vestras acciperem aequum visum fuit. Vestris autem acceptis, in eo consilio confirmatus fui. Dum autem negotium istud cum adjutoribus meis, viris insigniter piis, nec ineruditis, expendi, visum ipsis fuit fore utilius ut refutatio ineruditi futilisque scripti ederetur cum approbatione, quae simul contineret condemnationem scandalosi mendacisque libelli. In hoc consilium ipse quoque abivi, nec dubito quin tu quoque, vir clarissime, in illud abires, si hic praesens ades. Refutatio poterit ista scripturis animos Catholicorum nostrorum conciliare & addicere. Ita est composita ut utile dulci commixtum fit. Ultra dimidium operis confecta est refutatio, & intra diem alterum praelo subdetur.” See Arnauld, *Oeuvres*, 2:549–550.

65 According to the STCV, three editions of the Dutch translation were printed in Mechlin in 1685. Two editions mention the name of printer Jean Jaye on the title page but they differ in the spelling of the title: *Het schaedigh lesen der H. Schrifte* (c:stcv:7010300) and *Het*

diocesan censor, officially approved the treatise on 6 March 1685.⁶⁶ In the 48 pages of the treatise, Hazart aimed at demonstrating the negative and harmful consequences of vernacular Bible reading for all lay people, men as well as women. In doing so, he established a sharp opposition between the (old) Catholic and (new) Protestant attitude towards these Bibles, and argued in favour of the Catholic position. One of the key elements of his argumentation consisted in the important distinction between *reading* and *elucidating* or *explaining* the Bible: the fact that one could read the Bible did not imply that he actually understood the biblical message. Hazart's fivefold argumentation relied on several *auctoritates*: Scripture, the early Church fathers, the theologians of his day, and the authoritative ecclesiastical decisions, for example, those taken at Trent. Every argument was composed of a general explanation and a more personal *Bemerkt* (*Note*) containing Hazart's own remarks and objections. It should be noted that Hazart particularly aimed at refuting the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. The work seems to have been written and published rather quickly, since Hazart used mainly superficial and repetitive arguments in an unstructured and chaotic way.

The fivefold argumentation can be summarized as follows: First, Bible reading is not necessary for the instruction of all, otherwise the Bible would have been written in the different languages of all people where the Gospel was preached. According to Augustine and the other traditions, the Bible was only available in the original languages of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Hazart did not seem to take into consideration that these three languages were the vulgar tongues at that time. It were the reformers, meaning the Protestants, who had translated the Bible into the vernacular languages, and who had permitted all to read it – even women. Hazart remarked that people who did not understand

schadig lesen der H. Schrifture (c:stcv:6916610). The third edition mentions the (fictitious) printer Nicolaes van Sweinen, perhaps a pseudonym of Jean Jaye (c:stcv:3140640). According to Van Gennip, the third version was printed in Leyden where Sweinen, also named Nicolaes Everhardi, worked in the period 1670–1689. See Van Gennip, "Cornelius Hazart S.J. and the Jansenist Controversies," 183–184; Diederik Lanoye, "De bibliotheekcollecties in het Mechelse Stadsarchief," *STCV Nieuwsbrief* 2 (2008), 1–6. It should also be noted that the versions carrying the title *Het schadig lesen der H. Schrifture* were dedicated to De Precipiano with an explicit reference on the title-page, but that the edition entitled *Het schaedigh lesen der H. Schrifture* does not contain this reference. The quotations in this study are taken from the edition of Nicolaes Sweinen: Antonius Suivius, *Het Schadig Lesen der H. Schrifture voor Alle wereldlijke en ongeleerde Persoonen, Bevestigth en voorgesteld uyt de HH. Vaders ende Godsgeleerde, opgedragen aan den Doorluchtigsten ende Hoogweerdigsten Heere Humbertus Gulielmus Bisschop van Brugge &c.* (Mechlin, 1685).

66 Suivius, *Het Schadig Lesen der H. Schrifture*, 48.

the Bible were more pious than those who thought they understood it. He affirmed that faith preceded knowledge and understanding. Second, worldly and unschooled people were not allowed to read the Holy Scriptures, but instead they required the help of a teacher, just as one could only learn a trade properly from an experienced artisan. Women in particular were not allowed to read the Bible. Explaining the Bible was thus the task of those who specifically held this office. Otherwise, Bible reading would lead to heresies and confusion, as for example was and had been the case with those who read the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. Third, the Bible was too obscure for uneducated people to understand, because of, on the one hand, the incomprehensibility of its mysteries and, on the other, the difficult language used by the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, the Council of Trent had stipulated that the Vulgate, the Latin text of the Bible, was to be considered as the authentic version, and not the Greek text, as the translator of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* mistakenly had done. Fourth, Bible reading was pernicious and dangerous for all worldly and illiterate people. Hazart again emphasized the difficulties related to vernacular Bible reading, using the metaphor of sailing across the sea. If one wanted to read the Bible, he required expertise and proper education, just as a seaman did. The Reformers, however, were shipwrecked. As a concrete and clear example, he mentioned again the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, twice forbidden: first by Pope Clement IX on 20 April 1668, although this prohibition had not been promulgated in France and the Low Countries, and then by Pope Innocent XI on 19 September 1679, and since declared false. Fifth, Bible reading was forbidden for all lay people and this prohibition concerned all books of the Bible, including the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul. Hazart referred to *Regula Quarta* when he stated that it was manifest from experience that if Scripture were allowed to everyone, the temerity of men would cause more evil than good to arise from it. He also affirmed that the *Regula Quarta* was contained in the respective Indices of Clement VIII and Pius IV. Hazart went on to state that these stipulations had inspired others, and he mentioned the decree that Ferdinand, prince-bishop of Liège, had issued on 2 February 1619 and which forbade the reading of vernacular Bibles. He also quoted the complete version of the above-mentioned decree of De Precipiano, dated 12 January 1685.⁶⁷ In his conclusion, Hazart again affirmed the unique position of the Vulgate; moreover, Scripture had to be explained according to the Catholic Traditions of the Fathers, and not according to the method of the reformers.⁶⁸

67 Suivius, *Het Schadig Lesen der H. Schrifture*, 35–37.

68 He states: “[...] aen alle de gene die het volck de Christelijcke Leeringe moeten leeren, dat sy in de Schrifture uyt te leggen souden volghen de oude uytleggingen van de H. Vaders,

3.1.2.3 Weynige staeltjens van de mis-slagen ende onwetentheden
 Antonii Suivii, in syn boeckxke genaemt het Schadich lesen der
 H. Schrifture (1685)

The anonymous 20-page pamphlet *Weynige staeltjens van de mis-slagen ende onwetentheden Antonii Suivii, in syn boeckxke genaemt het Schadich lesen der H. Schrifture* (*A Few Examples of the Mistakes and the Ignorance of Antonius Suivius in his Booklet Entitled the Pernicious Reading of the Holy Scripture*) appeared in 1685 as a reaction to Hazart's treatise.⁶⁹ According to the information on the title page, the work was printed in Mechlin by Wilhelm Friessem. The STCV affirms that this printing attribution must have been fictitious because Friessem was only active in Cologne, whereas Jean Jaye is by contrast a likely candidate since he was known to print actively at this time in Mechlin. There are a few indirect indications that may point to Johannes van Neercassel as the supposed writer. Van Neercassel had expressed his disapproval of Hazart's work in letters to Du Vaucel⁷⁰ and Quesnel.⁷¹ Moreover, he had tried to get the treatise condemned by the Holy Office, but in vain, as mentioned above. In addition, the author of the treatise seemed to be well aware of the content of Van Neercassel's earlier works and was also familiar with the debates concerning the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and the subsequent reactions of, amongst others, Antoine Arnauld.⁷² In the introduction, the author presented his work in anticipation of a more elaborate refutation of Hazart's booklet, with the telling remark "if anyone would spend or waste his time in doing so".⁷³ Van Neercassel published this more elaborate refutation that very same year 1685, and referred explicitly to the *Weynige staeltjens* in this work. Van Neercassel could therefore have been the author of the pamphlet.

The pamphlet consists of a short and quickly written refutation of *Het Schadig Lesen der H. Schrifture* (*The Pernicious Reading of the Holy Scripture*) in eight so-called *Staeltjes* or examples. These examples concern for instance Hazart's interpretation of the *auctoritates* Paulinus of Nola, Gregory the Great

niet gebruyckende eenige *Nieuwe* rasernyen." See Suivius, *Het Schadig Lesen der H. Schrifture*, 43–47, here 46.

69 Johannes van Neercassel (?), *Weynige staeltjens van de mis-slagen ende onwetentheden Antonii Suivii, in syn boeckxke genaemt het Schadich lesen der H. Schrifture* (Mechlin, 1685 [c:stcv:3140447]).

70 *Van Neercassel to Du Vaucel*, July 26, 1685, Utrechts Archief, 1003, inv. nr. 254, Utrecht.

71 *Van Neercassel to Quesnel*, August 10, 1685, Utrechts Archief, 1003, inv. nr. 254, Utrecht.

72 Van Neercassel (?), *Weynige staeltjens*, 11–13.

73 He states: "Neemt dan by provisie, verwachtende eene breedre Weder-leggingh van het geheele Boeckje, soo 't iemandt luste synen tyt daer toe te besteden, ofte, om beter te seggen: te verquisten." See Van Neercassel (?), *Weynige staeltjens*, 4.

and Chrysostom, but also his ideas on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. The author used a direct language, addressing Hazart with his pseudonym Antonius Suivius.⁷⁴ The central argument of the pamphlet was based on Chrysostom's authority and can be formulated as follows: The reading of the Scripture is not pernicious (as Suivius proposed), but on the contrary, it is pernicious *not* to read the Bible, and especially *not* to read the Epistles of Paul.⁷⁵

In imitation of Hazart, the author made a distinction between *reading* and *explaining* Scripture, but he emphasized that Hazart had not understood this distinction properly.⁷⁶ Although it was not permissible for readers to explain the Bible – a task better left to the preacher – all had to be allowed to read the Bible. In fact, he proposed to change the title of Hazart's work from *Het Schadelig Lesen der H. Schrifture* (*The Pernicious Reading of the Holy Scripture*) into *Het Schadelijck Uytleggen der H. Schrifture* (*The Pernicious Explaining of the Holy Scripture*). The final part of the pamphlet consisted of an elaborate comment on some of Chrysostom's works that have become classic passages in the plea for vernacular Bible reading, for instance his second homily on Matthew, his 31st homily on John or his third homily on Lazarus. Chrysostom attached considerable importance to the reading of the Bible by the laity as a preparation for the readings in church where more clarification would be given by a preacher. Furthermore, the Greek Church father denounced the error that vernacular Bible reading was to be permitted solely to monks and priests.⁷⁷

On the last page of the pamphlet the author mentioned a Latin phrase with an anagram of Suivius's name (*Si Vivus*) that formed a personal judgment: "*Antoni Suivi, Si Vivus es, ampliter erras, dum tua pro rebus somnia mera refers*".

74 Some examples: "Gy neemt aen *Antoni Suivi*, in u Voor-Reden tot den Leser te bewysen [...]" (5); "Wat dunckt u, *Antoni Suivi* [...]" (10); "Domine Suivi, noch een woordtje, eer ik u laet gaen [...]" (18).

75 "Na dat de H. Chrysostomus zich beklaegt had dat de menschen zoo onervaren waeren in het leezen van den H. Paulus dat sy het getal zijner schriften niet gehele en kende, zo gaet hy voort een weynig benden, ende hy zeyt; niet dat het leezen van de H. Schriftuur schaedig is (gelijck gy doet) maer dat het schaedelijck is de H. Schriftuur, en vooral de brieven van den H. Paulus niet te lesen." See Van Neercassel (?), *Weynige staeltjens*, 18–19.

76 "Ick en wete niet, ofte gy bot genoegh zijt, om niet te sien het onderscheyt tusschen dese twee Stellingen: *Het en is yder niet geoorloft, de H. Schrifture uyt te leggen*; Ende: *Het en is yder niet geoorloft de H. Schrifture te lesen*." See Van Neercassel (?), *Weynige staeltjens*, 5–6.

77 Johannes Chrysostomos, *De Lazaro Concio* 3.3, PG 48, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1862), c. 992–995; Johannes Chrysostomos, *In Joh. hom.* 11.1, PG 59, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1862), c. 77–78; Johannes Chrysostomos, *Homiliae xc in Matthaeum* 2.6, PG, 57, ed. ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1862), c. 30. See also Van Neercassel (?), *Weynige staeltjens*, 14–20.

In other words: “Antonius Suivius, if you truly live, you err deeply as long as you refer to your dreams instead of to the mere facts”.⁷⁸

3.1.2.4 Voorder bevestinge als dat het schadigh ende niet geoorloft en is aen alle ongeleerde persoonen de H. Schrifte in de gemeyne taal te lessen (1685)

Again in 1685, Hazart replied to this pamphlet with the treatise *Voorder bevestinge als dat het schadigh ende niet geoorloft en is aen alle ongeleerde persoonen de H. Schrifte in de gemeyne tale te lesen ende antwoorde op de reden van die anders willen leren* (Further Confirmation that it is Pernicious and not Permissible to all Illiterate People to Read the Holy Scriptures in the Vernacular and a Response to Those who Teach Differently).⁷⁹ According to the information on the title page, this 44–page work was printed in Mechlin by printer Nicolaes van Sweinen. However, as mentioned above, this was probably a fictitious address and the work might have come of the press of Jean Jaye in Mechlin, who previously also had printed the two refutations of Van Neercassel. The treatise was approved in Antwerp on 7 May 1685, again by book censor Hoefslaghe.⁸⁰ The title page integrated two quotations, one in Dutch from Proverbs⁸¹ and one in Latin from a letter of Bernard of Clairvaux.⁸² Both quotations clarify the intention of the work: Hazart aimed at formulating a friendly reply to break the (unreasonable) wrath of his opponent.

The work was a confirmation and a further elaboration of Hazart's argumentation as developed in *Het schadig lesen der H. Schrifte*, but also constituted a refutation of his opponents and their ideas. Hazart quoted the pamphlet *Weynige staeltjens* and the *Tractatus de lectione scripturarum*, published in 1677 but already approved in 1676.⁸³ As is shown in the title of the treatise, Hazart held his ground and stated that vernacular Bible reading was pernicious

78 Van Neercassel (?), *Weynige staeltjens*, 18–19.

79 Antonius Suivius, *Voorder bevestinge als dat het schadigh ende niet geoorloft en is aen alle ongeleerde persoonen de H. Schrifte in de gemeyne tale te lesen ende antwoorde op de reden van die anders willen leren*, (Mechlin, 1685 [c:stcv:3140641]).

80 Suivius, *Voorder bevestinge*, 2.

81 Pr 15:1: “Een sachtmoedige antwoorde breeckt de gramschap”; “A mild answer breaketh wrath: but a harsh word stirreth up fury” (Douay-Rheims translation).

82 “Scribitis [enim, sic] contra me amaritudines: absit autem ut tam rationabiliter quam terribiliter.” See Bernardus Claraevallensis, *Epistula* 253,1, S. Bernardi opera 8, ed. Jean Leclercq and Henri M. Rochais (Rome, Ed. Cistercienses, 1974–1977), 149.

83 “Leest seecker Boeck die gemaect is in het jaer 1676, tegen de Protestanten, de welcke noch heden-daegs leeren dat het geoorloft is aan een yder de H. Schrifte in de gemeyne taele te lesen, het welck desen Boeck contrarie betoont [...]” See Suivius, *Voorder bevestinge*, 18.

and not allowed for illiterate people. He formulated four objections with a tripartite structure. Every objection started with a short summary of an argument taken from his adversary's pamphlet *Weynige staeltjens*. Then Hazart refuted this argument and defended his own convictions based on a number of *auctoritates* bearing the title *Antwoorde* (*Response*). He concluded with some additional information under the heading *Bemerkt* (*Note*), extracted from his earlier work *Het schadig lesen der H. Schrifture*.

The first objection dealt with the difference between *reading* and *explaining* Scripture. If one was not allowed to explain the Bible, this did not imply automatically that one was allowed to read the Bible, as had been affirmed in *Weynige staeltjens*. Hazart pleaded for a public and adequate explanation of Scripture. He also discussed the questions of the recipients of vernacular Bible translations and of the authority in the Church. On the basis of various *auctoritates*, including the Louvain theologian Johannes Driedo (ca. 1480–1535) and the Douai theologian Willem Hessels van Est (1542–1613), Hazart differed between the *praeceptores* or teachers, granted with both the gift and the authority of prophecy, and the laity, following the master-pupil model.⁸⁴ In the second objection, Chrysostom's third homily on Lazarus served as the major guideline, albeit in the interpretation of Hazart. In this homily, the Greek Church father had strongly encouraged everybody to read Scripture on a frequent basis. According to Hazart, this homily functioned as a *locutio hyperbolica* in order to break the indulgent habit of lazy masses who were accustomed to attend the circus. It had therefore not been Chrysostom's real intention to encourage them to read the Bible, but to withhold them from doing so. On the contrary, Chrysostom knew very well that some of them would, in any case, not do so.⁸⁵ In his third objection, Hazart affirmed that not everybody was allowed to read Scripture. He quoted in this regard the *Regula Quarta* of the Council of Trent and rightly affirmed that this rule had been prepared by the Council fathers and afterwards had been approved by Pope Pius IV.⁸⁶ In his last objection, Hazart examined the case of the condemned *Nouveau Testament de Mons*

84 "Is 't qualijck geseyt dat het niet toe en komt aen on-geleerde persoonen de Schriftuere te lesen, om dies wille dat het toe-komt aen de Leeraers ende Herders der zielen, ende om dat alle dingen moeten geschieden in goede ordre." See Suivius, *Voorder bevestinge*, 9.

85 "Meynde dat *Chrysostomus* niet en wist dat uyt het lesen der Schriftuere onder de ongel-eerde de eygen-sinnigheyt ende mis-slaegen soudén volgen?." See Suivius, *Voorder be-vestinge*, 17.

86 "Soo spreekct oock *Pius den Vierden*, eenen van de wettige Nakomelingen van *Petrus* den welcken door de Vaders van het *H. Concilie van Trenten* heeft doen maecken tien Regels van de verboden boecken, welcke Regels hy heeft geaprobeert op den 24. Maert 1564 onder welcke den vierden aldus luyt." See Suivius, *Voorder bevestinge*, 27–28.

as an example of what might happen when illiterate men and women read Scripture in the vernacular. He concluded that vernacular Bible reading was at the root of the rise of heresies, especially in Protestant circles.

3.1.2.5 Gods Woord verdedigd ofte bemerkings over zeeker Boexken (1685)

In 1685 appeared the larger work *Gods Woord verdedigd ofte bemerkings over zeeker Boexken* (*A Defense of God's Word or Remarks on a Certain Book*),⁸⁷ consisting of four chapters and totaling over 334 pages. The work was printed in Antwerp but it is not known by whom. Although the title page did not mention the name of the author, the treatise can be attributed to Van Neercassel. The main object of the book was to refute Hazart's work *Het schadig lesen der H. Schrifture* because it had caused serious confusion among both Catholics and religious dissidents.⁸⁸ *Gods Woord verdedigd* started with an introduction entitled *Keur ofte Oordeel van eenige godgeleerden* (*Examination or Judgment of Some Theologians*) that had been signed by four (Jansenist-minded) theologians, namely J. Woelwijk, maybe a pseudonym of Johannes Roos (Rosa), J. Catzius or Judocus (Joost) Cats, Franc. Hugonis, probably a reference to Hugo Franciscus van Heussen, and finally T. Kockius or Theodorus de Cock, who later became vicar apostolic. In this introduction, five causes were enumerated why Hazart's work was so offensive. Besides the fact that the author had used a false name, the book inflicted indignity on God's Word, as if it did not originate from God. Second, although Suivius stated that the *Regula Quarta* had eternal validity, this prohibition should be considered as a temporary measure that now had lost its validity. Third, the work disdained all lay and illiterate people. Fourth, it also precipitated the danger of alienating all other faithful from the Church. Finally, it was stated that *Het schadig lesen der H. Schrifture* contained barely any quotes from the Bible or the Church fathers that had not been falsified. The four theologians concluded their examination by stating

87 Johannes van Neercassel, *Gods Woord verdedigd ofte bemerkings over zeeker Boexken, uytgegaen op de naem van Antonius Suivius, onder dezen tytel; Het Schaedig lesen der H. Schrifture &c* (Antwerp, 1685).

88 "Om deze smaede aen Gods woord, dit ongelijk aen zijn Kerk, dese schande aen de wereldlijke en ongeleerde door dit ongeschaeft boexke aengedaen, eenigzints te vergoeden, ende om aen de plaetzen van de H. Schriftuur ende Oudvaeders valschelijk aengetogen haere waarheid wederom te geven; heeft een Minnaer van de waarheid, goed gedagt eenige BEMERKINGEN op de grootste uytspoorigheden van het zelve te maeken." See Van Neercassel, *Gods Woord verdedigd*, introduction.

that *Gods Woord verdedigd* refuted Suivius's allegations and was built on scholarly proofs.⁸⁹

The corpus of *Gods Woord verdedigd* consisted of four chapters, each of them containing between six and fourteen elaborated comments and refuting the first four arguments contained in *Het schadig lesen der H. Schrifture*. Van Neercassel invoked several *auctoritates*: Bible quotations, Greek and Latin Church fathers (including Augustine) and ecclesiastical decisions. He first examined whether it was necessary to read the Bible, and stated in this context that Hazart had not properly understood Scripture or the power of God. Van Neercassel stated that it was not necessary for all people to read Scripture in order to be educated. Moses and the patriarchs for instance had known God without the help of Scripture. Next, Van Neercassel refuted the allegation that the Romans did not understand the Greek language, used by Paul and the apostles in their writings that make up the New Testament. He affirmed that Greek had been the *lingua franca* at that time, and recalled that nearly all Romans accordingly had notions of this language. Yet even from the beginning, Scripture had been read not only in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, but was also translated into the various languages of the nations. Moreover, in opposition to the pagans, the Christians educated their faithful: God's Word was not kept secret but was read out loud in the most common languages. The Catholic Church thus explicitly wished that all faithful would hear and understand God's Word. In other words, it was not pernicious for illiterate people to read Scripture.⁹⁰

In the second chapter of his treatise, Van Neercassel specified who was allowed to read Scripture. He stated that everybody was allowed to do so, but that there existed a hierarchy: *praeceptores* had received the gift and the (prophetic) authority to read and explain Scripture, while the faithful had to be educated by them and humbly had to read Scripture to edify themselves. In other words, the Bible was an open book and accessible for all. Next, Van Neercassel explained that there were four ways to read Scripture. First, one could consider Scripture as a guideline and a rule of faith. This method of reading was especially suitable for the laity. Second, one could study, investigate, unravel and compare the various biblical books. This specific method was particularly suitable for learned men, theologians and teachers, but certainly not for women, craftsmen or other unlearned people. The third way of reading

89 "Deze stooten niet alleen de losse bewijzen en redenen van Suivius om verre; maer zijn daer en boven met eene aengenaeme verscheidenheid van wetenschap door-mengd." See Van Neercassel, *Gods Woord verdedigd*, introduction.

90 Van Neercassel, *Gods Woord verdedigd*, 1–47.

Scripture consisted in deriving dogmas from it and proving them. This was the task of those learned men who were sufficiently disposed of free time to read and reread God's Word.⁹¹ The fourth and last way of reading Scripture was to do it according to the Protestant method, rejected by the Catholic Church. The Protestants considered Scripture as the only, necessary and authoritative rule (*sola scriptura*), and they subordinated the traditions to the written Word of God. According to the Church, this method had given rise to heresies and schisms, for instance between the Lutherans and the Calvinists. Many Catholic authors had reacted against this point of view, also Van Neercassel in his *Tractatus de lectione scripturarum* (1677). To conclude, the first way of reading Scripture was the most wide-spread and suitable method to access the Word of God, both for learned and unlearned people. Van Neercassel went on to refute Suivius's assertion that the Jews did not have any access to God's Word because it was locked in the tabernacle. Furthermore, the books of the New Testament were edifying for the faithful. Finally, Van Neercassel refuted Suivius's assertion that some women would have taught that Christ did not die for the unjust.

In the extensive third chapter of *Gods Woord verdedigt*, Van Neercassel dealt with the question whether the Bible was pernicious for illiterate people, and he demonstrated the usefulness of reading the Old and New Testament. He founded his argumentation on various references to Latin⁹² and Greek⁹³ Church fathers, adding to this the fact that the fathers themselves not only had recommended the reading of Scripture to dissuade the faithful from attending spectacles. Scripture had also various other functions: it was for instance a medicine, it offered consolation, it was an open invitation and a legacy of the Father for all human persons, including women. Contrary to what Suivius had asserted, Scripture was not too obscure to understand and did not automatically give rise to heresies. Although some passages were hard to understand and reserved to the *praeceptores*, these could not form a hindrance for the laity to consult Scripture. Besides, many parts of Scripture were sufficiently clear

91 It should be noted that in the consulted copy of *Gods Woord verdedigt* from the Montfort library the pages describing the second and third method of reading Scripture are missing. Could this indicate censorship?

92 He referred to works of Pope Clement I of Rome, Ireneaus, Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, the writer of the letter of Celancia, Augustine of Hippo, John Cassian, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Victor Vitensis, Caesarius of Arles, Gregory the Great, the rule of Grimlaicus, Licinius of Angers, Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter of Blois.

93 He referred to works of Clemens of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius Pamphilus, Gregory of Nazianze, Basil of Caesarea, Protogenes, Pachome, Orsiesius, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret of Cyrus and Chrysostom.

and even enlightening for the majority of the faithful, thanks to their knowledge of the Traditions of the Church. Van Neercassel concluded this chapter by affirming that the Greek text of the Bible had not been falsified, contrary to Suivius's assertions. Although the Council of Trent had declared the Latin Vulgate as the authentic version of the Church, this did not imply that they preferred the Latin text above the Greek (and Hebrew) text.

The last chapter of *Gods Woord verdedigt* sought to answer the questions whether the Bible was forbidden for all lay people and whether the *Regula Quarta* was only applicable for a limited period. Van Neercassel emphasized that the *Regula Quarta* forbade vernacular Bible reading only because of the boldness of men. He noted, however, that the learned and clerics were often bolder than the illiterate or laity. In other words, the *Regula Quarta* concerned both groups. Van Neercassel referred to the ninth chapter of the *Tractatus de lectio scripturarum* for more information on this rule. He went on to state that the *Regula Quarta* was no longer valid because its *raison d'être*, the threat of the *sola scriptura*-teaching, had ceased to exist. The reading of Scripture could not be considered a mortal sin; and, moreover, the Bible was not obscure, but clear, comprehensible and accessible for all. As a result the Church was obliged to invest in the teaching and instruction of the faithful. Van Neercassel concluded his treatise by stating that the *Regula Quarta* had not been promulgated everywhere and he referred to the concrete situation in Moravia, Germany, France and also in the Low Countries. This last remark should be put into context on the basis of the discussion of the promulgation of the *Regula Quarta* through provincial councils and diocesan synods. As demonstrated, the *Regula Quarta* was not so strictly observed in the Low Countries in both the sixteenth and the seventeenth century. Van Neercassel rightly described the situation in the Northern part of the Low Countries when he stated that the *Regula Quarta* had not been promulgated. In the province of Cambrai, however, the *Regula Quarta* had already been implemented at the end of the sixteenth century. In Mechlin, the *Regula Quarta* was implemented for the first time at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

3.1.2.6 Concluding Remarks

The disputes between Hazart and Van Neercassel were characterised by two important themes. First, both men were opposed to the Protestants and their ideas on vernacular Bible reading, but for different reasons. Although Van Neercassel was on friendly terms with the Protestants, he reacted against their *sola scriptura*-principle and their philosophical method of reading Scripture. He stated that they solely relied on human reason and did not take into account Tradition. In addition, Van Neercassel was convinced that the Council of

Trent had not forbidden vernacular Bible reading, contrary to several Protestant allegations. Hazart reacted against the Protestants because they had translated the Bible into the vernacular languages and had permitted all to read it, even women. In this way, Hazart pointed out, their method of reading lay at the root of heresies. In addition, he directed the same accusations to the Jansenists, stating they were Calvinists in disguise.

Second, both men dealt the distinction between reading and explaining Scripture. According to Hazart, the fact that one could read the Bible, did not imply that he understood the biblical message. Therefore, it was better if people did not read the Bible. Van Neercassel, on the contrary, stated that everyone had to be allowed to read the Bible, but that the task of explaining Scripture had to be left to preachers and teachers.

3.2 Martinus Harney

3.2.1 *A Dominican Jansenist and Anti-Jansenist*

Martinus Harney⁹⁴ was born from Catholic parents on 6 May 1634 in Amsterdam. After his preparatory studies, he studied philosophy in the Pedagogy of the Pig (*Porcus* or *'t Verken*) in Louvain. He did not complete his studies, but entered the Dominican order in Brussels on 21 November 1650 and took his vows one year later at the age of sixteen. Harney finalised his theological studies in the study house of the Dominicans in Louvain. For some time he taught philosophy and theology to the young friars of his order in the convents of Brussels and Louvain. In 1662, he obtained the degree of licentiate in theology and seven years later, on 24 September 1669, he received his doctor's degree of theology, also in Louvain, precisely because he worked there as a professor of

94 For biographical information on Martinus Harney, see Lucianus Ceyssens, "Correspondance romaine du P. Martin Harney, dominicain belge avec François Van Vianen, professeur à l'université de Louvain (1673–75)," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* 18 (1948), 303–326; Joannes T. Arts, *L'ancien couvent des Dominicains à Bruxelles* (Sint-Amands-Berg: De Scheemackers, 1922), 187–192; Gerardus A. Meijer, "Harney (Martinus)," in *NNBW* 1, ed. Philippus Christianus Molhuysen and Petrus Johannes Blok (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911), 1027; Johannes G. Frederiks and Frans J. Van den Branden, *Biographisch woordenboek der Noord-en Zuidnederlandsche letterkunde* (Amsterdam, 1891), 321; Claessens, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, 2:62–63; Van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 8/1:222–223; Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas*, 1:560–562; Jacques Quéfif and Jacques Échard, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum recensiti notisque historicis et criticis illustrati*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1721), 765–766; De Jonghe, *Belgium dominicanum*, 348–349.

Thomistic theology. Shortly thereafter, he was named vicar of the new convent in Vilvoorde near Brussels.

In 1672, Juan Tomás de Rocaberti, the Master General of the Dominicans, called Harney to Rome to serve as *socius* or advisor for the German Provinces and *Germania Inferior* and to participate in the council of the order. In the period 1673–1674, Harney served as secretary for the German Provinces and *Germania Inferior*. In December 1675, he was called back to the Louvain convent to become regent of studies, a function he occupied from 6 January 1676 until 1679. During the provincial chapter of Vilvoorde in 1676, Harney had been elected definitior and in that capacity, he undertook a second journey to Rome in the spring of 1677 to assist at the general chapter of the Dominicans in Rome. On this occasion, he joined the Louvain delegation to the Eternal City. In 1678, Harney was elected prefect of the Dominican missions in Holland, an office to which he was re-elected three times. One year later, in 1679, he became prior of the Dominican convent of Brussels, where Alphonse de Berghes (1624–1689), then Archbishop of Mechlin, appointed him book censor. In 1680, during the provincial chapter of Braine-le-Comte in Hainaut, Harney was appointed provincial of *Germania Inferior* for the period 1680–1684. Harney acquitted himself well and was re-elected twice as provincial during the chapters of Louvain (1692) and Rome (1694) respectively.

In 1687, he succeeded his confrere Joannes Antonius d'Aubermont (1612–1686) as one of the eight *doctores regentes* in the *Collegium Strictum* of the Louvain Faculty of Theology and as professor of scholastic theology in the study house of the Dominicans. He held this function until 1692, when he started his second term as provincial. During his short academic career, Harney published 34 propositions to be defended on various subjects related to Sacred Scripture, dogma and morality. In 1696, on the occasion of provincial chapter of Ghent, he was succeeded as a provincial by François Janssens Elinga. Harney spent the last years of his life in Louvain where he defended the anti-Jansenist position. He died on 22 April 1704 and was buried in the Dominican Church in Louvain, his tomb being ornamented with a laudatory Latin inscription emphasizing his privileged positions.⁹⁵

95 The inscription stated: "Hic jacet adm: Rdus Eximius Pater Fr: Martinus Harney Amstelodamus, conventus Bruxellensis filius, Studii generalis Iovaniensis regens, primarius, linguarum sacrarum non ignarus Sacrae facultatis professor regius, Archiepiscopalis librorum censor Bruxellis Prior, capituli generalis diffinitor, Reverendissimi assistens Germaniae inferioris iterato provincialis dignissimus Apostolicarum missionum denique trina vice praefectus Obiit 22 Aprilis 1704, Requiescat in pace." See Arts, *L'ancien couvent des Dominicains à Bruxelles*, 190.

Harney was a linguistic talent; besides his mother tongue Dutch, he understood French, Italian and Spanish and he was an expert in the three biblical languages. He was considered a good theologian and philosopher. He did not limit himself to the traditional study of scholasticism, but also used his knowledge in the domain of dogmatic theology to support the decrees of the Holy See in the controversies of his time. In doing so, he gained the interest and several words of praise of Popes at that time. Moreover, Harney was skilled in church history and exegesis. Three important themes of his time characterize his written production and his position at the Louvain Faculty of Theology: the defence of the position of St. Thomas Aquinas, the struggle with Jansenism and the prohibition of vernacular Bible reading, particularly the reception of the *Regula Quarta* of Trent.

Harney was known as a strong advocate of the authority of St. Thomas Aquinas who was held in high esteem by the Dominicans.⁹⁶ When Father Pedro de Alva y Astorga, a Friar Minor of the Strict Observance and a voluminous writer on theological subjects, tried to limit the authority of Thomas in his work *Certum Quid*, Harney responded to these allegations with three Latin sermons, delivered in Louvain on 28 January, 7 March and 4 August 1663, and with an apologetic letter.⁹⁷ In 1683, Harney wrote an *Oratio*, directed to the Jesuit hagiographer Daniel Papenbroeck, in which he demonstrated that St. Thomas Aquinas was the only author of the so-called Office of the Blessed Sacrament.⁹⁸ Ten years later, in 1693, Harney formed part of a group of theologians who wrote another work in defence of the Thomistic doctrine,⁹⁹ but this time

96 For the relationship between Jansenism, Thomism and Molinism and an overview of the conflicts in Louvain in the 1690's, see Sylvio H. De Franceschi, "Le jansénisme face à la tentation thomiste. Antoine Arnauld et le thomisme de gratia après les cinq Articles de 1663," *Revue Thomiste* 109, no. 1 (2009), 5–54.

97 Martinus Harney, *Epistola apologetica ad R.A.P.F. Petrum de Alva et Astorga Lectorem jubilatum, supremae inquisitionis qualifactorem totius religionis Minorum patrem et ex-procuratorem in Romana curia, provinciae Limensis filium etc. De secunda editione ejus "Nodi indissolubilis" et publicatione libelli, cui titulum fecit "Certum quid"* (Brussels, 1664). See also Arts, *L'ancien couvent des Dominicains à Bruxelles*, 191.

98 Martinus Harney, *Oratio in laudem doctoris angelici S. Thomae Aquinatis, dicta Lovanii 1678. & Bruxellis 1679 nunca aucta* (Brussels, 1683). See also Arts, *L'ancien couvent des Dominicains à Bruxelles*, 191.

99 The work was entitled *Declaratio trium Provincialium sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum in Belgio, doctrinam Thomisticam explicans contra Doctoris Hennebel et sociorum ejus de Gratia sententiam* and appeared in the *Reflexiones ad nuperrimam declarationem Doctoris Hennebel per Franciscum Martin* (Louvain, 1701). Other collaborators to the work were, among others, François Janssens Elinga OP and Philippe Durand OP. See furthermore Lucianus Ceyskens, "Een geheim genootschap ter bestrijding van het jansenisme in België," in

against the positions of the Louvain theologians Gummarus Huygens and Jean-Libert Hennebel.

Harney was generally considered a *Jansenistarum hostis acerrimus* – that is, a fierce adversary of the Jansenists.¹⁰⁰ However, this presupposition deserves certain nuance. On the basis of an exchange of letters between Harney and the Louvain theologian François Van Vianen¹⁰¹ dating from the period 1673–1675, Ceyssens sets up the hypothesis that Harney was initially a theologian with Jansenist sympathies, before turning into a vehement anti-Jansenist.¹⁰² Harney and Van Vianen wrote some twelve friendly and confidential letters to each other. On the basis of this correspondence, Ceyssens stated that, at least in the period 1673–1675, Harney sympathised with the Jansenist party although he lived in Rome at that time. Harney did not like the Jesuits¹⁰³ – neither their moral principles, nor their love for the Chinese rites and their zeal to propagate the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as letters II,¹⁰⁴ IV,¹⁰⁵ VII, VIII and X reveal. He showed respect for the Louvain Faculty of Theology by greeting its

Jansenistica. Studiën in verband met de Geschiedenis van het Jansenisme, vol. 1, ed. Lucianus Ceyssens (Mechlin: St. Franciscus, 1953), 359–360.

100 De Jonghe, *Belgium dominicanum*, 348.

101 François Van Vianen (1615–1693) was a secular priest who worked as a professor at the Louvain University. On 19 December 1650 he was appointed president of the Pope's College in Louvain, but he only started teaching there in 1664 when he obtained the royal chair of scholastic theology. Around that time, he probably became member of the *Collegium Strictum* of the Louvain Faculty of Theology. At that time, the *Collegium Strictum* of the Theology Faculty was considered the centre of the Jansenist party in Louvain because five out of its eight members, including Van Vianen, were suspected of Jansenism. The fact that Van Vianen was surnamed the “patriarch of the Jansenists” after his death in 1693 seems to confirm this statement. Van Vianen also played an important role in combatting moral laxity and the principle of probabilism. See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 304–306. See furthermore Ceyssens and De Munter, *Sources relatives à l'histoire du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme*, LI–LII; Albert De Meyer, “Viane (François Van) ou Vianen,” in *BN 26* (Brussels: Bruylant, 1936–1938), 714–175.

102 Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 303–326.

103 Later, Harney would change his mind and explicitly refer to Jesuit writers to support his argumentation.

104 “Ea occasione varia dixi de studio veritatis Lovaniensium, quae ille videbatur sine ulla restrictione mentali deglutire. Nescio an stomachum fecerint.” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 311.

105 “[...] quae Chinam tangunt, quae sane longe aliter habent quam iactent Patres Iesuitae, de quorum et doctrinae et morum corruptelis, multa folia composui et scripsi quae Sacris Congregationibus Sancti Officii et de Propaganda Fide obtulit noster Missionis Chinensis praefectus quorum etiam mentionem feci inter degendos errores Patris Estrix qui illas etiam quaestiones attigit quas minime discusserat.” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 315.

members in letters I,¹⁰⁶ II, IV, VIII and X;¹⁰⁷ he also had a penchant for Cardinal Giovanni Bona (1609–1674),¹⁰⁸ who acted as his patron in Rome, as shown in letters V and VI.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, Harney was an advocate of rigorism in general, as letters III, IV, VI and IX¹¹⁰ demonstrate, although he rejected in letter III those who committed excesses in this regard, as for instance Pierre Marcelis.¹¹¹ Harney supported the books of the Louvain moral theologians Gommarus Huygens and Jean Roucourt, and even defended them in letters II, VI,¹¹² VII, VIII, IX¹¹³ and XII. Harney also appeared to be an advocate of the efficacious grace *per se*, as demonstrated in letters IV¹¹⁴ and VIII. As a regular clergyman, he did not like the measures of Archbishop De Berghes, who was considered a

106 “Eximiis Dominationibus ac Magistris nostris salutem plurimum officiosissime precor.” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 310.

107 “De reliquo Vestrae Eximiae Dominationi cum caeteris Eximiis collegis (quos reverentissime saluto) precor omnia fausta ab eo, qui est omne bonum.” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 314.

108 Giovanni Bona (1609–1674) was an Italian Cistercian, liturgist and devotional author. He was friends with Pope Alexander VII who made him Consultor to the Congregation of the Index and to the Holy Office. In 1669, Clement IX created him cardinal. He is most famous for his work *De Rebus Liturgicis* (1671) which consists of an history of the Sacrifice of the Mass and brings together historic information on all subjects bearing on the Mass, such as rites, churches, vestments. See Pius Maurer, “Kardinal Giovanni Bona. Cistercienser, geistlicher Schriftsteller und Pionier des Liturgiewissenschaft,” *Analecta Cisterciensia* 59 (2009), 3–166.

109 “Ego certe patronum quem hic habebam unicum amisi. Ille obtinuerit aut saltem (ut spero et voveo) brevi obtinebat multo beatiorem pontificia aeternae gloriae coronam in regione vivorum.” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 317.

110 “Cum haec scripsissem ostensa mihi fuit charta sacerdotum saecularium in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutorem, qui protestantur graviter de abusibus quorundam, imo multorum in Belgio zelantium. Hoc unum dolui quod doctrina de differenda quandoque absolute indirecte videretur inde pati. Paucorum est, separare pretiosum a vili, videoque in moralibus verissimum esse, quod in physicis docent nostri: actiones esse suppositorum.” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 323.

111 “Domino P. Marcelis, quem equidem vereor ita morbo contradictionis laborare, ut si esset alterius professionis, haud minus foret in alteram partem excedens, quam soleat esse in suam.” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 312.

112 “Libellum Eximii Domini Huygens variis per opportunitatem exhibebo viris doctis et piis [...]” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 317; “Sed ad libellum Eximii Domini Huygens (tertium hunc eius, dico, tractatum) ut redeam, legi totum et nihil improbo; nec possum imaginari, quid in eo possent hic accusare.” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 318.

113 “Acclusam ad Emum D. Cardinalem Berberinum deferam prima opportunitate et libenter, si potuero, adiungam ea quae sentio in favorem libellum Eximii Domini Huygens, quem magno affectu saluto.” See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 322.

114 He states: “Quod vero Eximia Dominatio Vestra memorat nonnullos e purpuratis patribus ferri addictos doctrinae de gratia efficaci id verissimum esse creo et datis oportunitatibus

Jansenist because he had prohibited the simultaneous carrying of the Holy Sacrament and images of saints during processions,¹¹⁵ as results from letters VII, IX,¹¹⁶ XI, and XII.

Ceyssens concluded from the study of these twelve letters that Harney not only formed part of the so-called Jansenist party in Louvain at that time, although he stayed in Rome, but that he also was a rigorist and an opponent of moral laxity and Molinism. The reasons for Harney's conversion to the anti-Jansenist camp remain, however, a matter for conjecture because of the shortage of sources.¹¹⁷ The letters under study were written in the period 1673–1675, a few years before the Louvain delegation was sent to Rome. Returning from the Eternal City in 1675, Harney most likely became aware of the changing climate in Louvain, where the struggle between the Jansenists and their opponents slowly came to a head. Did Harney's doctrine change over the years because he wanted to save his skin and did he therefore leave his old friends? A possible explanation can be the failure of Jansenism in Louvain following the appointment of the anti-Jansenist Archbishop De Precipiano in 1689. Or, the other way round, did the doctrine of Harney's friends turn out to be dangerous? If Harney wanted to continue his work and to safeguard his career at the Louvain University, he appears to have been obliged to adapt himself to the ideas of the anti-Jansenists.

A third important theme that characterizes Harney's written works results from his conversion to the camp of the anti-Jansenists. In imitation of the anti-Jansenists, Harney became known as an opponent of vernacular Bible translation and the Bible reading by the laity. He held for instance a vehement of the *Regula Quarta* of Trent that had been issued almost 140 years earlier.

libenter (quod Vestra Eximia Dominatio monet) observabo." See Ceyssens, "Correspondance romaine," 315.

115 On August 29, 1674, Alphonse de Berghes had issued a circular letter in which he announced the plan to restrict the number of processions and he defended his idea to carry out the Holy Sacrament along with relics and images of saints. The circular laid at the basis of a long canonical-liturgical controversy and caused even troubles among the clergy. The secular clergy obeyed, while the regular clergy reacted fiercely. Ceyssens, "Correspondance romaine," 319; Ceyssens and De Munter, *Sources relatives à l'histoire du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme*, xxv–xxix; Claessens, *Histoire des archevêques de Malines*, 1:370–373; De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 2:369–370.

116 "Superest ut de controversia propter processiones verbum reponam. Vestra Eximia Dominatio se nuper promptam exhibebat ad componendas partes; idipsum et ego libentissimie facerem et fecissem (credo) si nuper Bruxellis fuisssem." See Ceyssens, "Correspondance romaine," 323.

117 Ceyssens, "Correspondance romaine," 308.

3.2.2 *Three Theoretical Treatises on Vernacular Bible Reading*

Martinus Harney compiled three works on the topic of vernacular Bible reading, respectively in 1686, 1689 and 1691. The first extensive treatise was written in Dutch and formed the basis for two Latin treatises that were published afterwards. Therefore, the analysis below will provide an elaborate analysis of the 1686 Dutch work. Harney particularly focussed on the general discussions regarding the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and the implementation of the *Regula Quarta* in the Low Countries. All three works were directed against the writings of the French Jansenist Antoine Arnauld and were dedicated to De Precipiano, bishop of Bruges (1683–1690) and later Archbishop of Mechlin (1690–1711). It should be noted that Harney was probably closely associated to De Precipiano in the period 1689–1692, as witnessed by the fact that the Dominican was present during the episcopal meetings that the new Archbishop had convoked in the period 1691–1692. In addition, it is likely that Harney, together with his friend Martinus Steyaert, contributed to De Precipiano's 1691 decree on vernacular Bible reading.

3.2.2.1 Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden in het lesen der H. Schrifture in ghemeyne taele (1686)

In 1686, Harney published an extensive two-volume Dutch work of 662 pages entitled *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden in het lesen der H. Schrifture in ghemeyne taele* (*Reasonable Obedience of the Catholic Netherlands in the Reading of Sacred Scripture in the Vernacular*). According to the information on the title page, Hendrick van Dunwalt printed the treatise in octavo format in Antwerp. Harney also mentioned on the title-page that the work was directed against the vehement inadvertence or hardihood (*heftighe onbedachtigheden*) that Monsieur A.A.¹¹⁸ had displayed in his 1680 work *De la lecture de l'Écriture sainte* (*On the Reading of Sacred Scripture*). In his dedicatory letter to De Precipiano, at that time bishop of Bruges, Harney affirmed that his treatise was based on De Precipiano's 1685 decree on vernacular Bible reading, which was also integrated in the work.¹¹⁹ In this decree, which was only valid in the diocese of Bruges, De Precipiano stated that vernacular Bible

118 A.A. refers to *Auctor Anonymus* or anonymous author, but Harney states in his preface that he identifies A.A. as Antoine Arnauld. See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §VII.

119 "Terwijlen den inhoudt van desen Boeck, oock bysonderlijck, op eene Ordonnantie steunt, die Uwe Hooghweerdighste Doorluchtigheyt heeft laeten uytgaen, soo dunckt het my redelijck, dat ick aen Haer, desen Boeck derve op-draghen." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, dedication. See also Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 67–68.

reading had been explicitly forbidden by Pope Pius IV in the *Regula Quarta*. Harney therefore praised the bishop for his zeal and his tenacity to improve the morals of his flock. Harney's treatise received approbation from eight book censors on four different places: in Rome from the Dominicans Antonius de Monroy and Guinandus Wynans on 6 October 1685; in Antwerp from the Dominican François Janssens Elinga on 16 March 1686; in Louvain from the Dominican Joannes Antonius d'Aubermont on 25 May 1685; in Mechlin from Vincentius Stayackers on 24 August 1686 and again in Antwerp from the diocesan censors P. Van Halmale, Ant(h)onius Hoefslag and Arnoldus Eyben on 18 September 1686. Hendrick van Dunwalt also received a printing privilege for nine years on behalf of King Charles II on 9 September 1686.

In the preface, divided into seventeen (small) paragraphs, Harney discussed the reasons why he had written his work. As the title of the treatise already indicated, he aimed at demonstrating the reasonable obedience of the Catholic Low Countries towards the stipulations on vernacular Bible reading, particularly the *Regula Quarta*. One of main questions to be answered was whether it was allowed to read the vernacular Bible in the Low Countries just like that, from beginning to end.¹²⁰ Harney furthermore stated that he would discuss the different sides of this important issue. He wrote his work in Dutch in order to reach the laity, and especially the women, not only because they were mostly inclined to make mistakes against the rules on Bible reading but also because several vernacular works on the issue lay at the basis of the controversy.¹²¹ Harney added that he had not written this work in French because he did not master that language properly. He integrated this remark probably in the preface because the work was directed against the French-speaking Antoine Arnauld. Harney furthermore announced that the treatise at hand soon would be translated in Latin.¹²² This (partial) Latin version of the work eventually appeared in 1693.

In the next part of his preface, Harney refuted the concern that his book would cause even more misunderstanding and commotion. On the contrary, he was convinced that he was the first to study thoroughly the coming about of the *Regula Quarta* and its promulgation in the Low Countries. It will turn out

¹²⁰ Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §I–III.

¹²¹ "Om dan, het gemeyn volck, van onse Landen, voor soo ick bereycken konde, uyt dese verwerrighen te helpen, die uyt alle dat schrijven, en teghen-schrijven, in ghemeyne taelen, begonst waren veroorsaect te worden, soo hebbe ick goet gheoordeelt, een grondigh ondersoek, van geheele de saecke, in onse gemeyne taele, te beschrijven." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §III.

¹²² "In 't *Latijn*, belieft het Godt, sal ick, dit selfste, met den eersten, oock verhandelen." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §III.

that Harney drew a fairly accurate picture of the historical reality. He proposed to show that the *Regula Quarta* was reasonable and well observed. Harney also named other vernacular works that had appeared on the same topic. He mentioned the controversy between the Frenchmen Mallet and Arnauld, the French and Dutch translations of Van Neercassel's *Tractatus de lectione scripturarum*, the two Dutch tracts of Suivius¹²³ and their anonymous refutation *Gods Woord verdedigd*, which he did not attribute to Van Neercassel because of a lack of moderation.¹²⁴

In the following part of his preface, Harney focussed on the controversy between Mallet and Arnauld. He agreed with Mallet's strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* and even proposed to complete his argumentation: the canon of Rouen had only dealt with the present situation concerning vernacular Bible reading in his work, while Harney also planned to describe the events from the past. In other words, he aimed at demonstrating that right from the very beginning the Church had forbidden vernacular Bible reading for the laity. Harney also attacked the ideas of Arnauld, and particularly his work *De la lecture de l'Écriture sainte* (1680), as was mentioned on the title page. At that time, Arnauld stayed in Brussels from where he exerted a great influence over the Low Countries. It should be noted that Harney at first considered Arnauld as the main author of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, but that he later refuted that claim in the corpus of his book.¹²⁵

Having the controversy between Mallet and Arnauld at the back of his mind, Harney stated that he would adopt a middle course, although he immediately added that he aimed at pointing out the pernicious position, in other words, that of Arnauld.¹²⁶ According to Arnauld, Mallet had affirmed that it was harmful for all unlearned people to read Scripture and that only priests and teachers were allowed to read or explain Scripture. The French Jansenist, on the contrary, was convinced that everybody was allowed to read Scripture and that no

123 Harney identified Suivius as a local pastor of a village in a diocese nearby and stated that he had overleaped himself: "[...] eenen, die sy selven, *Antonius Suivius*, noemt; en, soo gheseyt wordt, is Pastoor op een Dorp, van een Bisdom, niet verre van hier ghelegghen. Den desen heeft sijnen yver, oock willen bethoonen: maar, om de waarheydt te segghen, hy schijnt, sy selven wat over-reykt te hebben." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §v.

124 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §iv–v.

125 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §vi–x, xii.

126 "Ons Voor-Nemen is, tusschen de twee uyerlijckheden, in 't midden te gaen, en d'uyterlijckheydt, van den eenen kant, aen te wijsen, dat schaedelijck is. Van den anderen kant, willen wy wel, met Mr. A.A. ons af-houden. Oft wy wel doen, met ons tegen Mr. A.A. te stellen, moet het werck uyt-wijsen." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §xi.

laws were necessary in this regard. In order to solve this problem, according to Harney, the Church had issued a reasonable stipulation, namely the *Regula Quarta*. This was also the reason why he had divided his work into two parts: the first part, consisting of eighteen chapters, dealt with the coming about and the reasonable character of the *Regula Quarta*, while the twenty chapters of the second part already anticipated possible objections.¹²⁷

Finally, Harney explained why he discussed the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* in his treatise. He did so not only because Arnauld had mentioned the work several times in his works, but also because of the many reactions that this translation had evoked. As demonstrated in the previous chapter,¹²⁸ this French translation of the New Testament had already been reprinted 25 times in 1684 and more than 40.000 copies of the translation had been sold. It is beyond doubt that the translation was known in the Low Countries. Harney indicated, however, that he only aimed at attacking the works of Arnauld, and not his person. Quite ironically, Harney stated that he was even willing to revise Arnauld's writings, although he did not really expect an answer from the French theologian. In the unlikely case that Arnauld would not understand his Dutch treatise, there would certainly be enough people to help him translating it, as Arnauld lived in the Low Countries at that time. Harney added that it would also be useful for non-Catholics to read this treatise because they had already been informed on the disturbed relation between Arnauld and the Catholic Church.¹²⁹

The present analysis of *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden* focuses on the arguments that Harney presented to defend the reasonable character of the *Regula Quarta* and to demonstrate its implementation in the Low Countries. In the first book, Harney demonstrated why he was convinced that the *Regula Quarta* was reasonably obeyed by the Catholics in the Low Countries. He started his work by quoting a Dutch translation of the rule under consideration and immediately emphasized its importance by pointing out the penalty in case of non-observance: if someone would read the vernacular Bible without permission, he would not receive remission for his sins. Harney concluded that the severity of this punishment had to be consistent with the severity of the sin.¹³⁰

127 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §XI.

128 See p. 156.

129 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, preface, §XIII–XVII.

130 "Voorwaer, ghelijck dese straffe groot is, soo volght het wel, dat de Sonde, daer soo groote straffe toe staet, oock moet groot zijn." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 2.

In chapters two to four,¹³¹ Harney described the coming about of the Tridentine Rules in minute detail, basing himself on acts of the Council, the testimony of the Pope at the time, the preface of the Tridentine Index and the various reference works on the Council, for instance of Henricus Spondanus (1568–1643). Harney particularly focussed on the authorship of the Tridentine Rules, emphasizing that they had been made on the explicit authority of the Pope by a collective of prelates and theologians from various nations and that his confrere and secretary of the commission, Franciscus Forerius, only had written the preface to the Index and the Tridentine Rules.¹³² In other words, Harney rightly affirmed, in line with the statement of O'Malley, that the Tridentine rules had been compiled by a conciliar commission during the Council and that the Pope had approved their work afterwards.¹³³ Harney also invoked the testimony of Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623) who stated that the Index was ready during the Council.¹³⁴ In addition, Harney quoted the bull *Dominici Gregis Custodiae* of Pius IV and discussed the relation of authority between the Council and the Pope. Next, in line with the goal proposed at the outset of his work, Harney described the implementation of the Index in the Low Countries, paying attention to the authority of King Philip II, the edict he had issued on 15 February 1569, and the role of the Duke of Alba. He concluded by comparing the compilation of the Index and the Tridentine Rules with the process of growing a tree which also involved several actors: the soil, the sun, the rain and the planter all had their part in the process. Accordingly, various actors

¹³¹ Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 3–32.

¹³² The title of the preface to the Tridentine Rules stated: "Praefatio in Indicem Librorum Prohibitorum, Confectum a Deputatione Tridentini Synodi *Regulae, & Observationes. Praefatio R.P.F. Francisci Forerij, Ordin. Fr. Praed. Sacr. Theol. Professionis. & ejusdem Deputationis Secretarii*" (emphasis ours). See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 652.

¹³³ "Soo dat wy uyt het Concilie selfs, op het alder-klaerste sien, dat het werck *van de keuren*, oft oordelen, *evan de boecken, de censuris, & libris*, dat werck (segge ick) van den *Index*, soo hy nu is, met alle sijne x. *Reghelen*, niet door de *Congregatie dell' Indice*, binnen *Roomen*, maer binnen *Trente*, uyt bysondere Deputatie van het Concilie Generael, door soo vele, soo treffelijke Mannen, met soo groote naerstigheydt, ende billickheydt, af-ghe-daen, volbraght, en de laetste handt daer aen ghestelt is gheweest." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 20–21. "Sy [the Tridentine Rules, sic] souden nochtans van Pauselijck ghesagh zijn, als de welcken door den Paus uyt-ghegheven zijn, ende gheboden t'onderhouden." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 4. See also O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 266.

¹³⁴ "*Fra Paolo* selfs, die onder den naem van *Pietro Soave*, den spinnekop van dat Concilie geweest is, ghetuyght, dat het werck van den *Index*, in het Concilie selfs, af-ghe-daen was: *Intorno l'Indice, se ben'quello era finito, &c...*" See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 21.

had been involved in the coming about of the Index: not only Forerius, but also the deputies, the Pope, the Council members, the secretaries and others.¹³⁵

Before dealing with the implementation of the Tridentine decrees and the Index in the Low Countries, Harney also discussed the authorship of the Tridentine Catechism and provided a detailed overview of the various Indices that had been published so far in chapters five and six.¹³⁶ He mentioned the Louvain Indices of 1546 and 1550, the Roman Index of Paul IV of 1559, and the Tridentine Index of 1564. Harney furthermore stated that the Sistine Index of 1590 had not been finished and affirmed that the Clementine Index of 1596 had not been promulgated in the Low Countries, although this Index had been printed four times in the Low Countries. He also referred to the Antwerp Index of 1570, composed at the request of Philip II and considered as an appendix of the 1569 Index. Finally, he made mention of the expurgatory Index of 1571, which contained the four Tridentine Rules that focussed on the expurgation of books (rules 2, 5, 7 and 8). However, he emphasized that this did not imply that the other six Tridentine rules, and particularly the *Regula Quarta*, had been abolished.¹³⁷

Next, Harney dealt extensively with the implementation and the observance of the Tridentine decrees and the Index in the Low Countries in chapters seven to nine.¹³⁸ He based himself not only on the decrees of the various diocesan synods and provincial councils, but also quoted fragments from historical reference works of that time. Harney stated that Philip II of Spain already had insisted in 1564 on the promulgation and the observance of the conciliar decrees by the (Arch)bishops. Harney rightly pointed out that the implementation of Trent and the Index had been complicated by the Dutch Revolt. He also mentioned the important role of the Duke of Alba and Margaret of Parma in imposing the conciliar decrees. He paid particular attention to the efforts of bishop William Lindanus of Roermond, one of the first promulgators of both the Tridentine decrees and the Index (1569), even before the first provincial council of Mechlin (1570).¹³⁹ Harney doubted, however, whether the Tridentine decrees had been fully implemented in the whole of the Low Countries. In

135 "Maeckt van *Forerius*, van de Ghedeputeerden, van het Concilie, van den Paus, alles, wat ghy wilt, planters, besproeyers, eyghenaers, meesters, hemel, aerde, soo 't u belieft; den boom van den *Index* komt hun altemael, yder voor sijn ghdeelte, toe." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 32.

136 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 32–38.

137 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 35–38.

138 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 39–67.

139 There are indications that Lindanus convoked five diocesan synods in the period 1569–1573. However, only the acts of the 1570 synod were printed and preserved.

this context, he also referred to the situation in France where the promulgation also had not had the desired effect.¹⁴⁰ Next, Harney mentioned the abovementioned edict of Philip II, contained in the 1570 Antwerp Index who had been printed by Plantin. Harney was of the opinion that Lindanus's efforts clearly proved that the ordinances of the Pope, the Council, the King, as well as those contained in the Indices had been previously promulgated in the Low Countries and that this had been the case for all the dioceses in the ecclesiastical province of Mechlin.¹⁴¹

With regard to the promulgation of the Index, Harney stated that it had been solemnly promulgated in all seventeen provinces of the Low Countries for the first time on 15 February 1569, when Philip II had issued his famous edict. Harney made a distinction between the three ecclesiastical provinces Cambrai, Mechlin and Utrecht. In this last province, he was right when he stated that the promulgation there had not succeeded. As already stated in the second chapter of this study, the *Regula Quarta* was explicitly mentioned in the decrees of the provincial councils of Cambrai (1586)¹⁴² and Mechlin (1607), and in those of the diocesan synods of Mechlin (1609), Ypres (1609), Antwerp (1610) and Ghent (1613). Harney also referred to the ordinance of Ferdinand of Bavaria, Prince-bishop of Liège, pronounced on 2 February 1619. This ordinance forbade vernacular Bible reading unless with the explicit permission from the vicar or his deputies.¹⁴³ Harney correctly stated that the Prince-Bishopric of Liège not only bordered on the Low Countries, but that it also had ecclesiastical authority in some parts of the territory. He furthermore mentioned the 1623 Mechlin Catechism, in which it was explicitly stated that it was forbidden to read the Bible without permission.¹⁴⁴ By way of conclusion of the ninth

140 "Ghelijck oock in *Vrankrijk*, als wy hier naer sien sullen, de Gheestelijckheydt heeft dat Concilie, voor soo vele in hun was, aen-ghenomen; ende des' niet teghenstaende, soo en heeft het aldaer noch sijn volle uyt-wercksel, aengaende sommige Ordonnantien, niet." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 43.

141 "Soo dat, oock hier uyt, een ghevolgh ghetrocken wordt, dat, aengaende dat werck, den *Index*, oock in d'andere Bisdommen van de *Mechelsche* Provincie, op de selfste maniere, al voor het houden van het voor-ghemelde Concilie Provinciael [1570], verkondight, ende ten vollen bekendt gehmaect was." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 49.

142 Harney pointed out a remarkable difference: the 1565 council of Cambrai had made an appeal to the secular authorities, and particularly to the placard of Charles V, in their struggle against heretical books, while the 1586 council only referred to the Index that had been conceived by the ecclesiastical authorities. See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 59.

143 See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 62.

144 See also Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheydt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 63.

chapter, Harney referred to the 1659 diocesan synod of Namur and integrated a copy of De Precipiano’s 1685 decree on Bible reading.

Table 11 shows that Harney’s (incomplete) overview of the promulgation of the Tridentines decrees and the Index in the Low Countries through diocesan synods and provincial councils in large measure matches the overview proposed in the second chapter of this study.¹⁴⁵

TABLE 11 Overview of the promulgation of the Tridentine Council and the Index through provincial councils and diocesan synods based on Harney’s *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt* (1686)

Archdiocese of Cambrai	
1565	First provincial council of Cambrai
1567	Diocesan synod of Cambrai
1586	Second provincial council of Cambrai
1659	Diocesan synod of Namur
Archdiocese of Mechlin	
1569	Diocesan synod of Roermond
1570	First provincial council of Malines
1570	Diocesan synod of Roermond ¹⁴⁶
1571	Diocesan synod of Ghent ¹⁴⁷
1607	Third provincial council of Malines
1609	Diocesan synod of Malines
1609	Diocesan synod of Ypres
1610	Diocesan synod of Antwerp
1613	Diocesan synod of Ghent ¹⁴⁸
1643	Diocesan synod of Antwerp
Prince-Bishopric of Liège	
1618	Diocesan synod of Liège

145 For the archdiocese of Cambrai, see p. 105, for the archdiocese of Mechlin, see p. 120–121, and for the Prince-Bishopric of Liège, see p. 125.

146 Bishop Lindanus also referred explicitly to the diocesan synod of 1569 in his *Oratio Synodica*.

147 Harney situated the diocesan synod of Ghent in 1570 in his work. See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 44.

148 Harney stated that the ordinances of the 1613 diocesan synod were renewed during the tenth meeting of bishop Antonius Triest with his archpriests on 9–10 October 1629. See De Ram, *Synodicon Belgicum*, 4:369–370.

In chapters ten to twelve,¹⁴⁹ Harney dealt with the reasonableness of the *Regula Quarta*. He first enumerated the conditions to consider a prohibition or an order as reasonable: it had to prevent evil things, but it should not prevent good things from happening. In other words, if everyone would be permitted to read the vernacular Bible everywhere and without difference, this would cause more harm than good because of the boldness of men. Next, Harney discussed the *sola scriptura*-principle of the Protestants and extensively criticised Luther's teachings. He affirmed that right from the beginning, the Catholic principle of Scripture and Tradition had already been attacked, for instance by the movements of Arianism and Pelagianism. However, contrary to what Harney affirmed, the Pelagians were truly interested in the use of Scripture. According to Harney, one of the main reasons for implementing the *Regula Quarta* had been the fact that the Catholic Church tried to answer questions concerning faith in accordance with the capacity of the faithful: illiterate Catholics were not allowed to read the vernacular Bible because this would cause harm. Learned Catholics had to appeal to the Traditions and the judgment of the Church, and not to their own convictions.¹⁵⁰ In other words, the faithful had to rely on the authority and the reasonableness of the Church, represented by the Pope, the Council and many intelligent men. Harney also showed that vernacular Bible reading by the laity only gave rise to troubles, as was and had been the case in Germany, France, England and Hungary where the *Regula Quarta* had not been implemented. In Italy, Spain and Portugal, on the contrary, there were no problems because the *Regula Quarta* was observed. It should be noted that Harney did not refer to the even more severe *Observatio circa regulam quartam*. Next, Harney provided an elaborate definition of the concept of a heretic by answering the following questions: who and what is a heretic, when is someone called a heretic and how does a heretic act? He also refuted the allegation, expressed by proponents of vernacular Bible reading, that mostly learned men lay at the basis of the heresies of the past centuries. He furthermore stated that there was a big difference between the learning of vernacular languages and the study of Latin, which of course required a

149 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 68–118.

150 "Ende soo, in deser voege is, het, dat de *Catholijcken*, over *ongestaedigheyt*, en *ongeleertheyt*, niet berispt mogen worden, ghelijck wel *Luther*, en sijns ghelijcken. Zijn de *Catholijcken ongeleert*, men verbiedt hun de *Schrijfture*, *doorgaens*, en *sonder onderscheyt*, te handelen, endo soo en sullen sy se niet mishandelen: zijn sy gheleert, hun oordeel en is hunnen rechtsnoer geensints niet, om de *Schrijfturen* te verstaen, maer de getuygenisse der *Overleveringh*, en het oordeel van de *H. Kercke*, de welcke maer *eene* zijnde, en het *gront-gebouw van de waarheyt*, soo en kan eenen *Catholijcken*, in sijn Gheloof niet *ongestadigh* zijn." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 88.

significant effort. To conclude, only the Latin Vulgate had been declared as the authentic version of the Catholic Church. He added that vernacular translations, like for instance the very famous *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, had not only been forbidden. In addition, contrary to the good word-use and appealing lay-out of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, discussed in one of the following parts of his treatise, the translation was in fact very poor with regard to the content.¹⁵¹

In chapters thirteen and fourteen,¹⁵² Harney sketched the situation with regard to vernacular Bible reading before and immediately after the Council of Trent. This description of the classic canon shows that Harney was well informed and provided accurate and correct information in his work. He started his overview around 1200, when Innocent III (1198–1216) had written three letters to the faithful of Metz on the topic of vernacular Bible reading as a reaction against the fact that some laypeople, and particularly women, were meeting secretly to read the Bible in French. The Pope had written these letters because the practice of reading vernacular Bible not only caused greater detriment than advantage for the laity, but also because it had given rise to troubles. Harney considered the three letters as the first ecclesiastical expressions of objections against vernacular Bible reading in France. At the occasion of the Council of Toulouse (1229), the Church had forbidden all vernacular Bible translations. Harney also discussed the situation in England, where John Wycliffe (1320–1384) had translated the Bible, and in Bohemia, a region in Germany, where John Hus (1369–1415) had done the same. In this context, Harney pointed out the important position of Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363–1429) who had linked the rise of heresies to the fact that the heretics had misread the (vernacular) Bible. Harney considered Gerson's ideas as an important precursor of the *Regula Quarta*. He also referred to the situation in Spain where the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand II and Isabella I had forbidden the reading of vernacular Bibles and where Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros had published his polyglot Bible. In addition, the Kings were to have an important part in the expulsion of the heretical Moors. Harney added that the fifth rule in the Spanish Index was much more severe than the *Regula Quarta*, but that the Spanish Index had not been implemented in the Low Countries because of the

151 “Ten lesten, de *H. Kercke* heeft de *Gemeyne, Vulgata, Latijnsche* Vertaelingh, voor *Authentick* verklaert, het ghene van de *Oversettinghen* in ghemeyne taelen geensints geschiedt is. Dan ter contrarie, d'alerfameuste *Oversettingh* in ghemeyne taele, te weten, de *Fransche van Mons*, is niet alleen door de Kerckelijcke Overigheydt, schroomelijck verboden, maer is oock seer ghebreckelijck ghemaect, en niet sonder vervalschinghen.” See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyte der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 118.

152 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyte der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 119–150.

radical differences between the two territories. He concluded this section by referring again to the situation in France where the Parisian Faculty of Theology had issued two arrests against vernacular Bible reading at the time of Erasmus.

In chapters fifteen to seventeen,¹⁵³ Harney dealt with the reception of the Tridentine book regulations. First, he discussed the period between the rise of Luther and the closing of the Council of Trent based on the writings of, among others, Erasmus, Johann Eck, Johannes Driedo, Matthieu Ory, Martín Pérez de Ayala, Joannes Bunderius, and Domingo and Pedro de Soto. The works of these authorities all sustained his statement that the (illiterate) laypeople, particularly women, were not allowed to read the vernacular Bible. In other words, these writers affirmed that it was necessary to impose some regulations and these regulations all coincided with the Tridentine position.¹⁵⁴ In the following chapter, Harney discussed the reception of the Tridentine rules in the works of Charles Borromeo. Borromeo was considered as the major protector of the Low Countries in Rome. He held various provincial councils in which he emphasized the Tridentine stipulations with regard to vernacular books. Next, Harney focused on the situation in France, mainly because the majority of the inhabitants of the Low Countries understood French and thus were influenced by the French *mode*, both in their appearance and inwardly.¹⁵⁵ Interestingly, Harney remarked that he would not discuss the question whether or not the Tridentine decrees and the Index had been implemented and were observed in France. This appears to have been a difficult issue. However, he did propose to demonstrate how the King and the clergy had tried to stimulate the promulgation and the observance of the Tridentine stipulations, and particularly the *Regula Quarta*. Harney stated that the French clergy had confirmed the Tridentine Index and its rules in various ordinances. In this context, he quoted the stipulations of the Parisian Faculty of Theology (1567 and 1661), the decisions of the *Assemblée Générale du Clergé de l'Église Gallicane* (1661) and the decrees

¹⁵³ Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 151–176.

¹⁵⁴ “Klaerlijck sien wy dan uyt dese twee laetste *Capittels*, hoe soo vele, en soo merckelijcke Overigheden en Leeraers, al over langh, redelijck, ja noodtsaeckelijck oordeelden, dat men in ‘t lesen der *H. Schrifture* in gemeyne taele, eenige bepaelingh moeste doen, ende niet eenen is ‘er geweest, die dese bepaelingh ruymmer oordeelden te behooren zijn, als sy te *Trente* gedaen is.” See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 150.

¹⁵⁵ “Vrankrijck leght ons soo naer, ons volck voor het voornaemste deel, verstaet de *Fransche* taele, en maar al te vele zijnde hier, die de *Fransche Mode*, niet alleen aen hun lichaem, maer oock in hunne zielen draghen, en dies-halve sullen wy wat aen-mercken, van hoe de *Franschen* in dit stuck, hun ghedraghen hebben. See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 151.

of various Councils, for instance Bourges (1584), Aix-en-Provence (1585), Toulouse (1590), Narbonne (1609) and Bordeaux (1624). They all agreed that the laity was not allowed to freely read the vernacular Bible, and thus approved the *Regula Quarta*. In the following chapter, Harney discussed the reception of the Tridentine Council in the works of many Catholic writers in order to prove once again the reasonable character of the *Regula Quarta*.¹⁵⁶ Harney admitted that he did not quote any writers from Spain or Portugal because of the presence of the Inquisition on the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, he preferred writers who had experienced the Council at first hand. It is striking that Harney mentioned many authors that were either Jesuits, like Alfonso Salmerón, Johannes Azorius and Nicolaus Serarius, or were closely associated to the Jesuits, like Diego Paiva d'Andrada.

In the eighteenth and last chapter of the first book,¹⁵⁷ Harney dealt with the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. He started by quoting the 1668 brief of Clement IX in which the translation was forbidden under the penalty of excommunication. However, this brief had not been implemented in France and the Low Countries, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapter. Referring to Mallet's works, Harney rightly stated that three ordinances had been issued against the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, respectively by Archbishop Antonio Barberini of Reims, Archbishop George d'Aubusson de La Feuillade of Ambrun, and by Archbishop Hardouin de Beaumont de Pérefixe of Paris. In addition, the King of France had reacted against the translation in a *Arrest du Conseil d'Estat*, published on 22 November 1667. Next, Harney stated that Gaspard Migeot had not printed one page of the translation, although the translation had received approbation of Gaspard Nemius, Archbishop of Cambrai. He furthermore affirmed that Arnould, who was considered the main author of the work, had turned to the Low Countries because he had not been able to obtain permission to print in France. Moreover, Arnould had not dared to admit that the translation had been printed in the North and that a fictitious printing address

156 He mentioned works of the following authors: Diego Paiva d'Andrada, Sixtus of Siena, Alphonso Salmerón SJ, Josse Ravesteyn, Guilielmus Estius, Florimond de Rémond, Johannes Azorius SJ, Petrus Simonis, Guilielmus Reginaldus (William Rainolds), Franciscus Agricola, Johannes Lorinus, Petrus Stevartius, Nicolaus Serarius SJ, Paulus Layman SJ, Henricus Lancelottus, Franciscus Zypaeus, Franciscus Sylvius, Jacobus Marchantius, Judocus Lorichius, Turano Vekiti (Arnout Kievit), Jacobus Gordanus, Henricus Spondanus, Franciscus Haraeus, Dionysius Henricus Mutzaerts, Jacobus Tirinus SJ, Robert Bellarmine SJ, cardinal Jacques Davy Duperron, Armand Jean du Plessis cardinal de Richelieu, Dominicus Gravina, cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicino, Richard Simon, Johannes van Neercassel, Petrus and Adrianus de Walenburgh, Libertus Fromondus, Vincentius Contenson and Franciscus Costerus SJ.

157 Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 177–188.

had been used. Harney referred in this context to the decrees of the provincial council of Cambrai (1586) and the diocesan synod of Antwerp (1643) during which the same Nemius, in his capacity of bishop, had stated that heretical, forbidden and suspect books had to be consigned to the bishop. Taking into account the amount of reprints, Harney affirmed that the carefully edited translation testified of eloquence and probably had been read by many respectable people in the Low Countries, including women, and by those who wanted to be associated to the clergy.¹⁵⁸ It should be noted that in one of the previous chapters of his work, Harney had reacted against the poor content of the translation. In other words, he clearly distinguished between the form and the content. One of the main reasons for Clement IX to condemn the translation in 1668 appeared to have been the fact that it did not correspond with the Vulgate. Harney also stated that Arnauld openly had admitted that the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* was based on the Greek text and that he had not intended to follow the Tridentine stipulations. Nevertheless, many inhabitants of the Low Countries had adopted his translation and thus ignored the papal ordinations. In addition to this, Harney discussed the authority of the Pope, his infallibility and the role of a Council. He argued that everyone, Arnauld included, had to obey the Pope until a general Council would approve or reject his decisions. This also counted for the decisions that had been taken concerning the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. In other words, the authority of the Pope could not be questioned.

In the twenty chapters of the second book of his treatise, Harney presented the possible objections against the reasonable obedience of the Catholic Low Countries as regards the reading of the vernacular Bible and refuted them immediately. In the first chapter, Harney distinguished between four possible reactions of other Catholics¹⁵⁹ against the *Regula Quarta*: (1) objections raised against the creation of the rule; (2) objections raised against the rule itself; (3) objections raised against the promulgation of the rule; (4) objections raised against the reasonableness of the rule and its extent. However, before dealing with these issues, Harney discussed the objections of the non-Catholics against the Catholic way of reading the vernacular Bible in the first chapter. Harney

158 "De nette toe-passingen der *Fransche* woorden, op de hedendaegsche maniere van spreken [...], en daer by de welsprekenthcyt, die aen 't volck van *Monsieur A.A.* als aen-geboren is, als oock de nettigheyt van den druck, daer by ghevoeght, die opghepronckte *Voorreden*, zijn oorsaeck gheweest, dat vele treffelijcke persoonen in *Nederland*, bysonder de *Dames*, en, die, onder de Geestelijckheyt wat wilden zijn, dese *Oversettingh* gelesen hebben, ende dat den druck daer van, ick en soude niet wel derven verhaelen, hoe dickwils men seyt, dat dien vernieuwt is gheweest." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 182–183.

159 This means that Harney considered the Jansenists still as Catholics.

particularly mentioned the reaction of the Dutch Calvinist theologian and orientalist Johannes Leusden (1624–1699) who was displeased by the habits of the monks. They rarely read Scripture, but were already satisfied with their breviary, which Leusden considered of minor importance. Moreover, Leusden affirmed that they hid the Bible in their libraries, while the works of Bernard of Clairvaux had been placed in the Church. Harney noted, however, that Bernard's writings were filled with references to Scripture and that Leusden's statements were wrong. He invited the Calvinist theologian to visit the Catholic monasteries to witness himself the current situation. Nowhere there were more books and Bibles to be found than in monasteries and Harney referred in this regard to Antonius Sanderus's *Flandria illustrata*. He also quoted several examples of Bibles that had been printed in Louvain and Antwerp. In those cities, the Latin text of Scripture had been reprinted several times in the period 1522–1572. Also various Dutch Bible translations had been printed there and he mentioned the 1541 Bible translation printed by Hendrik Peetersen van Middeburgh, and the 1548 translation of Nicolaas van Winghe, which was reprinted in 1566 by Plantin. Examples of French translations were also found:¹⁶⁰ the French Bible translation of Lefèvre d'Étaples, printed by Martin Lempereur in Antwerp, or the 1572 French New Testament of the *Théologiens de Louvain*, based on the translation of René Benoist. Another reproach of Leusden was the fact that the biblical languages were ignored. Harney therefore mentioned examples of Bible editions in the biblical languages: the *Biblia Regia*, also called the Plantin Polyglot, printed between 1568 and 1573 in Antwerp, concordances of the Bible in Hebrew and Greek, and the famous *Biblia Complutense Polyglotta* of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros. In the last part of the first chapter, Harney discussed Leusden's assertion that the biblical languages or the languages of Cross were hardly practised. He described the history and the evolution of these three languages and concluded that they still were studied and used, for instance by the Dominicans who still learned Greek and Hebrew, but also other languages like Arabic or Syriac. Harney provided in this regard various examples of Dominicans who had contributed to the study of these languages and had translated the Bible into the vernacular. Thanks to their efforts, many people had converted to Catholicism. In his conclusion to this first chapter, Harney made an important distinction between complete prohibition and conditional permission.¹⁶¹

160 Harney referred in this context to Richard Simon's *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* although he corrected some apparent mistakes contained in the work. See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyte der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 198–200.

161 "Al-hoe-wel dan, uyt het gene wy in dit *Capittel* aen-geroert hebben, het schijnt, ten hooghsten kenbaer te zijn, hoe seer d'*Oncatholijcken* verdoolt zijn, als sy seggen, dat *de Catholijcken*, den *Bijbel* onder de *Verbodene Boecken* rekenen, om dat sy het lesen daer van,

In the second chapter, Harney dealt with the objections of the Catholics, particularly Antoine Arnauld, against the *Regula Quarta*. Arnauld had referred to the translation of the French Jesuit François Véron¹⁶² in the preface of his *De la lecture de l'Écriture sainte* (1680).¹⁶³ According to Arnauld, Véron had stated that there had never been a legal rule that prohibited vernacular Bible reading, questioning the legitimacy of the *Regula Quarta*. Obviously, this statement was much against Harney's opinion. Moreover, Véron appeared to ascribe the *Regula Quarta* to the *Index Expurgatorius*, which was obviously wrong. Harney refuted this assertion by first referring to the many reprints of the *Index Tridentinus* in Italy, the Low Countries, Spain, but also in France. Arnauld and Véron must have known that the *Regula Quarta* formed part of the *Index Tridentinus* and that it was not contained in the *Index Expurgatorius*. However, Harney was aware that some Catholics could infer from Véron's statements that the *Regula Quarta* was false. He concluded that Arnauld and Véron must have had the intention to circumvent the *Regula Quarta*.

In the third chapter, Harney reacted against those who negated the role of the Council of Trent in the composition of the *Regula Quarta*. Both Véron and Arnauld claimed that the Council had never forbidden vernacular Bible reading without the permission of the bishop, pastor or confessor. Moreover, the two Frenchmen were convinced that the Council had never given permission to compose such a prohibition.¹⁶⁴ Arnauld also stated that the *Regula Quarta* had never been promulgated in France, and that the specific conditions to impose this rule had disappeared. Harney provided proof of the contrary by

in ghemeyne taele, met sekere *Regelen*, bemaetigen, wy sullen evenwel hun dit hier noch toe-geven, dat wy de saecke, met eene gelijckenisse, à twee, wat gaen verklaren, om op de alderklaerste te sien, hoe slecht dat het is, voor een, en het selfste te houden, dat me yet, plat af gaet verbieden, ende, dat men yet met bepaelingh toe-laete." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyte der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 229–230.

162 Véron published a revision and a correction of the New Testament of the *Théologiens de Louvain* in 1647. This must have been around the time that he left the Society to be more free in his fight against the Protestants.

163 Arnauld, *De la Lecture de l'Écriture sainte*, 11. Harney did not dispose of a copy of Veron's translation and therefore based himself on Arnauld's indirect testimony. See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyte der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 231.

164 "Niet alleen *Monsieur Veron*, maer oock *Monsieur A.A.* spreeckt hier klaer, en seyt, dat het Concilie van *Trente*, noyt verboden en heeft, den *Bijbel* in gemeyne taele te mogen door-gaens lesen, sonder oorlof, aen Bisschop, Pastoor, oft Biecht-vader te vraegen, daeren-boven, dat het voorseyde Concilie, niet alleen geene commissie, maer oock geene *permissie* gegeven en heeft, om diergelijck verbodt te maecken, ten derden, dat het Concilie oock geene *permissie*, ja geene *permissie* oyt gegeven heeft, om daer af te handelen. Ten vierden, dat sulckx seker is." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyte der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 237.

referring to the authority of the Council, the many Catholic authors and the other instances he had already named in the first part of his treatise. It was clear and proven that the Tridentine Rules had been compiled by a commission during the Council and afterwards had been approved by the Pope.

In the next chapter, Harney discussed the issue of the promulgation of the *Regula Quarta* in the Low Countries, Germany and France. According to Arnauld, the fact that a law was not observed, implied that this law had not been promulgated. He referred to the fact that Catholic controversy works in the vernacular tongue were read in France, although this contravened the *Regula Sexta* of the Tridentine Index.¹⁶⁵ In other words, the Tridentine Rules had not been promulgated in France. However, Harney stated that, in spite of the fact the Catholics in the Low Countries read Catholic controversy works in the vernacular tongue, the Tridentine Rules had been promulgated in this area. He concluded that Arnauld's argument was meaningless. With regard to the situation in Germany, Harney refuted the assertion of the German Jesuit Paulus Layman (1574–1635) that the *Regula Quarta* had not been promulgated in Germany. In addition, he stated that this rule was even part of the catechism in the Low Countries. Moreover, Harney accused Van Neercassel of not having read (properly) the Tridentine rules and the bull of Pius IV, which imposed the *Regula Quarta* to everyone, viz. the whole of Christianity.¹⁶⁶ In addition, he remarked that there was also an important difference between celebrating Mass or the Divine Office in the vernacular, which was permitted in some regions, and reading Scripture in the vernacular.

165 The *Regula Sexta* stated it was not always permitted to read vernacular books on the controversies between Catholics and heretics. The conditions to do so were similar as those of the *Regula Quarta*: some people were allowed to read these books if they had the permission of the bishop and the inquisitor. ("Libri vulgari idiomate de controversiis inter Catholicos, & haereticos nostri temporis differentes, non passim permittantur, sed idem de iis fervetur, quod de Bibliis Vulgari lingua scriptis statutum est. Qui vero de ratione bene vivendi, contemplandi, consistendi, ac similibus argumentis vulgari sermone conscripti sunt, si sanam doctrinam contineant, non est cur prohibeantur, sicuti nec sermones populares, vulgari lingua habiti. Quod si hactenus, in aliquo Regno, vel Provincia, aliqui libri sunt prohibiti, quod nonnulla contineant, quae sine delictu ab omnibus legi non expediat, si eorum auctores Catholici sunt, postquam emendati fuerunt, permitti ab Episcopo, & Inquisitore poterunt").

166 "Dat hy schijnt, den *Regel*, oft immers de Bulle van den Paus niet ghelesen te hebben, blijkt, uyt dat den Paus, aen 't eynde van sijne Bulle seyt, dat naer dry maenden, te rekenen van de eerste verkondigh der Regelen, sy alle, en yeder een, alsoo verbinden sullen, als ofte hun sijne bulle voor-gelesen hadde geweest, hebbende van te vooren geboden, dat die *Regelen* onderhouden moeten worden, van alle, en yeder een, soo Geestelijcke, als Wereldlijcke, en Reguliere personen, van wat staet, order, eere, oft weerdigheyt, dat sy mogen zijn." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 237–250.

In the fifth chapter of his treatise, Harney dealt with the statement that the *Regula Quarta* was no longer valid because its *raison d'être* had ceased to exist. He also pointed at the fact that this rule differed majorly with the *Regula Sexta* that forbade the reading of Catholic controversy works. Both rules had a different ground and a different application. Harney referred in this regard to the writings of Cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicino (1607–1667) in which the difference between the two rules was discussed. In the case of the *Regula Sexta* on the reading of controversy works, the underlying cause for imposing this rule could be easily identified, namely the confrontation with the Protestants who had written controversy books to undermine Catholic faith. In the case of the *Regula Quarta*, it was more difficult to grasp the underlying cause because the false interpretation of scriptural passages by the simple people often coincided with Protestant convictions. Consequently, these people fell into the trap of Protestantism. In addition, the *Regula Quarta* had been promulgated through various councils and synods, as Harney already had demonstrated in the first part of this treatise. Although the validity of the *Regula Sexta* could be challenged, this was certainly not the case for the *Regula Quarta*. Besides, if one law fell into disuse, this did not mean that the same lot fell to all other laws. The fact that some books of Scripture, for instance the Psalter, were read in the vernacular in some parts of the Low Countries did not imply that the *Regula Quarta* was as a result invalid. Often other Bible books had caused more problems.

In chapters six to nineteen, Harney discussed possible objections against the *Regula Quarta*, originating from different sources, and provided an appropriate refutation. In this context, he also criticized Arnauld's argumentation, contained in the 1680 work *De la lecture de l'Écriture sainte*, and Van Neercassel's position expressed in the 1685 treatise *Gods Woord verdedigd*. Harney started by listing possible objections originating from the Old Testament (chapter six), the writings of the Hebrew rabbis and Jewish teachers (chapter seven), the Greek and Chaldean renderings of the Bible (chapter eight) and the New Testament (chapter nine).

Next, in chapter ten, Harney verified whether the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, attributed to Arnauld, and Arnauld's treatise on Bible reading had rightly interpreted the scriptural passages Jn 7:15 and Ac 15:21. In this context, it is interesting to evoke the discussion on the translation of the Greek word *γραμματα* or *litteras* in Latin in Jn 7:15¹⁶⁷ because Harney affirmed how he

167 Jn 7:15: "And the Jews wondered, saying: How doth this man know letters, having never learned" (Douay-Rheims Bible).

defined the concept of being learned. Being learned was more than just having learned to read and write.¹⁶⁸

In the following chapters, Harney discussed again possible objections against the *Regula Quarta*. First, he briefly discussed the remarks of several Church fathers on the Old Testament period (chapter eleven) and the way in which their arguments could be used to demonstrate the reasonable character of the *Regula Quarta* (chapter twelve). According to Arnauld, the Church fathers had not believed that civil or ecclesiastical laws could be made to determine the freedom to read the Scriptures.¹⁶⁹ Harney refuted this allegation by stating that it was opportune to establish a law that determined the freedom to read the Scriptures, as had been affirmed by teachers of the Bible and in councils, synods, meetings and universities. He also paid attention to the interpretation of the writings of Chrysostom, Origen, Jerome and other Church fathers and the radically different context in which they had worked. Contrary to the current situation, Harney stated, it had not been necessary to regulate vernacular Bible reading for the laity in the first centuries. In the following chapters, Harney discussed the habit of reading Scripture from the time of Moses up until the Apostles (chapter thirteen) and from the era of the Church fathers up until the last centuries (chapter fourteen). Possible objections based on natural reason and other objections, originating from Arnauld's work mainly, were passed into review in chapters fifteen, sixteen and eighteen. In chapter seventeen, Harney dealt with the important distinction between *reading* and *elucidating* or *explaining* the Bible, which had also been an important topic in the discussion between Suivius and Van Neercassel.

Before concluding his treatise, Harney discussed two topics that were near to Arnauld's heart, namely the capacity of women to read Scripture and the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* (chapter nineteen). According to Harney, women were neither capable nor allowed to read Scripture, as had already been demonstrated throughout history. The fact that the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*

168 "Dat, in het *Fransch*, *Sçavant*, en in onse taele, *Geleert*, in 't *Latijn*, *Doctus*, *Eruditus*, meer te seggen is, als het lezen, en schrijven geleert te hebben, dunckt my, buyten twijffel te zijn, en, al weet eenen ambachts-man, ofte enen huysman, te lezen, en te schrijven, men soude hen even-wel, voor gespot houden, indien yemande soo eenen, daerom, *Geleert*, oft in 't *Franch*, sonder yet anders daer by te doen, (*absolute*) soude, *Sçavant*, noemen, en in 't *Latijn*, *Doctus* of *Eruditus*. Wederom, van soo eenen, en sal men desgelijckx noyt, ernstigh, seggen, dat hy *gestudeert* heeft." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 386.

169 "Volgens Mr. A.A. de Out-vaders, hebben niet ghelooft, dat men wetten maecken mochte, om den vrydom te bepaelen van 't lezen der *H. Schrifture*." See Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 407.

had been condemned by two Popes made clear that the translation was already contested. In the final chapter of this treatise, Harney proposed to formulate a conclusive answer to the question whether the *Regula Quarta* still remained valid, or whether its *raison d'être* had ceased to exist. Harney considered the *Regula Quarta* as a law established by human authority, contrary to the natural laws. He supposed himself to have demonstrated that, contrary to Arnauld's ideas, it was still necessary to regulate Bible reading because the bad intentions of people could not be ignored. He summarized the aim of Arnauld's *De la lecture de l'Écriture sainte* (1680) in three points: (1) Arnauld intended to refute the allegations of Mallet and other writers against the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*; (2) Arnauld had written his treatise to instigate the good souls (*goede zielen*) to read the Bible; (3) Arnauld asked his readers to pray for him, but Harney replied to this that his readers also should pray for him so that he would not lapse into the same mistakes as Arnauld.

Harney integrated various appendices to his treatise:¹⁷⁰ (1) the French, Dutch and Latin version of the edict of Philip II, issued on 15 February 1569 and integrated in the 1570 Antwerp Index; (2) the privilege of the King to print the 1570 Index, presented to Plantin on 16 February 1569; (3) the papal brief *Dominici Gregis Custodiae* of Pope Pius IV; (4) the introduction and the ten Tridentine rules, as contained in the 1564 Index; (5) the preface to the 1569 Index, compiled by Montano at the request of the duke of Alba.

3.2.2.2 De lectione gallicae translationis novi testamenti (1689)

In 1689, Harney published a short two-volume Latin work of 68 pages on vernacular Bible reading, entitled *De lectione Gallicae translationis Novi Testamenti* (*On the Reading of the French Translation of the New Testament*).¹⁷¹ The work was printed in octavo format in Louvain by Johannes Sassenus. The dedicatory letter, dated 26 June 1689, was directed to De Precipiano, who still was bishop of Bruges at that time, but who would be appointed Archbishop in July 1689. The signature of the letter reveals that Harney must have been in awe for De Precipiano, as he considered himself as the most humble and dedicated servant of De Precipiano (*humillimum ac dedicatissimum famulus*). The work received approbation from five book censors: in Rome from Antoninus Cloche, the general of the Dominicans, on 10 May 1687; in Louvain, from Philippe

¹⁷⁰ Harney, *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden*, 637 [=605]–662 [=630].

¹⁷¹ Martinus Harney, *De lectione gallicae translationis Novi Testamenti, ceu Montibus impressae, fragmentum e libro de lectione S. Scripturae linguis vulgaribus. Editio belgicae & latine edendo per Martinum Harney [...] adversus quaedam scripta D. Antonii Arnaldi* (Louvain, 1689).

Durand, provincial of the Dominicans in the Low German province, on 5 September 1688; in Mechlin from the Dominican Vincentius Stayackers on 22 January 1689; in Louvain from the Dominican Thomas van Godtsnoven on 24 January 1689; and finally in Louvain from apostolic and royal book censor Hermanus Damen on 5 January 1689.

According to the title page, the treatise discussed the reading of the French *Nouveau Testament de Mons* on the basis of fragments originating from Harney's 1686 work on the reading of Scripture in the vernacular. Moreover, the work was also directed against the writings of Antoine Arnauld. In a short *Post Scriptum*, however, Harney stated that he reacted to two very bitter anonymous works (*duo anonymi libelli amarulentissimi*) in his treatise: the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and the Dutch work *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken in het lezen der H. Schrifture* (*The Alledged Freedom of the Simple Catholics in the Reading of Holy Scripture*), which had been published in 1687. This work can be attributed to the Dutch Bible translator and Jansenist Andreas van der Schuur,¹⁷² who was also known as a vehement defender of vernacular Bible reading. Harney considered Van der Schuur as a most impudent madman (*insolentissimam insaniam*).

The treatise contained some quite introductory matter. In a short preface (*Praefatiuncula*), Harney admitted that the present work was a Latin rendering of some fragments of his 1686 Dutch work on vernacular Bible reading in expectation of a complete Latin translation. Apparently, the first (Dutch) edition of his work did no longer suffice. In a small objection (*Obiectiuncula*), he quoted Pr 12:12.¹⁷³ With this quote, he intended to demonstrate that this treatise probably would not be the last to be published in the controversy on vernacular Bible reading. In the following short argument (*Interrogatiuncula*), Harney invoked the reasons why he attacked Arnauld. First, Arnauld had attacked the much respected canon of Rouen, Charles Mallet, in his works and Harney wished to react. Second, Arnauld had published his work anonymously. Third, Harney aimed at demonstrating the false character of Arnauld's teachings. In short, Harney's main purpose was to establish the truth with regard to the issue of vernacular Bible reading. Next, he expressed his scruples under the Latin title *Scrupulus*. He referred to the decree of Pope Innocent XI, issued on 2 March 1679, in which 65 laxist propositions had been condemned. The decree also had ordered doctors, theologians and any other persons to abstain from

¹⁷² The life and the works of Van der Schuur will be discussed in the following chapter. See p. 293 and following.

¹⁷³ Pr 12:12: "Faciendi plures libros nullus est finis" ("Of making many books there is no end" [Douay-Rheims Bible]).

future discussions on controversial topics among Catholics. However, Harney did not consider the topic of vernacular Bible reading as a controversial issue. In a reflexion (*Reflexio*), Harney affirmed again that he aimed at convincing the admirers of Arnauld to change their minds, just as Mallet had tried to do in his works.

The Latin treatise consisted of two parts. The first part, divided into five paragraphs, discussed the reasonable observance of *Regula Quarta* and the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.¹⁷⁴ Harney almost literally translated several passages from his 1686 work, mainly from the eighteenth chapter of the first book¹⁷⁵ and the tenth chapter of the second book.¹⁷⁶ In short, he affirmed that the *Regula Quarta* had been promulgated among the “Belgians” and still remained valid. The second part of the book, entitled *De Responso Dato ac Dando* (*On the Given Answer and the Answer that Ought to Be Given*), provided a sketch of the “Belgian” situation with regard to vernacular Bible reading.¹⁷⁷ Harney referred in this context to the works of Hazart and the various reactions of Arnauld. He also mentioned the 1687 work *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken in het lezen der H. Schrifture*¹⁷⁸ of A.A.P.L.D.G.,¹⁷⁹ or Andreas van der Schuur, which consisted of two volumes of six letters that were directed to Harney and written between 12 November 1686 and 17 December 1686, and between 3 January 1687 and 10 February 1687.¹⁸⁰ It will be demonstrated that Van der Schuur considered the *Regula Quarta* as invalid. According to Harney, Van der Schuur was wrong and his work contained many misquotations.¹⁸¹ The *Regula Quarta* still remained valid, as revealed in the works of, among others, François Véron, Charles Borromeo, Richard Simon and Charles Mallet. Harney concluded his treatise by emphasising the importance of the various papal and royal ordinances.

¹⁷⁴ Harney, *De lectione gallicae translationis Novi Testamenti*, 5–45.

¹⁷⁵ This chapter discussed the prohibition of the reading of *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.

¹⁷⁶ This chapter discussed whether the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and Arnauld had rightly interpreted the pericopes Jn 7:15 and Ac 15:21. It should be noted that Harney in his Latin translation mistakenly referred to Jn 15:21, instead of to Jn 7:15. See Harney, *De lectione gallicae translationis Novi Testamenti*, 16.

¹⁷⁷ Harney, *De lectione gallicae translationis Novi Testamenti*, 46–68.

¹⁷⁸ For a detailed discussion of this work, see p. 298 and following.

¹⁷⁹ See the list of pseudonyms, p. 403.

¹⁸⁰ Harney wrote 12 October 1686 instead of 12 November 1686. See Harney, *De lectione gallicae translationis Novi Testamenti*, 47.

¹⁸¹ For an overview of these misquotations, see Harney, *De lectione gallicae translationis Novi Testamenti*, 54–62.

3.2.2.3 De S. Scriptura linguis vulgaribus legenda rationabile obsequium Belgii Catholici (1693)

In 1693, Harney published a Latin treatise of 302 pages entitled *De S. Scriptura linguis vulgaribus legenda rationabile obsequium Belgii Catholici* (*On the Reading of Sacred Scripture in the Vernacular and the Rational Obedience of the Belgian Catholics*).¹⁸² This work was the long-anticipated Latin translation of his 1686 Dutch work on vernacular Bible reading. The treatise was printed in octavo format by Henricus van Overbeke in Louvain. According to the title page, the work was aimed at the writings of Arnauld, whose name was written in full, contrary to the 1686 version. The dedicatory letter, dated 16 February 1693, was addressed to the most eminent and most reverend doctors and cardinals of the Sacred Roman Church, and particularly to those who were members of the Congregation of the Index of Forbidden Books. The work received various approbations. The first approbation, which was in fact a copy of the one given to the 1689 work, came from the above-mentioned Antoninus Cloche and Raymundus Ortiz, and was given in Rome on 10 May 1687. Philippus Durand and Thomas du Jardin, two Regents of the Dominican order, approved Harney's work on 12 February 1693 in Louvain. The Latin work also received a royal privilege for nine years on 20 June 1689. The Louvain theologian Martinus Steyaert, a good friend of Harney, as will be demonstrated, served as censor of the work and praised it wholeheartedly on 16 March 1693.¹⁸³

The preface to the treatise consisted of eleven paragraphs in which Harney briefly enumerated the reasons for having written this work. Contrary to some elements in the corpus of the work, this Latin preface was not a literal copy of the Dutch version. Harney started by describing the aim of his work, namely to show the reasonable obedience of the faithful with regard to the *Regula Quarta*, instituted almost 130 years before. Second, he stated that not only Archbishop De Precipiano and Mallet had inspired him to write this work, but also Van Neercassel's 1677 treatise and the various treatises of Suivius. Harney repeated that he had already written a treatise on the topic in 1686 in the "Belgian" language (*Belgico idiomate*). In the following paragraph, he explained that he had based himself on Mallet's works to compile this bi-partite treatise. Harney affirmed that the structure of his Latin treatise was identical to that of the

182 Martinus Harney, *De S. Scriptura linguis vulgaribus legenda rationabile obsequium Belgii catholici Per Martinum Harney [...]* (Louvain, 1693).

183 "Nunc de libro summam dico, esse dignissimum luce publica de auctore vero, non in hoc laudandum, quod cum iam pridem paratum haberet illum premere voluerit in hanc diem." See Harney, *De S. Scriptura linguis vulgaribus legenda, Censura*.

original Dutch work: in the first part, he would focus on the laws and the teachings concerning the *Regula Quarta*, while in the second part, he proposed to refute possible objections of his adversaries. It should be noted, however, that the Latin work only consisted of one part that dealt with the *Regula Quarta* and vernacular Bible reading in general, and that the possible objections were not discussed. In the fourth paragraph, Harney clarified that his work particularly discussed the situation of the *Belgii Catholici*, that is those in the ecclesiastical provinces of Cambrai and Mechlin, as indicated in the title. Contrary to the province of Utrecht, the *Regula Quarta* had been promulgated there, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. In the following point, Harney refuted the allegation that his work would disturb public tranquillity. Many works had already been published on the topic without any serious consequences. The fact that he relied on the authority of the Bible and of the Church fathers would also reassure the audience. Besides, the civil magistrates had not rejected his work, but had approved it twice. In addition, his work had been urged by the ecclesiastical authorities. Finally, in line with some of his previous writings, Harney's treatise would bring public tranquillity, instead of disturbing it.¹⁸⁴ In the sixth point, Harney repeated that he could not pass over the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* because of its many vicissitudes. Next, he explained why he had devoted two books, one in Dutch and one in Latin, to the issue of vernacular Bible reading. He had done so in imitation of his predecessors, who had also translated their works in various languages, for instance Van Neercassel. In the eighth part of the preface, Harney explained what had convinced him to attack the works of Arnauld, and particularly his defence of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. At first, Harney had not known that Arnauld was the anonymous author of these works and therefore had identified him as A.A. on the title page of the 1686 treatise. Next, he affirmed that both the works of Arnauld and the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* were filled with errors, for instance with regard to the approbation of the French New Testament. In the following paragraph, Harney stated that both Catholics and non-Catholics could read the works of Arnauld. In the tenth point of his preface, Harney repeated again the conclusion of the famous decree of Innocent XI, namely that all doctors and theologians had to abstain from any injurious dispute and that the discussion on all controversial topics was closed. However, because of the controversy between

184 Harney referred in this context to his letter on the authority of Thomas, directed to Pedro de Alva y Astorga (1664), and his oration against the Jesuit hagiographer Daniel Papenbroeck (1683).

Mallet and Arnould, he felt obliged to react. To conclude, Harney stated that he aimed at executing the *Regula Quarta* and defending this rule against the anonymous works of its opponents.

As already stated, contrary to the original Dutch work of 1686 that consisted of two books of respectively eighteen and twenty chapters, *De S. Scriptura linguis vulgaribus legenda* counted twenty chapters, contained in only one book (see table 12).¹⁸⁵ Basing himself on the Dutch version, and particularly on the first book, Harney selected information for the public he wanted to reach with his Latin translation. In fact, many selected parts of the Dutch treatise were simply translated. Three main themes can be distinguished, as revealed by the table below. In chapters one to six, Harney focussed on the reception of the Tridentine regulations in the Low Countries, and the *Regula Quarta* in particular. In comparison with his 1686 work, he provided a more elaborated overview of the various indices that had been published in the Low Countries and other regions so far. Next, in chapters seven to seventeen, he provided a detailed historical overview of vernacular Bible translation from the time of Moses up until his era. With this overview, he aimed at refuting Arnould's allegation that God had permitted and imposed the reading of the vernacular Bible even from early times.¹⁸⁶ In comparison with his 1686 work, he also provided a more complete overview of the various provincial councils and diocesan synods that had been organised in the three ecclesiastical provinces. In the last part of his work, Harney dealt with the situation in France, Germany and other regions where Catholics and non-Catholics lived together. He concluded by focussing particularly on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and its condemnation.

185 It seems that Harney's initial plan was to write a two-volume work on the topic. The treatise contains various allusions to a second book: the mention "*Liber primus*" at the outset of the treatise (1); "*lib. secundo reservamus*" (20); "*Libro Secundo cum caeteris objectionibus exhibere non recusamus*" (58); "*Libro secundo, ubi objectionibus respondendum erit*" (58); "*prout libro secundo latius ostendemus*" (60); "*libro secundo cum caeteris objectionibus reservamus*" (70); "*Libor secundo non dissimulabitur*" (278); "*Ultimi hujus Capituli, & totius primi Libro conclusio*" (301). However, this second book does not appear to have been published.

186 "Asserit quidem Arnould id, non solum permississe, sed & iussisse Deum, & populum sic fecisse ab initio; sed quia in ipsa quidem S. *Scriptura*, si originaria sequimur idiomata, nulla pro tali assertione extant testimonia, imo nec vestigia, ita S. *Scriptura*, insignem locum in suam transtulit linguam quasi quod Arnould ipse asserit, afferat *Spiritus Sanctus* [...]" See Harney, *De S. Scriptura linguis vulgaribus legenda*, 59–60.

TABLE 12 Structure of Martinus Harney's *De S. Scriptura linguis vulgaribus legenda* (1693)

I. The reception of the Tridentine regulations in the Low Countries, and the *Regula Quarta* in particular

- 1 Presentation of the *Regula Quarta*
- 2 Indices of forbidden books published before the Tridentine Index (1564)
- 3 The coming about of the Tridentine Index; Indices published after Trent; the Tridentine Rules; the 1570 Index
- 4 Other testimonies of the events in Trent; Reference to the bishop of Castorie and his work
- 5 The promulgation of the Tridentine Council in the three ecclesiastical provinces Cambrai, Malines and Utrecht
- 6 When and how was the Tridentine Index promulgated and received in Belgium?

II. A historical overview of vernacular Bible translation

- 7 The practices from the time of Moses until Ezra
- 8 The practices from the time of Ezra until the coming about of the LXX
- 9 Bible reading after the coming about of the LXX
- 10 The Samaritan Pentateuch, the Chaldean paraphrases and the Syriac version of Scripture
- 11 Bible reading at the time of the Synagogue and of Jesus and his apostles
- 12 Bible reading in the first three centuries
- 13 Bible reading in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh centuries
- 14 Vernacular Bible reading after the Christianization of the Northern Low Countries
- 15 Vernacular Bible reading from the time of Innocent III until Luther
- 16 Vernacular Bible reading from the time of Luther until the end of the Tridentine Council
- 17 Statements on vernacular Bible reading by the Council of Trent and by important writers after Trent

III. The situation in France and Germany

- 18 The promulgation of the *Regula Quarta* in France
- 19 The promulgation of the *Regula Quarta* in Germany and other regions where Catholics and non-Catholics lived together
- 20 The condemnation of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*

3.2.2.4 Concluding Remarks

By way of conclusion, it can be stated that the works of Martinus Harney are characterised by the two main themes that seem to have dominated the debates on vernacular Bible reading between Catholics and Jansenists. First and foremost, Harney aimed at defending the validity of the *Regula Quarta* by demonstrating that this rule was reasonably obeyed in the Low Countries, in spite of the allegations of his opponents, particularly Arnould and Van Neercassel. Moreover, Harney was in favour of a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* and can thus be counted among the defenders of the “Roman-Catholic” position without Jansenist sympathies in the framework of vernacular Bible reading.¹⁸⁷ He shared his standpoint with Archbishop De Precipiano, to whom he had dedicated all his works.

Harney was well-informed of the historical background of the *Regula Quarta* and he showed this erudition by referring to an extensive range of testimonies and writings from various Church fathers, scholars and ecclesiastical authorities. In his 1686 work for instance, more than 150 names of authoritative instances have been accessed. Moreover, it is striking that Harney invoked each time different works and authors, and practically never repeated names or works. In addition, the (historical) information that he quoted in his treatises corresponds for the most part to the findings of recent historical research, for instance his description of the authorship of the *Regula Quarta*. In other words, Harney’s works had a profound historical, scholarly and accurate character. However, a discussion of each individual name and work would have led us away from the central subject of this monograph.

A second theme that can be accessed in Harney’s works was his struggle against the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and its presumed author Antoine Arnould. It is not surprising that Harney considered Arnould as the main author of this French translation. The Frenchman had defended this work vehemently and was considered the leading intellectual of Port-Royal. In addition, Harney’s vehement reactions demonstrate that the translation was not only popular and wide-spread in France, but also in the Low Countries. In addition, the fact that Harney often referred to the papal condemnations of this translation may point at his respect for the papal authority and hierarchy.

¹⁸⁷ See p. 167.

3.3 Martinus Steyaert

3.3.1 *Jansenist, Anti-Jansenist and Saccus Beneficiorum*

Martinus Steyaert was born on 16 April 1647 in Zomergem, a village in the vicinity of Ghent.¹⁸⁸ From his early youth, he suffered from blepharoptosis, a physical defect that caused the drooping of his upper left eyelid.¹⁸⁹ After his preparatory studies in the Augustinian college in Ghent, he studied arts and philosophy in the Pedagogy of the Castle (*Castrum*) in Louvain. He was ordained a priest on 1 March 1670. The following three years he worked as teacher of philosophy in the Pedagogy of the Castle. In 1673, the bishop of Ypres, Hendrik van Halmaele, selected Steyaert to be his secretary, and one year later Steyaert earned a prebend as a canon at the Ypres cathedral. These appointments enabled him to prepare his doctorate in theology, obtained 10 November 1675 at the age of 28. Undoubtedly influenced by the ideas of his preceptor François Van Vianen, president of the Pope's College, Steyaert was publically known to hold Jansenist views. His first works were recognized as belonging to the rigorist school of moral thought and he made abundant use of texts from Christian antiquity. While residing in the Pope's College, Steyaert gave private classes of theology.

At the request of the Louvain Faculty of Theology, Steyaert assisted in the preparations of the 1677 Louvain delegation to Rome.¹⁹⁰ He had to ask various bishops and vicar apostolic Johannes van Neercassel about their opinion on

188 For biographical information on Martinus Steyaert, see Daniël De Vesser, "Martinus Steyaert Somerghemius, Hardnekkig bestrijder van het Jansenisme," *Appeltjes van het Meetjesland* 58 (2007), 195–246; Lucianus Ceysens, "Steyaert, Martinus," in *NBW* 6 (Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1974), 897–910; Georges Missiaen, *Maarten Steyaert 1647–1701. Leven en persoonlijkheid* (Louvain: Unpublished Dissertation, 1959); Ferdinandus Claeys Bouúaert, *L'ancienne université de Louvain: études et documents*, BRHE 28 (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1956), 270–277; Ceysens, "De Leuvense deputatie te Rome (1677–1679)," 305–341; Ferdinandus Claeys Bouúaert, "Contribution à l'histoire de la députation envoyée à Rome en 1677–1679 par la faculté de théologie de Louvain. La participation de Martin Steyaert," *Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Patrologie* 22–23 (1946), 1130–1145; Jean C.J. Kleijntjens, "Steyaert (Martinus)," in *NBW* 10, ed. Philippus Molhuysen, Petrus Blok, and Friedrich K.H. Kossmann (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1937), 976–977; Ferdinandus Claeys Bouúaert, "Steyaert (Martin)," in *BN* 24 (Brussels: Bruylant, 1926–1929), 5–17; Martinus Harney, "Oratio in exequiis Reverendissimi, Amplissimi, & Eximii Domini Martini Steyaert per eximium P. Martinum Harney," in *Fragmenta Steyaertiana nondum collecta, Oratio, et Elogium funebre &c.*, ed. Martinus Steyaert (Louvain, 1729), 67–78.

189 De Vesser, "Martinus Steyaert Somerghemius," 200–202.

190 The Louvain delegation had been sent to Rome in order to defend Louvain Augustinianism and to reject the opposing doctrines of, among others, the Jesuits.



ILLUSTRATION 5 Martinus Steyaert (1647–1701), seventeenth-century engraving
KU LEUVEN BIBLIOTHEKEN, MAURITS SABBE LIBRARY, COLLECTION
ÉMILE JACQUES. USED WITH PERMISSION

the Louvain education system and the current situation regarding Jansenism and other doctrines that could lead to abuses. In this context, Steyaert also contacted Antoine Arnauld in Paris. Two days before the departure of the delegation to Rome in the spring of 1677, Steyaert published a small booklet entitled *Manifestum Priori in Urbem Legationi praemissum* (*Manifest for the First Delegation Send to the City of Rome*) in which he summarized his findings.¹⁹¹ However, the Louvain Faculty considered the work too provocative and immediately bought all the copies. Steyaert joined the Louvain delegation as secretary and returned to Ypres on 16 April 1679, a few months before his traveling companions, possibly because he risked losing his prebend on the occasion of the French occupation. On his way back to the Low Countries, Steyaert stopped again in Paris to visit Arnauld and some other *Messieurs*. Cardinal Alderano Cibo, the State Secretary, later wrote to the internuncio of Brussels that he had the impression that Steyaert was strongly attached to the suspected ideas of Van Vianen and Huygens. As a consequence, it would become difficult for Steyaert to obtain higher positions, for instance a place in the *Collegium Strictum* of the Louvain Faculty of Theology.

Indeed, back in the Low Countries in 1679, Steyaert applied for several positions, but was passed over as *persona non grata*, probably because of his contacts with the *Messieurs* of Port-Royal and his own rigorist viewpoints. He returned to Ypres, at that time under French occupation, and helped to run the diocese with two vicars and bishop Jacobus de Lieres, who had been appointed by Louis XIV, but had not been confirmed by Rome. In the meantime, Steyaert's name was mentioned on a secret list of five young theologians who could not be promoted to a higher rank, in particular to the *Collegium Strictum*, because of their Jansenist sympathies.¹⁹² Eventually Steyaert applied for a position at the university of Douai in 1683, which had been under French occupation since 1667.¹⁹³ However, when he learned that he had to teach the Four Gallican Articles of the *Déclaration du Clergé de France* of 1682, and thus

191 The *Manifestum* can be found in Martinus Steyaert, *Opuscula Ex. D. Martini Steyaert*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1742), 3–11.

192 The other young theologians on the list were Jean-Libert Hennebel (1652–1720), Gommarius Huygens (1631–1702), Johannes Lacman (1629–1704) and Bartholomaeus Pasmans (1641–1690). See Lucianus Ceysens, “De rehabilitatie van Martinus Steyaert,” in *Jansenistica, Jansenistica. Studiën in verband met de Geschiedenis van het Jansenisme*, vol. 1, ed. Lucianus Ceysens (Mechlin: St. Franciscus, 1953), 303–341, there 316 (First published as Lucianus Ceysens, “De rehabilitatie van Martinus Steyaert,” *Historisch Tijdschrift* 17 (1938), 189–228).

193 The city of Douai had fallen into the hands of the French troops of Louis XIV in 1667. A year later, in 1668, the town had been ceded to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

had to acknowledge the supreme power of King Louis XIV, he firmly refused.¹⁹⁴ Instead, he reaffirmed his loyalty to Rome and testified to the infallibility of the Holy See and to the supreme authority of the Pope. In 1684, Steyaert applied once more for a position in Douai; he was accepted, but once again he renounced the position because of the Gallican Articles. Around this period of time, he gave a first sign of his later reversal in doctrine.

In the meantime, Henri Scaille (1625–1689), member of the *Collegium Strictum* of the Louvain Faculty of Theology, undertook a successful attempt to defend Steyaert's orthodoxy, with the purpose of aiding in his rehabilitation.¹⁹⁵ On 25 August 1685, Steyaert was rehabilitated. He returned to Louvain with beginning anti-Jansenist sympathies and his academic career was launched. He was accepted to the University council on 30 August 1685. In November of that same year, he was appointed regular professor, but in which field is not clear. On 20 September 1685, he was appointed to the *Collegium Strictum*. In 1687, he became dean of the Faculty of Theology, and the following year he was elected as rector. One year later, in 1689, he was transferred to the major college of the Holy Spirit and became president of the *Disputationes sabbatinae*, a function he would keep until his death. In 1691, Steyaert was named vicar apostolic of the diocese of 's-Hertogenbosch, but he kept his residence in Louvain because he was not allowed by the government of the Dutch Republic to reside in his diocese since he was an inhabitant of the Southern Netherlands. On 26 November 1692, he was assigned to the office of apostolic and royal book censor. One year later, in 1693, Steyaert was not only accepted as professor of scholastics, but also appointed dean of Saint Peter's church and vice-chancellor of the University. Finally in 1697, he received the office of Conservator of University Privileges. Many of these appointments, however, were contested, and it is thus not surprising that Steyaert soon received the nickname of *saccus beneficiorum* or "sack of benefices." It can therefore be assumed that he was not popular, as is witnessed by the fact that he was only once really elected as rector, namely in 1688. In 1695, Steyaert and his Jansenist opponent Huygens got the same amount of votes in the rector election. Both parties considered their candidates as elected, but Steyaert was eventually appointed rector after prolonged discussion in a private council. In 1699, Steyaert asked to be dismissed from his office as vicar apostolic of 's-Hertogenbosch, secretly hoping to be

194 The *Déclaration du clergé de France* was composed by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet in 1682 and clarified the relation between France and the Holy See. However, the declaration, consisting of four articles, was never accepted by the Pope and was revoked in 1693.

195 For the complete story of Steyaert's rehabilitation, see Ceyssens, "De rehabilitatie van Martinus Steyaert," 321–333; Claeys Bouúaert, *L'ancienne université de Louvain*, 271–274.

transferred to a diocese in the Southern Low Countries, preferably to Roermond. The Court of Spain and the Holy See, however, could not comply with this wish because Steyaert died of scurvy on 17 April 1701 when he was only 54 years old. He was buried in St. Peter's church in Louvain and his funeral oration was written by Martinus Harney,¹⁹⁶ a good friend of his.¹⁹⁷

Already before obtaining his doctorate in 1675, Steyaert had been involved in theological controversies. In 1673, he published a Jansenist-inspired ab-prayer book under the pseudonym Christophorus Philaethes.¹⁹⁸ One year earlier he had proclaimed that the faithful were obliged to attend the Mass and the predications in their parish church under penalty of mortal sin. In order to defend his position, he wrote in 1673 his *Obligatio audiendi verbum Dei in parochiis* (*Obligation to Hear the Word of God in the Parish Churches*).¹⁹⁹ In 1674, the booklet was translated in Dutch, and Christian Lupus wrote an anonymous answer to it in which he stated that it was enough to hear the sermons in the churches of the religious. Steyaert, for his part, wrote a reply entitled *Responsio pro obligatione audiendi verbum Dei in parochiis* (*Reply in Favour of the Obligation to Hear the Word of God in the Parish Churches*).²⁰⁰

Some of the positions Steyaert took while a professor were also controversial. In the period 1685–1687, he was involved in a theological controversy on the subject of the infallibility of the Pope, a controversy that had been initiated by an incident with the dean of Mechlin, Aegidius De Witte, who in 1685 had

196 Harney, *Oratio in exequiis Reverendissimi, Amplissimi, & Eximii Domini Martini Steyaert per eximium P. Martinum Harney*, 67–78.

197 According to Ceyssens, several parallels can be drawn between Harney and Steyaert. They were said to have a gift for languages, both for the biblical and for various vernacular languages. At first, they were adversaries of the Jesuits and rigorists who sympathized with the Louvain Jansenist party. Later, however, they turned into vehement anti-Jansenists and were considered turncoats by their acquaintances. The French Jansenist Antoine Arnauld became one of their common enemies. Both men became member of the *Collegium Strictum* of the Louvain Faculty of Theology: Steyaert did so in 1685 after his rehabilitation and Harney in 1687, probably with the help of Steyaert. They were also named book censor: Harney in 1679 and Steyaert in 1692. In addition, they had good contacts with Archbishop De Precipiano and appeared to have served as his advisors for the compilation of the 1691 decree on vernacular Bible reading. See Ceyssens, “Correspondance romaine,” 307–308.

198 Lucianus Ceyssens, *De Mechelse drukker Gisbert Lints en zijn z.g. Jansenistisch abc boekje* (Mechlin: St. Franciscus-Drukkerij, 1950). See appendix 4, p. 403–406.

199 Steyaert, *Opuscula Ex. D. Martini Steyaert*, 2:260–302.

200 Steyaert, *Opuscula Ex. D. Martini Steyaert*, 2:303–358.

denied papal infallibility.²⁰¹ Steyaert also debated with the French Jansenist Pasquier Quesnel on the five condemned propositions of Jansenius. In Louvain, however, the questions under discussion were mainly questions regarding moral theology, with the rigorists and laxists opposing each other. Steyaert, Harney and the Augustinian friar Bernard Désirant stood against their rigorist opponents Huygens, Hennebel, Opstraet and others. As a result of these discussions and disputes, Steyaert published several theoretical and polemical writings, always defending, what was in his eyes, the right *doctrina Lovaniensis*.²⁰²

According to Claeys Bouúaert, Steyaert's conversion to the anti-Jansenist camp became a matter of public record on 10 November 1690, when, together with his good friend Harney, he published and criticised a list of 42 Jansenist propositions, mainly taken out of the works of the Jansenist professor Huygens. Huygens was accused of having renewed secretly the errors of Jansenius and of denying the infallibility of the Church. The Jansenists reacted with a storm of protest, aimed at Steyaert in particular.²⁰³ On 26 February 1692, Huygens and Hennebel denounced a series of 37 equivocal propositions that they had accessed from the teachings of Steyaert and Harney. Eventually, Hennebel was sent to Rome as representative of the Jansenists in order to defend their case and stayed there in the period 1693–1700. Although Steyaert was asked to follow Hennebel to the Eternal City as spokesman of the anti-Jansenists, he preferred to stay in the Low Countries and therefore sent Désirant. In Louvain, he could count on the support of De Precipiano, the new Archbishop of Mechlin. Steyaert always maintained that his conversion to the anti-Jansenist camp was a matter of obedience to the Pope and was not in contradiction with the Louvain doctrine.

One of Steyaert's pet subjects was the issue of vernacular Bible reading. His negative stand on vernacular Bible reading did not meet with a favourable reception, especially when he reacted against both the publication of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*²⁰⁴ and the anonymously published Dutch version of

201 It was in this period that Steyaert turned away from his former good friend De Witte. Steyaert wrote his *Positiones de pontifice eiusque auctoritate apologeticae pro Facultate S. Theologiae Lovaniensi contra obtrectatorem Gallum* in 1687. See also Ceyssens, "Steyaert, Martinus," 903; Félix Victor Goethals, *Histoire des lettres, des sciences et des arts, en Belgique et dans les pays limitrophes*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1840), 263–264.

202 For an overview of these writings, see Ceyssens, "Steyaert, Martinus," 905–906.

203 Claeys Bouúaert, "Steyaert (Martin)," 11–16; Ceyssens, "Steyaert, Martinus," 906–909.

204 In his capacity of vicar apostolic of 's-Hertogenbosch, he stated in a decree, dated 10 July 1698: "Pervenit ad aures nostras, & pene in oculos incurrit, imprudentia singularis, qua

the New Testament, translated by Aegidius de Witte and printed in Emmerik, in the diocese of Utrecht, in 1696.²⁰⁵

3.3.2 235 Rules for Reading and Studying Scripture

In 1693, Steyaert published a tripartite Latin work on the reading of the Bible, entitled *Regulae legendi et intelligendi scripturam sacram* (*Rules for Reading and Understanding Sacred Scripture*).²⁰⁶ The work was printed in octavo format by the Louvain printer Petrus de Vaddere, who had his office in the Liège College in the Muntstraat.²⁰⁷ In the *censura*, dated 13 November 1693, Steyaert admitted that he had only written the second part of this work.²⁰⁸

The first part of the treatise consisted of 235 rules as a guideline to facilitate the reading of the Bible and counted 169 pages. At the beginning of the second part of his treatise, Steyaert admitted that the 235 rules under discussion originated from an old and hardly known book without mentioning its author or the full title.²⁰⁹ Thanks to the availability of digitised versions of various

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- nonnulli etiam Clero Dioecesis nostrae adscripti, publice tueri sustinent Novum Testament Gallicum, vulgo *Montense* [...].” See Steyaert, *Opuscula Ex. D. Martini Steyaert*, 2:238.
- 205 Steyaert, *Opuscula Ex. D. Martini Steyaert*, 2:424–429. See also Martinus Steyaert, *Declamatio in versionem Belgicam novissimam Novi Testamenti* (Louvain, 1697).
- 206 Martinus Steyaert, *Regulae legendi et intelligendi Scripturam Sacram, olim in Gallia editae, nunc vero secundum Textum recognitionis Clementis VIII. magis dispositae. Compendium earundem regularum per amplissimum ac exim. Dominum D. Martinum Steyartium Vicarium Apostolicum Buscoducensem. Item ANTILOGIAE Seu Contradictiones Apparentes Sacrae Scripturae, Omnia jussu praefati Ampliſſimi Domini in lucem edita, Concinatoribus aliisque Ecclesiasticis utilissima* (Louvain, 1693). Steyaert’s work was reprinted separately in 1741 and 1793. Moreover, the work was part of the sixth volume of the *Opuscula* or collected works of Steyaert which were edited in 1703, 1717 and 1742. The quotations in this section are taken from the 1693–version.
- 207 Petrus de Vaddere also worked as beadle for the Faculty of Theology in the period 1670–1689. It is not known if this was still the case after 1689. See Koen De Vlieger-De Wilde (ed.), *Adresboek van zeventiende-eeuwse drukkers, uitgevers en boekverkopers in Vlaanderen*, Uitgaven van de Vereniging van Antwerpse bibliofielen, N.R. 1 (Antwerp: Vereniging van Antwerpse bibliofielen, 2004), 141; Pierre Delsaerd, *Suam quisque bibliothecam: boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Louvainse universiteit, 16de–18de eeuw*, Symbolae Facultatis litterarum Lovaniensis. Series A 27 (Louvain: Universitaire Pers Louvain, 2001), 416.
- 208 “Tractatum horum Primum & Tertium (**nam Secundum, qui meus est**, alterius Censurae submitto) utiles teneo Sacrae Scripturae Studiosis Lectoribus. Quaedam tamen in primo, cum grano, ut aiunt, salis legenda moneo, sed tamen quae hoc tempore nocere non possunt” (emphasis ours).
- 209 “Cum pridem has Regulas, in Libello quodam antique, & nulli jam pene noto, offendissem, dignas judicavi quas nonnihil immutatas in lucem publicam producerem in gratiam studiosae juventutis in hac academia ubi specialius incumbitur studio scripturae sacrae.” See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi et intelligendi Scripturam Sacram*, 183.

sixteenth-and seventeenth-century treatises, it was possible to identify the original work that Steyaert used: he appealed to the labours of the Spanish theologian Francisco Ruiz de Valladolid and his 1546 treatise entitled *Regulae intelligendi scripturas sacras* (*Rules for Understanding Sacred Scripture*).²¹⁰ It should be noted in this context that Sixtus of Siena (1520–1569), a converted Jew who became a Franciscan and a Roman Catholic theologian, also copied Ruiz de Valladolid's work in his 1577 treatise *Ars interpretandi S. Scripturas*. However, Sixtus of Siena added an explicit reference to the author and the original work on the title page of his work, stating that the work contained 234 rules to read Scripture.²¹¹

In the second part of his work, Steyaert provided a compendium of 24 pages in which he proposed a reinterpretation of a selection of the aforementioned 235 rules and some additional explanations. He completed his treatise with an annotated list of apparent contradictions in the Bible. This third part, which counted 66 pages, was a literal copy of Domenico Magri's *Αντιλογιαι* [*Antilogiae*] *seu contradictiones apparentes et conciliationes S. Scripturae a diversis autoribus expositae* (*Antilogies or Apparent Contradictions and Conciliations in Sacred Scripture, exposed by Various Authors*), published for the first time in Venice in 1645.²¹² Book censor Hermanus Damen underlined the value of Steyaert's work and gave it his approval on 20 October 1693, quoting Augustine's Letter 137 to Volusianus. Augustine affirmed in this letter that it was impossible to study the Bible in its entirety, even if one were to study his whole life with an unflagging zeal.²¹³

210 Francisco Ruiz de Valladolid, *Regulae intelligendi scripturas sacras* (Lyons, 1546).

211 Sixtus Senensis, *Ars interpretandi S. Scripturas absolutissima Fr. Sixto Senensi [...] auctore [...] Cui nunc [...] accedunt SS. Patrum Regulae CCXXXIII, et Canones CCCLXXII, F. Francisco Ruizio [...] et Fr. Ioanne Hoffmeistero collectoribus [...]* (Cologne, 1577).

212 Domenico Magri or Dominicus Macer (1604–1672) was an Italian theologian and philologist. He entered the order of the Franciscan Friar Minors in 1620 and studied philosophy and Arabic in Rome. While still a student, he was charged with a mission to the Orient. After his return and ordination, he worked on an edition of the Bible in Arabic. In 1654, he became canon of Viterbo and remained there until his death in 1672. Magri was also apostolic protonotary, consultant of the inquisitorial tribunal and of the Congregation of the Index. See Jean-Pierre Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, vol. 41 (Paris, 1740), 369–377.

213 "Tanta est Christianarum profunditas Litterarum (inquit Sanctus Augustinus Epistola 3. De seipso loquens) ut in eis quotidie proficerem, si eas solas ab ineunte pueritia usque ad decrepitam senectutem maximo otio, summo studio, meliore ingenio conare addiscere. Quapropter cum ad sanctum hoc Sacrarum Litterarum studium rectissime manuducat Libellus cui titulus *Regulae intelligendi Sacram Scripturam, &c.* item *Compendium earumdem Regularum* per Amplissimum Dominum Martinum Steyartium, &c. Item *Antilogie seu Contradictiones apparentes Sacrae Scripturae*: Eundem in Theologorum usum, ac

The first section of this paragraph aims to shed light on the life of the Francisco Ruiz de Valladolid and to present his main work on Bible reading; the second section provides a thematic approach of Ruiz de Valladolid's 235 rules for reading the Bible. Finally, the last section examines how these rules were reused by Steyaert in seventeenth-century Louvain.²¹⁴

3.3.2.1 Francisco Ruiz de Valladolid and His 235 Rules For Reading Scripture

The biblical humanist, Benedictine and theologian Francisco Ruiz de Valladolid²¹⁵ (c.1480–1546) was considered one of the most educated men of his time in Spain. At that time, the movement of biblical humanism emphasized the importance of biblical scholarship, especially for theologians, on the Iberian Peninsula. Ruiz de Valladolid entered the monastery of San Benito in Valladolid on 12 May 1501 and dedicated himself to the study of letters, in particular the Greek and Latin Church fathers as well as the major philosophers of the ancient world. As a humanist-minded monk, he had a good knowledge of Hebrew and Greek and encouraged the study of both languages in the monasteries where he resided. He was successively prior of the Benedictine monasteries of Salamanca, Samora and Celanova. Later, he was elected abbot of the monastery of Sahagún (1538) and remained there until his death in 1546.

Ruiz de Valladolid wrote two important works: one on Aristotle and another on the reading of the Bible. In February 1540, he published his *Index locupletissimus, duobus tomis digestus, in Aristotelis Stagyrtae opera quae exstant* (*Most Richly Endowed Index, in Two Tomes, on the Works of Aristotle of Stagira*), accompanied by a privilege of Charles V, in Sahagún. This work was conceived as a general index of the works of Aristotle, and Ruiz de Valladolid also integrated some comments for the readers. His second work, entitled *Regulae intelligendi scripturas sacras*, as mentioned at the outset of this section, was printed in

utilitatem, publico Prelo dignum censeo. Dabam Lovanii, 20. Octobris 1693. Hermannus Damen, S.T.D. ac Profess. Ordin. Archipresb. Districtus Lovaniensis Lib. Censor." Note that Damen used Ruiz de Valladolid's title to indicate the first part of Steyaert's 1693 work.

214 This section is largely based on Els Agten, "Martinus Steyaert and His 235 Rules for Reading Scripture in Seventeenth Century Louvain," *RHE* 108, no 3–4 (2013), 780–808.

215 For biographical information on Francisco Ruiz de Valladolid, see Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Varones insignes de la Congregación de Valladolid según un manuscrito del siglo XVIII, prologado y completado por Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel* (Pontevedra: Museo Provincial de Pontevedra, 1967), 202–204; Romualdo Escalona, *Historia del Real Monasterio de Sahagún, sacada de la que dexó escrita el Padre Maestro Fr. Joseph Pérez* (Madrid, 1782), 205–206; Christian G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1751), c. 2306. I would like to thank prof. Ignasi Fernández Terricabras (Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona) for providing me with this information.

1546 and became his most famous one. He probably finished it only one month before his death and most likely did not witness the publication of his work. The dedication to Cardinal Don Francisco de Bobadilla, bishop of Coria and a good friend of his, was dated on 18 February 1546 and Ruiz de Valladolid died on 19 March 1546.

It is unclear why the treatise was never printed in Spain. The first edition of the *Regulae* appeared in the French city of Lyon in 1546 under the auspices of the Benedictine order. The work was appreciated, as the several reprints that appeared in the following years attest. There were editions in Paris (1547 and 1550), Cologne (1577 and 1588), Constance (1599) and Frankfurt (1611). In 1553, a reprint²¹⁶ of the work was published by the Antwerp Johannes Steelsius (c. 1500–1562), who was a well-known printer in the period 1533–1562 and a specialist in the publication of illustrated Spanish editions.²¹⁷ In the seventeenth century, however, the work seems to have fallen into oblivion, as Steyaert described the treatise as an old and hardly known booklet.²¹⁸

The main objective of Ruiz de Valladolid's work was to guide readers in their study of the Bible and to incite an inner fascination and enthusiasm for the biblical message. The treatise consisted of two parts: the first was an introductory section, and in the second, Ruiz de Valladolid listed and commented on 235 rules for reading the Bible. He mentioned on the title page that there were 234 rules in his work, but the work contains in fact 235 rules. This discrepancy is due to a printing mistake in the enumeration of the rules, as two rules were numbered clxxxvi.²¹⁹ Every *Regula* was composed of a short description, mostly based upon a loose citation of quotations of the Church fathers. In order to explain certain difficulties, Ruiz de Valladolid then provided additional

216 Francisco Ruiz de Valladolid, *Regulae intelligendi scripturas sacras* (Antwerp, 1553). See Pettegree and Walsby, *Netherlandish Books*, 2:n. 27024; Elly Cockx-Indestege, Geneviève Glorieux and Bart Op de Beeck, *Belgica typographica 1541–1600: catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, Collection du Centre national de l'archéologie et de l'histoire du livre 2, vol. 2 (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1980), n. 6668.

217 Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des xve et xvie siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle*, Collection du Centre national de l'archéologie et de l'histoire du livre 3 (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), 208–209; Jean Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Collection du Centre national de l'archéologie et de l'histoire du livre 1, vol. 2 (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1965), 771–777; 813; 820.

218 "Libello quodam antiquo, & nulli jam pene noto." See Steyaert *Regulae legendi et intelligendi Scripturam Sacram*, 183.

219 The 1553 Antwerp reprint also contained the wrong numeration. Martinus Steyaert later corrected the numeration in his 1693 work where he stated correctly in the foreword that the book contained 235 rules for reading the Bible.

information in a so-called *Explanatio*. His main sources were again the writings of the Church fathers, as demonstrated in a small preface on the title page of his book. This preface consisted of a complete list of all fifteen Church fathers quoted in the work.²²⁰ Not surprisingly, Augustine (95 occurrences) and Jerome (69 occurrences) were cited the most. As to individual works in the *Regulae*, the most cited were *De Genesi ad litteram* (21 occurrences) and *De doctrina Christiana* (17 occurrences) of Augustine, both dealing with Bible hermeneutics, and the *Moralia in Job* (19 occurrences) of Gregory the Great.

Ruiz de Valladolid conceived of his 235 rules as an intellectual tool. In the introductory part,²²¹ he repeatedly made clear through different texts that he designed his work for theologians and not for the laity. In the introduction, he stated once again that the *Regulae* were primarily directed to theologians.²²² In the following section,²²³ he included a collection of extracts that praised the Bible for its excellence and sublimity, and he carefully mentioned the sources of the quotations; for example, Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* and Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. The next part of the introduction was again directed to the readers of the Bible and consisted of a more general exhortation or *parænesis* to a φιλαναγκώσας or "a lover of reading." In this advice, Ruiz de Valladolid formulated again an answer to the question as to which kind of reader the Bible required.²²⁴ Keywords in this paragraph were piety and fear. The most important prerequisites for the reader of the Bible were a pure heart, a good conscience, and a sincere faith.²²⁵ Furthermore, the reader should be led by

220 "Habes Sacrarum Litterarum, studiose Theologe, CXXXIII. Regulas, quae ad Divinae Scripturae intelligentiam plurimum conferunt, ex Dionysio Areopagita, Origene Adamantino, Hilario Pictaviensi, Didymo Alexandrino, Gregorio Nazianseno, Basilio Magno, Ambrosio Mediolanensi, Joanne Chrysostomo, Hieronymo Strydoniensi, Aurelio Augustino, Gregorio Pontifice Maximo, Beda Presbytero, Joanne Damasceno, Ruperto Abbate, Theophylacto Bulgarie Archi-Episcopo cum suis Explanacionibus Theologorum communi traditione excerptas."

221 Due to the absence of any page numbering in the introductory part, the titles of the respective parts are mentioned in the references. If not indicated otherwise, the quotes refer to the 1546–edition of the *Regulae intelligendi scripturas sacras*.

222 "Non enim pueris haec scribuntur sed theologis, ac nec stupidis illis quidem" (*Auctor Theologo Lectori*).

223 This section was entitled *Excellentia et Sublimitas Sacrae Scripturae ad theologiae candidatum. Brevis Praefatio* (*The Excellence and Sublimity of Sacred Scripture for the Candidate in Theology. A Short Preface*).

224 This section was entitled *Qualem lectorem postulet sacra scriptura?* (*What Kind of a Reader Does Sacred Scripture Require?*).

225 "Cum quis cognoverit finem praecepti esse charitatem de corde puro & conscientia bona, & fide non ficta, omnem intellectum ad ista tria relaturus ad tractationem illorum Librorum securus accedat" (*Qualem lectorem postulet sacra scriptura?*).

the fear of God to seek the knowledge of his will.²²⁶ It was more important to believe what had been written, even if the meaning was obscure, than to rely on human wisdom. Other important concepts were true wisdom and loving God with all one's soul and mind. Ruiz de Valladolid also stated that the reader of the Bible ought to abandon the allurements of his time and steep himself in the world of the Bible. Only the right disposition guaranteed a pious and faithful understanding of the Bible.²²⁷ In the following part, the author focused again on the reader of the Bible in the *Expositio sacrae scripturae a quibus petenda* (*Exposition of Scripture to the Ones Who Aim at It*). Again it was confirmed that the Bible ought to be expounded for the learned, diligent and pious,²²⁸ in other words for the *doctores* or theologians, who as mediators were to expound it to the illiterate.

3.3.2.2 A Thematic Approach to the 235 Rules for Reading Scripture

The corpus of Ruiz de Valladolid's *Regulae intelligendi scripturas sacras* appears to be an unstructured and unsystematic collection of 235 rules for reading the Bible.²²⁹ He placed the rules in one long list, without any further subdivisions. However, the rules can be divided into four thematic categories that enable to pursue the general line of argument.²³⁰

In a first group of rules, Ruiz de Valladolid concentrated on the language and the style of the Bible, as well as on the implications of that language and style for the interpretation of the biblical message. He emphasized the specificity and the peculiar character of the divine and biblical language in comparison with human language.²³¹ In addition to this difference, he pointed out the authority and the sublimity of the Bible and the pernicious attitude of the

226 "Ante omnia igitur Dei timore opus est converti ad cognoscendam Dei voluntatem si quid nobis appetendum fugiendumque praecipiat" (*Qualem lectorem postulet sacra scriptura?*).

227 "Nam qui Sacrum Scripturam scrutantur, ut malint esse docti, quam just, & aliud quaerunt quam Deum, non ex toto corde quaerunt eum" (*Qualem lectorem postulet sacra scriptura?*).

228 "Scripturarum Sanctarum expositio petenda est a doctis, diligentibus et piis" (*Expositio sacrae scripturae a quibus petenda*).

229 Christoph Strosetzki, *Literatur als Beruf. Zum Selbstverständnis gelehrter und schriftstellerische Existenz im spanischen Siglo de Oro* (Düsseldorf: Droster Verlag, 1987), 174–175.

230 In this paragraph, the numeration of the rules as contained in the 1546 edition of Ruiz de Valladolid's work is followed. The references to the Church fathers in the loose quotations are also extracted from the 1546 edition.

231 Rule 4: "Sua sunt idiomata, hoc est linguae proprietates Sacra Scriptura" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *Quaestiones super Genesis* 31; *In Evangelium Ioannis*, tr. 10; Jerome, *Commentarium in Isaiam* 5).

pagans. Pagan claims about the Bible were false and he affirmed that one had to love the Bible before one could understand it.²³² Accordingly, the more one believed, the more one would understand. Ruiz de Valladolid compared the Word of God to a small seed, referring to Mt 13:31–32. At first, the seed seems insignificant, but if it finds a skilful and diligent farmer, it can be cultivated, put forth branches and foliage, and grow into a tree. The same held for the divine Word.²³³

With regard to the language of the Bible, Ruiz de Valladolid paid considerable attention to the different figures of speech and tropes contained in the Bible and quoted in this context extensively from Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*. He mentioned metaphors, the difference between literal and figurative language,²³⁴ hyperboles, allegorical passages,²³⁵ tropologies and *typoi*, but also numerology,²³⁶ the use of singular or plural, the meaning of biblical names, the concept of time in the Bible, the use of Hebrew words and the different verb tenses. Ruiz de Valladolid admired the ability of Scripture to signify one and the same thing by many and various similitudes, and its tendency to repeat a thing once mentioned by way of confirmation. In this context, he referred to Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* and more particularly to Chapter 38 of the book of Job. In this chapter, God addressed himself to Job in order to remind him of that which he might know, and yet forget. Ruiz de Valladolid also denied that the Bible contained contradictions, inconsistencies, or superfluous

232 Rule 158: "Amari prius a nobis Sacra Scriptura debet *quam* disci. Unde a multis, *quia* aut oderunt, aut *non* amant, non intelligitur" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De utilitate credendi* 6).

233 Rule 130 [Explanatio]: "Videtur mihi unusquisque sermo *Scripturae Divinae* similis esse alicui *seminum*, cujus natura haec est, ut cum jactum fuerit in terram, regeneratum in spicam vel in *quancumque* sui generis *speciem*, multipliciter diffundatur, & *tanto* cumulatius, quanto vel peritus agricola plus seminibus laboris impenderit, vel beneficium terrae foecundior indulserit" (Loose quotation of Origin, *Hom. in Exodum*, 1).

234 Rule 16: "Figuratae locutiones Sacrae Scripturae suavius & jucundius nos afficiunt, quam si eadem sententia planis verbis diceretur" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 2, 6); Rule 17: "Nil fere de obscuritatibus Sacrae Scripturae eruitur, quod non planissime dictum alibi reperitur" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 2, 6); Rule 21: "Cavendum est, ne figuratam locutionem ad litteram accipiamus. Nec locutio propria ut figurata accipienda est" (Free rendering of Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 3, 5; 10; 11).

235 Rule 27: "Non in hoc tantum S. Libri scripti sunt, ut res gestas narrent: sed ut allegorica in eis quaerantur" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 15, 27).

236 Rule 33: "Numeros in Sacris Litteris multa mysteria continere, Theologorum omnium sententia est" (No reference to a Church Father); Rule 34: "Numerus finitus plerumque ponitur in Sacris Litteris pro infinito. Tantumdem etiam valet varie multiplicatus. Unde multae quaestiones solvuntur" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 3, 35).

elements. He held an elevated view of the Bible, but at the same time, he warned against an erroneous interpretation of the various stylistic elements.²³⁷ He furthermore commented on several grammatical concepts and on the meaning of certain words used in the Bible.²³⁸ In rule 186 for instance, he noted that there were differences in the rendering of the gender of *angelus* and *spiritus sanctus* in the translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and the Septuagint.²³⁹

In a second category of rules, Ruiz de Valladolid dealt with the content and the interpretation of the Bible in a practically-oriented way. He described the relationship between the Old and New Testaments as one of fulfilment,²⁴⁰ stating that everything written in the Bible referred to Christ.²⁴¹ The Bible was furthermore the ultimate answer to the search for the natural, moral and intellectual wisdom of the philosophers.²⁴² The Spanish theologian described the differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint rendering of the Old Testament.²⁴³ He preferred the Hebrew Bible as the most reliable one in case of doubt, referring to Jerome's standpoint in his *Commentary on Isaiah*.²⁴⁴ He paid considerable attention to the description, the role, and the interpretation

237 Rule 18: "Propter unius verbi translationem, non totus locus figurate accipiendus est" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 11, 31).

238 See rules 172, 173, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182 and 183.

239 Rule 186: "Diversi generis grammaticis sunt nomina virtutum Angelicorum & Spiritus Sancti secundum diversitatem idiomatum" (Loose quotation of Jerome, *Ep.* 18b. *Ad Damasum de seraphim et calculo*).

240 Rule 49: "In Testamento Novo pene nulla in Evangelica aut Apostolica Doctrina reperiuntur, quamvis ardua & Divina Praecepta & promissa, quae illis etiam veteribus desint" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *Retractationes*, 2, 22); Rule 50: "Vetus Testamentum est occultatio Novi, et Novum manifestatio Veteris. Quae Testamenta differunt figuris & figuratis, multitudine ac paucitate sacramentorum, timore & amore, servitute & libertate" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De vera religione*, 27; *De catechizandis rudibus*, 4; *De moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, 28).

241 Rule 103: "Omnia quae scripta sunt in Sacris Litteris, ad Christum referuntur" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 71).

242 Rule 102: "Si quis quaerat illa in scripturis divinis, quae miranda putant philosophi, inveniet" (Loose quotation of the preface of Ambrose's *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*).

243 Rule 188 [=189]: "Nomina quaedam Veteris Testamenti nos alia literatura habemus apud Hebraeos. Quod septuaginta interpretum causa factum est" (Loose quotation of Jerome, *Ep.* 106. *Ad Sunniam et Fretelam*).

244 Rule 220 [=221]: "Apostoli & Evangelistae ubicunque de Veteri Testamento ponunt testimonia, si inter Hebraicum & Septuaginta nulla diversitas sit, vel suis vel Septuaginta verbis uti solent. Si autem in Hebraico aliter in veteri editione sensus est, Hebraicum magis quam septuaginta interpretes sequuntur" (Loose quotation of Jerome, *Commentarium in Isaiam*, preface to book 15).

of the biblical prophets and their texts.²⁴⁵ Rather than imposing their own will, they translated the will of the Lord.²⁴⁶ There were also different kinds of prophecies: some referred to the past, some to the present, and some to the future,²⁴⁷ and not every prophet had the same prophetic spirit.²⁴⁸ Ruiz de Valladolid also devoted some rules to the Evangelists, stating that they did not contradict themselves, but rather complemented each other well. Note again the underlying assumption that the Bible was an infallible book.²⁴⁹ Another set of rules dealt with the apostle Paul and the interpretation of his Epistles.²⁵⁰ Ruiz de Valladolid quoted for instance Chrysostom to answer the question why Paul did not write in the same way about the same subjects in his Epistles to the Romans and to the Colossians. The Church father affirmed that he found no other reason for this difference than the time in which they were written.²⁵¹

In the third category, Ruiz de Valladolid focused on the particular audience that was allowed to consult and to read the Bible.²⁵² As he had already made clear in the introductory part of his work, the Bible was only to be read by learned and praiseworthy men. Ruiz de Valladolid did not state explicitly that women were not allowed to read the Bible, but he affirmed that women were barely mentioned in the Bible.²⁵³ It was for instance not the custom of Scripture to trace out the genealogies of women.²⁵⁴ The biblical

²⁴⁵ The rules 190–216 [=191–215] deal with the prophets.

²⁴⁶ Rules 204 [=205]: “Prophetæ nequaquam suo arbitrio loquuntur, sed ex Domini voluntate” (Reference to Jerome, *In Hieremiam prophetam*, 5).

²⁴⁷ Rules 206 [=205]: “Prophetiæ tempora tria sunt, scilicet præsens, præteritum, & futurum. Quorum præsens & præteritum Prophetiæ Aetimologiam perdunt. Ipsa autem tempora ibi invicem concinunt ad probationem” (Loose quotation of Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, 1, 1).

²⁴⁸ Rule 208 [=209]: “Spiritus Prophetiæ nec semper, nec eodem modo Prophetæ animam tangit” (Loose quotation of Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, 1, 1).

²⁴⁹ Rule 216 [=217]: “Evangelista non est Evangelista contrarius, in his quæ narrat, licet non concordet” (Loose quotation of Augustine, *In Evangelium Ioannis*, tr. 112).

²⁵⁰ See rules 222–229 [=223–230].

²⁵¹ Rule 226 [=227]: “Epistolæ Pauli quo tempore scriptæ sint, & quæ prius, quæ posterius, nosse, multum confert ad questiones explicandas” (Free rendering of Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Epistolam ad Romanos*, 1).

²⁵² Rule 47: “Veteris præsertim instrumenti lectionem non probe intelligentes, noxam incurrent non Scriptura culpa, sed legentis” (Loose quotation of Basil the Great, *Epistola ad Chilonem*; Jerome, *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Galatos*, 5); Rule 119: “Sacra scriptura cohaeret sibi tota” (Free rendering of Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Marcum*, 4).

²⁵³ Rule 147: “Foeminarum res gestæ scriptæ in Sacris Codicibus non sunt, exceptis illis, quæ tanta fecerunt, ut absque illarum commemoratione non potuerint conscribi memorabilia gesta virorum” (Loose quotation of Rupertus Abbas, *In Micheam*, 7).

²⁵⁴ Rule 156: “Non est consuetudo Scripturarum Sanctarum, ut mulierum in generationibus ordo texatur” (Loose quotation of Jerome, *Commentariorum in Mattheum*, 1,1).

message, on the other hand, was destined for everybody, although not everybody had received it.

In a fourth category of rules, Ruiz de Valladolid offered his readership a set of guidelines to facilitate Bible reading. He clarified the relation between words and their meaning²⁵⁵ and pointed out the importance of the context and the balance between the physical text of the Bible and its hidden message. The many difficult and obscure scriptural passages were of great value²⁵⁶ and could be explained by means of other passages of the Bible.²⁵⁷ In case of doubt or uncertainty, the rule of faith (*regula fidei*) remained the most valid tool.²⁵⁸ In this context, Ruiz de Valladolid mentioned, as might be expected, several passages of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*. He furthermore elucidated the development and meaning of the canon; he dealt with the difficult issue of the authorship of biblical books as well as to the related problem of there being only one law and one gospel, but various books of the Bible.²⁵⁹ He included several practical guidelines for how (future) theologians were to read the Bible. The Bible should be learned by heart,²⁶⁰ but people ought not to look too hard into the depths and mysteries of the divine message because it often exceeded human understanding.²⁶¹ An excessive use of reason could undermine the message. Not only the ears, but also the heart ought to listen to the Bible. Furthermore one should keep in mind the particular context and time in which the biblical books were written.

255 Rule 8: "Ex verbis sensum sequamur, ex sensu rationem, & ex ratione veritatem apprehendamus" (Loose quotation of Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 5, 7).

256 Rule 64: "Sacrae Scripturae obscuritas cum diversas pariat sententias, utilis est" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 11, 19).

257 Rule 62: "Locum unum Sacrae Scripturae exponere per alium ejusdem Scripturae clariorem, optima interpretatio est" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 3, 26); Rule 148: "Hoc in omnibus Scripturis Sanctis observare debemus. Ubi videtur aliqua similitudo esse sententiae, non in omnibus eadem dici, sed vel subtrahi pleraque vel addi, & singulorum inter se verborum discrepantium habere rationem" (Loose quotation of Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, 10, 33).

258 Rule 65: "Ambigua in Sacris Litteris si explicari non possunt, in utramque partem intelligi possunt, si Fidei Regula non obstet" (Loose quotation of Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 2, 1; *De doctrina Christiana*, 2, 6).

259 Rule 157: "Moris est Scripturarum, quamvis plures libros, si inter se non discrepent, & de eadem re scribuntur, unum volumen dicere" (Loose quotation of Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, 12).

260 Rule 100: "Scriptura Divina memoria est commendanda" (Loose quotation of Origen, *Super Leviticum*, 4, 9).

261 Rule 101: "Profunditas mysteriorum atque iudiciorum Dei non est perquirenda" (Loose citation of Prosper of Aquitania, *De vocatione omnium gentium*, 1, 13).

By way of conclusion, it can be stated that Ruiz de Valladolid's 235 rules cover nearly all aspects of Bible reading. The humanist-minded monk concentrated on the specificity of biblical language and style, and he gave advice on their interpretation. He took pains to determine the particular audience of each book while alternating his theoretical considerations with more practical guidelines. At the end of the *Regulae intelligendi scripturam sacram*, Ruiz de Valladolid added an alphabetical index and a list, ordered by book, of the notable scriptural passages quoted in his work.

3.3.2.3 Steyaert and the Seventeenth-Century Version of the 235 Rules

As already stated, the first part of Steyaert's 1693 tripartite work on Bible reading consisted of a copy of Ruiz de Valladolid's 235 rules. Steyaert slightly changed the title of the original work by adding the verb *legendi*.²⁶² It is not clear which edition of Ruiz de Valladolid's treatise Steyaert used. Looking at the full title of his work,²⁶³ the phrase *olim in Gallia editae*, meaning "previously published in France," definitely refers to the original work, which was published for the first time in Lyon in 1546. It can also be assumed that Steyaert appealed to the 1553 Antwerp reprint of Steelsius, which no doubt circulated in the Southern Low Countries. However, proofs for both hypotheses have not been found. Steyaert affirmed the value of Ruiz de Valladolid's work for the readers of the Bible, but he also warned against possible misunderstandings and therefore advised his readership to read the first part of his treatise carefully.²⁶⁴ Such misgivings were probably the reason why he added a compendium with his own interpretation. As already stated above, the third part of Steyaert's work was also a copy of another work, namely of Domenico Magri's *Antilogiae* (1645).

In addition to the three main parts, the 1693 treatise also contained some introductory matter, and for that as well Steyaert largely copied the texts of Ruiz de Valladolid. Steyaert's preface to the reader consisted of a combination

262 *Regulae intelligendi scripturas sacras* (1546) became *Regulae legendi et intelligendi scripturam sacram* (1693).

263 The full title reads: *Regulae legendi et intelligendi Scripturam Sacram, olim in Gallia editae, nunc vero secundum Textum recognitionis Clementis VIII. magis dispositae. Compendium earundem regularum per amplissimum ac exim. Dominum D. Martinum Stejartium Vicarium Apostolicum Buscoducensem. Item ANTILOGIAE Seu Contradictiones Apparentes Sacrae Scripturae, Omnia jussu praefati Amplissimi Domini in lucem edita, Concionatoribus aliisque Ecclesiasticis utilisima.*

264 "Tractatum horum Primum & Tertium (**nam Secundum, qui meus est**, alterius Censurae submitto) utiles teneo Sacrae Scripturae Studiosis Lectoribus. Quaedam tamen in primo, cum grano, ut aiunt, salis legenda moneo, sed tamen quae hoc tempore nocere non possunt" (emphasis ours).

of two selections from Ruiz de Valladolid's own introduction that mentions the correct number of 235 rules. Just as Ruiz de Valladolid had done, Steyaert stated that above all theologians ought to read and study the Bible first and foremost. He also inserted a dedicatory letter written by the Louvain academic printer Petrus de Vaddere to Philippus van Tuycum (1623–1702), the 33th abbot of the Norbertine Abbey of Park.²⁶⁵ In this dedication, De Vaddere praised the efforts of theologians to interpret and explain the Bible. He considered the Bible the fundamental basis of religion and a strong defence against heretical opinions. After all, the reading of the Bible was the means *par excellence* of bringing the faithful to salvation. De Vaddere furthermore emphasized the authority of the Church fathers and praised the additional explanations of Steyaert, as contained in the second part of the work.²⁶⁶

As already stated, the second part of Steyaert's 1693 work consisted of a compendium with his own interpretation of a selection of Ruiz de Valladolid's 235 rules and some additional explanations. Some of the selected rules were extended, while others were accompanied by additional explanations.²⁶⁷ Steyaert based himself on the works of an unidentified theologian of his time and on Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, his outstanding work on Biblical hermeneutics. In a small preface, Steyaert asserted that the book of Ruiz de Valladolid had fallen into oblivion, but he also acknowledged its value, despite the need for a few adjustments. In his estimation the work should prove particularly useful for young people in their study of the Bible.²⁶⁸ As already stated, Steyaert's purpose was to introduce a selection of the rules again in the schools, so they could be studied together with the third part of his book, undoubtedly to tie in again with the Louvain tradition of Bible exegesis (1550–1650) which had come to an end with the appointment of Nicolas Du Bois. Moreover, in doing so Steyaert refuted the general assertion that the anti-Jansenists were not interested in Scripture, in spite of the discussions on Bible reading in the

265 For biographical information on Philippus van Tuycum, see Jozef E. Jansen, *L'abbaye norbertine du Parc-le-Duc: huit siècles d'existence: 1129–1929* (Malines: Dessain, 1929), 232.

266 "Opus autem ipsum Regulas inscripserunt, nec alio splendidiore titulo exornarunt, quod hoc nomine à DD. Hieronymo, Augustino, & aliis haec praecepta nuncupantur."

267 The title of this part reads: *Regulae eadem partim selectae, partim auctae, et magis explanatae per Martinum Stejartium Theologum*. See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi et intelligendi scripturam sacram*, 183–204, 183.

268 "Cum pridem has Regulas, in Libello quodam antique, & nulli jam pene noto, offendissem, dignas judicavi quas nonnihil immutatas in lucem publicam producerem in gratiam studiosae juventutis in hac academia ubi specialius incumbitur studio scripturae sacrae." See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 183.

vernacular and the *Regula Quarta* of Trent.²⁶⁹ The compendium was composed of 12 lessons which contained together 80 rules. Every lesson or *lectio* dealt with a specific aspect of the Bible. It is therefore not inconceivable that Steyaert's work was a rendering of the classes he taught as a professor at the Louvain Faculty of Theology.

In lessons I and II, Steyaert focussed on the authority, sublimity and veracity of the Bible in general.²⁷⁰ He affirmed the inspired and divine character of the whole Bible, just as the universities of Louvain and Douai had previously done in 1588, in their respective ordinances on the Bible, grace and predestination. The Bible was the height of art and eloquence, but was also morally speaking pious and chaste. Steyaert furthermore referred to the decision of the Council of Trent that the Vulgate was to be considered as the authentic version, though he allowed for the presence of some small mistakes of translation.²⁷¹ He stated that the author of the Bible possessed divine authority,²⁷² and that the authority of the Bible thus surpassed that of men.²⁷³ With regard to the possible contradictions, inconsistencies or obscurities, Steyaert referred to the third part of his work in which these were refuted and he quoted Augustine in this regard.²⁷⁴

In lessons III, IV and V, Steyaert dealt with the language of the Bible and more specifically with its way of speaking about God and Christ, as well as its

269 *"Utiliores igitur selegi, nonnullas loco omissarum, non minus utiles supplevi (partim ex Manuscriptis unius e Theologis nostris nuper hic mortui, partim ex libris S. Augustini De doctrina Christiana) easque sic semel, iterumque in Schola publica dictavi, nec segniter easdem Studiosi auribus calamisque exceperunt: tandemque consensi ut nunc Typis etiam ederentur una cum contradictionibus apparentibus S. Scripturae."* See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 183.

270 To make his point he quotes, among others, Ps 18[19]:10 ("The fear of the Lord is holy, enduring for ever and ever: the judgments of the Lord are true, justified in themselves") and Ps 11[12]:7 ("The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver tried by the fire, purged from the earth refined seven times").

271 "Sed huic vulgatae editioni major honor deferendus est, postquam tam diligenti cura examinata & correcta, ac a Tridentino Sess. 4. Authentica est declarata. Ad minus enim ista declaratione securos nos reddit *Sacrum Concilium*, errores graves, aut qui fidei moribusque adversentur, in ea non reperiri." See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 185–186.

272 "Nam quod ab Authore Scripture dicitur, divinam auctoritatem habet." See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 186.

273 "Divinarum Scripturarum major est autoritas quam omnis humani ingenii capacitas" (Steyaert referred to Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 5). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 187.

274 "Si qua reipsa contraria in *Sacris Litteris* in gentilium vel aliis libris inveniantur, facile deprehenduntur esse falsissima." Steyaert referred to a work of Augustine: "praesertim *De civitate dei* & alibi passim." See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 187.

way of speaking about other things and persons. He affirmed that the Bible taught the spiritual through the corporeal and the invisible through the visible. With regard to cases of doubt, there was always an underlying reason.²⁷⁵ Christ was divine and human at the same time, and the Bible spoke about him in both ways.²⁷⁶ Christ and the Church were also considered as one.²⁷⁷ Christ was furthermore the fulfilment of God's Old Testament promises.²⁷⁸ With regard to the names of other things and persons, Steyaert remarked that the Bible often used various names to indicate the same thing, or the same person and he attributed this procedure to the linguistic diversity in the different regions. He also mentioned a particular figure of speech that frequently occurred in the Bible, namely, *prosopopoeia* ('personification'), by which human speech was attributed to an animal or an object.²⁷⁹

In lessons VI, VII, VIII and IX, Steyaert treated some essential parts of the Bible. He started in lesson VI with a characterization of the historical books, which contained recapitulation, prolepsis, anticipation, omissions and allegories. The ultimate goal of these books was to give instruction, as Steyaert stated, quoting Rom 15:4.²⁸⁰ The following lesson (VII) was dedicated to the special nature of the prophetic books. Steyaert considered the prophets to be the only ones who were able to relate future events. Prophets related their internal visions by using familiar language.²⁸¹ In lesson VIII, Steyaert elaborated the specific characteristics of the New Testament, stating that in some parts of the New Testament, the apostles quoted pagan writings, as Jerome had

275 "*Cum Scriptura dubitantur loquitur, vel Deum ut interrogantem inducit, non hoc ex Dei ignorantia sed ex aliqua significatione descendit*" (Steyaert referred to Gregory the Great, *Super Ezechielem*, 9 and Augustine, *Contra mendacium*, 14). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 188.

276 "*De Christo quia una persona est simul Deus & homo, Scriptura sub eadem persona promiscue & indistincte loquitur.*" See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 190.

277 "*Solet Scriptura sub eadem persona loqui de Christo, & etiam de Ecclesia, qua est Corpus ejus*" (Steyaert referred to Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, liber 3, 31). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 190.

278 "*Imo in Christo omnes Dei promissiones completas esse, ait Augustinus in Psalmum 71.*" See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 191.

279 "*Per Prosopopoeiam Scriptura multis rebus personam imponit.*" See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 192.

280 "*Nec adeo ob rerum gestarum veritatem; quam ob latentem in iis allegoriam*" (Steyaert referred to Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, liber 15, 27). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 193.

281 "*Lingua qua locuti sunt Prophetiae, familiare est, ut conjunctione utatur, cum nihil praecesserit, annectendo scilicet visionis interna verbum externum*" (Steyaert referred to Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 78). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 194.

acknowledged.²⁸² With regard to the style of the New Testament, Steyaert mentioned the frequent use of parables, parentheses and hyberbaton. Lesson ix, which largely followed Augustine's *De consensu Evangelistarum*, discussed the similarities and differences between the Gospels. Differences in word order or the use of other words to relate the same message did not automatically indicate a contradiction:²⁸³ some things were simply said two or three times in the gospels. Steyaert concluded with Augustine that there was a general harmony in the gospels, in spite of the alleged differences.²⁸⁴

In lesson x, Steyaert provided practical guidelines on how to read the Bible and in what order. Here he based himself on book 2 of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*. The reader should first read the entire Bible, if not yet with full understanding, still with all the knowledge he possessed. He should diligently seek the divine will manifested in biblical history. Steyaert seemed to distinguish between the rules of life (*praecepta vivendi*) and the rules of faith (*regulae credendi*).²⁸⁵ When the reader had made himself familiar with the specific language of the Bible, he could proceed to investigate the obscure passages.²⁸⁶ In this context, Steyaert provided a list of mostly Louvain and Douai theologians from the so-called Golden Age of biblical scholarship (1550–1650) and their expertise.²⁸⁷ First and foremost, the reader should consult a work of Willem Hessels van Est (Estius) (1542–1613) to elucidate the difficult passages of

282 "Apostoli in suis scriptis etiam quaedam ex gentilibus citant" (Steyaert referred to Jerome, *Ep. 70 Ad Magnum Oratorem*). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 195.

283 "Sicubi ergo simile factum invenitur a Domino quod in aliquo alteri Evangelistae ita repugnare videatur: ut omnino solvi non possit, nihil aliud intelligatur, quam utrumque factum esse" (Steyaert referred to Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, liber 2, 56). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 197.

284 "Porro quae August. hic specialiter notat pro consensu Evangelistarum. ea generaliter observari possunt pro conciliatione reliquorum historicorum sacrorum eandem aliquam historiam conscribentium." See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 198.

285 "Quaerenda in iis voluntas Dei, ac primo quae in iis aperte posita sint, vel praecepta vivendi, vel regulae credendi, diligenter investiganda" (Steyaert referred to Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 2, 9). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 198.

286 "Tum uero facta quadam familiaritate cum ipsa lingua diuinarum scripturarum ad obscuriora ex claris dilucidanda pergendum" (Steyaert referred to Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 2, 9). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 199.

287 François states that the decisions of the Council of Trent had "led to both the development of textual criticism of the Latin Vulgate in the Louvain theological milieu, and the edition of qualitatively good and influential Bible commentaries, mainly during the period between 1550 and 1650." Moreover, this movement has to be considered in the line with the humanistic ideal of a *recursus ad fontes* of the previous sixteenth century which had spread throughout Europe. The renewed interest in Augustine on the part of Louvain theologians naturally led to his increased presence in their publications, not least in their biblical commentaries. However, this Golden Age of Catholic Bible exegesis in Louvain

the Bible. Steyaert was probably referring here to Estius's 1621 work *Annotationes in praecipua ac difficiliora sacrae scripturae loca* (*Annotations on the Principal and More Difficult Passages of Sacred Scripture*). The following step should be an in-depth reading of the biblical text, which would gradually enable the reading of comments on the *Corpus Paulinum*. Next, Steyaert mentioned the comments of Cornelius Jansenius of Ypres on the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and his *Analecta* on the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiastes. This is striking, as Jansenius was considered the father of Jansenism, and Steyaert had turned away from Jansenism. It appears that Steyaert distinguished clearly between the works that Jansenius wrote in his capacity as professor of scriptural interpretation and his posthumously published and condemned treatise on the theology of Augustine. Steyaert furthermore referred to Jansenius of Ghent (1510–1576) for his comments on the Psalms, Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. For comments on Acts, the Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse and the Song of Songs, he recommended the writings of Libertus Fromundus (1587–1653), disciple and friend of Jansenius of Ypres and Nicolas Du Bois's predecessor. He also mentioned the commentary on the Epistles, both the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, by Estius. Finally, for the Psalms he preferred the 1611 work, *Explanatio in psalmos*, of Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), who also passed seven years in the Louvain study house of the Jesuits (1569–1576). With regard to the order of reading, one should first read the historical books of the Old Testament, followed by the New Testament and especially the Pauline epistles. Next he recommended the dogmatic parts of the Old Testament and part of the Gospels. Steyaert however did not further explain what he meant by the dogmatic parts of the Old Testament. To conclude, one should not forget to read Acts, the Catholic Epistles and the Psalms. The books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus were also valid.

In lesson XI, Steyaert dealt with the inner disposition that was necessary to read the Bible. Referring to Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, he emphasized that one should read it with the right disposition, that is, with piety, humility, meekness, and fear of God; one should, moreover, never read it out of curiosity or vanity. The biblical texts should be read and reread until the reader had made himself familiar with them. At least once a year, he should read the Bible in its entirety, following the order described in the breviary. Steyaert underlined the importance of reading the New Testament in order to understand the Old Testament. Commentaries and homilies could also help the reader. With regard to reading the Bible in the vernacular by the laity, Steyaert stated that he

came to an end with the appointment of Nicolas Du Bois in 1654. See François, "Augustine and the Golden Age," 236, 247–289.

would not dilate on this subject.²⁸⁸ As already stated, Steyaert's friend Harney had written three important works on this topic in 1686, 1689 and 1693 respectively.²⁸⁹

In his last lesson, Steyaert examined the question of the interpretation and exposition of the Bible. He stated that certain passages of the Bible were obscure and ambiguous. Augustine had already suggested in his *De doctrina Christiana* that obscure passages needed to be interpreted by those that are clearer.²⁹⁰ Steyaert went on to state, again following Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, that the reader should consult the rule of faith and the authority of the Church when confronted with the obscurity of the Bible; besides, having recourse to these two authorities was safer than relying on human reason. The Bible defined moral behaviour, which was based on the central precept of charity. One ought, however, to be aware of the distinction between literal and figurative scriptural language.²⁹¹ Steyaert reaffirmed the primacy of the literal meaning of the biblical text; the literal meaning should be studied prior to any figurative interpretation. If necessary, the mystical and allegorical meanings should also be examined.

3.3.2.4 Concluding Remarks

When the Spanish Benedictine Francisco Ruiz de Valladolid composed his *Regulae intelligendi scripturas sacras* in 1546, he showed himself an exponent of biblical humanism in Spain. He shared the concern of the lamentable state of scriptural studies in the education of the clergy and the need to implement the achievements of humanism in those same studies. Ruiz de Valladolid conceived his work as a guide for reading and studying the Bible, and he wrote for a public of specialised theologians, and not for the laity.

Almost 150 years later, in 1693, Martinus Steyaert integrated a full copy of Ruiz de Valladolid's book into his own work on the reading of the Bible. To this copy, Steyaert added a compendium in which he brought a selection of Ruiz de Valladolid's rules up to date. Nevertheless he remained faithful to the

288 "Et quidem de lectione *Scripturae* per laicos in lingua vulgari plura hoc loco dicendi forent, nisi angustia temporis urgeremur. Addemus aliquid in fine si tempus suppetat." See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 201.

289 See p. 208 and following.

290 "Itaque ibi apertius aliquid ponitur, ibi discendum est, quomodo in locis intelligatur obscuris" (Steyaert referred to Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 3, 26). See Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 202.

291 "Prius in Scripturis scrutandus sensus litteralis: & tunc demum videndum, an & quis superstruendus sit mysticus" (Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram*, 7). Steyaert, *Regulae legendi*, 204.

stipulations that the Spanish theologian had previously set out. Apparently, the general principles as to how to read the Bible had not changed much over the years. Thus, Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* remained the main guideline. In this way, the teaching and preaching of the Bible was still the task of the clergy and still subject to strict regulations while the laity were to read the Bible not on their own, but through the mediation of a better trained clergy.

Steyaert's work should be considered as an attempt to tie in again with the so-called Golden Age of biblical scholarship in Catholic circles in Louvain and Douai (1550–1650) that had come to an end with the appointment of Nicolas Du Bois as royal professor of Sacred Scriptures in 1654. This emerges from, among other reasons, his list of authoritative writers who could be helpful in understanding Sacred Scripture. In doing so, Steyaert refuted at the same time the general assertion that the anti-Jansenists were not interested in the discussions on the reading of Scripture in the vernacular.

Three Bible Translators with Jansenist Sympathies

Zeg eens wat boeken dat men doorgaens prijst,
 Waer toe de Jansenist gestadig wijst?
 Niet tot den draf van valsche Fabelschriften,
 Het heilloos werk der menschelijke driften,
 Daer d'onkunde hare vrugt verwaendheid baert:
 Hy wijst ons boeken van een and'ren aerd.
 Gods Wetboek word den leerling aengeprezen
 Hy leert de Wet en 't Evangelie leezen.
 Al wat Profeet ons leerde door Gods Geest,
 Al wat men in 's Apostels brieven leest,
 Al wat'er staet in goddelijke Bladers,
 Daer by gevoegd de Schriften van de Vaders.
 Dat prijst hy aen, bewust dat Godes Woord,
 Het swaerd des Geest, met kragt de ziel doorboort.
 En wel te regt: dit Woord is onze Regel;
 Dit is de Brief gemerkt met 't groote zegel,
 Ons afgezonden door den Oppervorst;
 De Spieger daer de ziel of z'is bemorst
 Of rein, haer glans en vlekken kan bemerken,
 Het Manna 't welk de ziele omlaeg moet sterken,
 Een Waterstroom daer d'Olifant versinkt,
 En daer het Lam door wandelt en uit drinkt,
 Te diep van zin voor die den hoogmoed voeden,
 Maer niet voor 't volk die 't nederig bevroeden;
 Een Voorraed daer men voedsel vind voor elk,
 Den kloeken spijs, den kleinen kind'ren melk,
 Een moeder die haer kind goedaerdig handelt,
 En neffens 't kind met kleine stappen wandelt.¹



¹ Van der Schuur, *Ware afbeelding*, 8–9.

In the course of the seventeenth century and around the turn of the eighteenth century, the Jansenists reawakened interest for and production of Dutch vernacular Bibles in the Low Countries, particularly in the North, then considered a missionary area with need for Catholic vernacular Bible translations. The Moerentorf Bible of 1599 no longer met the stylistic standards and was considered out-dated. Moreover, the struggle against Jansenism had profoundly changed the relations within the Catholic Church while at the same time the contacts between the Church of Utrecht and Rome had been disturbed in the aftermath of the conflict on the nomination of bishops in 1723. Ouwens establishes a connection between, on the one hand, the reinforcement of the conflict between the Jansenists and their opponents, and on the other, the rise of Dutch vernacular Bible translations compiled by Jansenist translators.² In other words, their translations were used as a means to confirm their identity. The New Testament of these translations was based more or less on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.³ Considering the commotion concerning Bible reading in the vernacular, the Roman-Catholic authorities repeatedly felt themselves forced to take a position.

This chapter presents the works of three Jansenist-minded Bible translators, namely Aegidius De Witte, Andreas Van der Schuur (and Hendrick van Rhijn), and Philippus Laurentius Verhulst.⁴ All three had moved to the Northern Low Countries at a given moment in their lives because of their Jansenist sympathies. Their Dutch Bible translations were considered Jansenist-inspired because the translations of the New Testament showed similarities with the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* of 1667 to some extent, as will be demonstrated in the fifth chapter. In imitation of Port-Royal, the Dutch translators took the Tridentine principles as starting point and based themselves on Scripture and Tradition, namely the writings of the Church fathers and other ecclesiastical authors.⁵ In addition, all three Bible translators seem to have held the same opinion on the relation between the Old and the New Testament. De Witte and Van der Schuur repeatedly made clear in the prefaces to their translations that

2 Koenraad Ouwens, "De oud-katholieke vertalingen," in *Om een verstaanbare bijbel*, ed. A.W.G. Jaakke and Evert Willem Tuinstra (Haarlem: Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap, 1990), 139.

3 Hendrik van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, vol. 3 (Leiden: Daamen, 1905), 644–653.

4 This chapter is a further elaboration of the following two contributions: Agten, "Vernacular Bible Reading in the Broad Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," 141–149; Agten, "Jansenisme' en bijbelvertalingen in de volkstaal. Drie vertaalinitiatieven," 451–473.

5 Chédozeau, "Port-Royal et la Bible. Le refus de la regula IV," 443. See also Agten, "Vernacular Bible Reading in the Broad Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," 139–147.

the Old Testament was a prefiguration of the New Testament, or, in other words, that the New Testament was a fulfilment of the Old Testament. Verhulst referred only indirectly to this argument when he placed a list of Old Testament prophetic teachings in the introductory part of his New Testament translation. Otherwise stated, the argument of fulfilment can be considered as an important feature of the Jansenist ideas on the Bible. In addition, the three Bible translators reflected on the topic of the permissibility of vernacular Bible reading and the interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* in various (polemical) works. To conclude, it should be emphasized again that there were various contacts between the three Jansenist-minded Bible translators of the North under consideration and the anti-Jansenist polemicists of the South, the ecclesiastical authorities and the two exiled leaders of Port-Royal, Arnauld and Quesnel. In other words, they were interrelated in a network, as demonstrated on the geographical network map.⁶

4.1 Aegidius de Witte

4.1.1 *A Polemic Jansenist from Ghent (1)*

Aegidius (Gilles) de Witte,⁷ also known as Palladius or Alethophilus,⁸ was born in Ghent on 21 February 1648. He studied the humaniora at the Jesuit College in his native town. Next, he studied philosophy and theology in Louvain, at that time a center of Augustinian theology, where he maintained a solid friendship with the later anti-Jansenist Martinus Steyaert. Even before finishing his studies, De Witte got involved in his first controversy in 1672 with the Flemish Jesuit Gilles Estrix (1612–1694) on the eight rules to study theology that had been compiled by the Ghent canon Peter Van Buscom (?–1689).⁹ De Witte took

6 See p. 393.

7 For biographical information on Aegidius de Witte, see Ouwens, “De oud-katholieke vertalingen,” 141–143; Polman, *Katholiek Nederland*, 1:236–237; Van Kleef, “Aegidius de Witte” 51: 30–56, 95–127, 155–188; 52, 1–24; Auguste Vander Meersch, “De Witte (Egide ou Gilles),” in *BN 6* (Brussels, 1878) 4–7; Philip Marie Blommaert, *Nederduitsche Schrijvers van Gent* (Ghent: Van Doosselaere, 1861), 319–323; Goethals, *Histoire des lettres, des sciences et des arts, en Belgique et dans les pays limitrophes*, 1:260–298.

8 For an overview of the pseudonyms used by De Witte, see appendix 4, p. 403–406. Some of his pseudonyms were renderings of his last name (Candidus or Albanus), some referred to his function (Egidius Candidus Pastor), while others focussed on his Augustinian ideas (Palladius Sancti Augustini Discipulus). See also Van Kleef, “Aegidius de Witte,” 33–34.

9 Van Buscom had written his eight rules down in the work *Instructio ad Tyronem theologum de methodo theologica octo regulis perstricta, ab insulsis jesuitae Estrix cavillis vindicata*,

the public defence of Van Buscom in various writings against the allegations of Estrix.¹⁰ However, Van Buscom and archpriest Ignatius Gillemans (1610–1674), who had approbated Van Buscom's work, were suspended by Eugenius Albert d'Allamont (1609–1673), the then bishop of Ghent. It is also in this context that De Witte entered for the first time into contact with the Louvain professor Nicolas Du Bois who had been asked to defend the bishop's measures. De Witte was mostly annoyed by the fact that Du Bois, whom he considered as an incompetent teacher, had succeeded Libertus Fromundus as royal professor of Sacred Scriptures in 1654.¹¹

After obtaining his licentiate in theology in 1673, De Witte went to Paris to gain more in-depth knowledge of the doctrine of Port-Royal. Here, he came into contact with Jansenism and, more particularly, with Arnauld, who became his preceptor and friend, as well as with Quesnel and Nicole. This stay in Paris only confirmed De Witte's conviction that the doctrine of Augustine should be the foundation of the Catholic faith. After his return to Louvain in 1679, De Witte was ordained a priest in Mechlin and he hoped to lead a quiet, scholarly life *in nidulo suo* in imitation of the *Solitaires* whom he had met in Paris. These Frenchmen chose to live a life of study and devotion in retreat at Port-Royal. However, on 16 January 1684 De Witte became pastor and dean of the Our Beloved Lady Church in Mechlin at the request of the then Archbishop Alphonse De Berghes.

published in Ghent in 1672. In this work, he opposed himself to the method of scholasticism. According to Van Buscom, the true study of theology consisted in the study of Scripture and the Church fathers. See Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 35–36; Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 3–6.

- 10 Estrix had reacted to Van Buscom's treatise by defending the papal authority as the highest and most important source of faith in his work *Diatriba theologica de sapientiâ Dei beneficâ optimi mundi architectâ, & gubernatrice optimâ; de sapientia Dei verace, ecclesia in mundo militantis moderatrice, et magistra; sive manvductio ad fidem divinam pervestigandam, confirmandam, expoliendam* (Antwerp, 1672).
- 11 In 1674, De Witte compiled four anonymous satirical libels against Du Bois. The first three works were entitled respectively *Racematio Hebdomadaria prolapsionum D. Nicolai Du Bois per quemdam s.T.B. Hebdomas prima* (16 pages in octavo); *Racematio Hebdomadaria prolapsionum D. Nicolai Du Bois per quemdam s.T.B. Hebdomas secunda locupletissima* (34 pages in octavo); *Racematio Hebdomadaria prolapsionum D. Nicolai Du Bois per quemdam s.T.B. Hebdomas tertia cui inserta est, convictio, confessio, retractio, et contradictio ejusdem* (26 pages in octavo) and they were all printed with the fictitious printing address Homologipoli, by Flentes and Prostratos or by Castigantes and Flagellantes. The fourth work was entitled *Nicolaus Dubois, sub Lucido Asino minime occultus, sycophanta praevaricationis manifestae reus*. See Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 37; Charles Louis Carton, *Notes sur les travaux littéraires de Nicolas Du Bois, chanoine de Bruges et de Gand, professeur à l'Université de Louvain* (Bruges, 1861), 31.

At that time, De Witte was already considered a Jansenist because he actively participated in the polemic with the Jesuits by condemning their laxity in moral affairs and their theory of probabilism in several writings. De Witte also entered into a vehement and a longstanding controversy with the regular clergy on the authority of the Pope.¹² A second polemic in which he was actively involved, was the debate on the five Jansenist propositions in 1688.¹³ These five propositions had been condemned by Pope Innocent x in the papal bull *Cum Occasione* in 1653 because they were said to be found in Jansenius's lifework *Augustinus*. The main protagonists in this debate on the interpretation of propositions were De Witte and his former friend Steyaert, who was convinced that the propositions were contained in the *Augustinus*. According to De Witte, however, the Louvain clergy had been forced by Steyaert to abandon the Louvain Augustinian tradition. Therefore, he continued to refute Steyaert's allegations and those of other opponents, for instance the Franciscan Plusquens or the priest Haerts, in Latin and the vernacular tongue in order to reach the common people as well. Archbishop Alphonse De Berghes, who was

12 In 1682, in his capacity as dean of Mechlin, De Witte had been invited for a meal after the funeral service of a medical doctor. In the company of three other medical doctors who were advocates of the Jesuits, De Witte got into a conversation about the authority of the Pope, his infallibility and superiority. Several of his table-companions supported the Pope's infallibility and authority over that of a general council, while De Witte preferred the authority of a council above that of the Pope. In other words, his point of view was not favourably received and reactions were not long in coming, especially when the conversation was made public and caused a sensation at the time. De Witte wrote therefore a defence entitled *Motivum juris, seu justa defensio convivalis disputationis habitae cum Medicinae licentiatis die 8 Julii anni 1685 per E.D.W.E.B.M.T.D.P.D.* (= Egidius de Witte, ecclesiae Beatae Mariae trans Diliam, pastor, decanus). Archbishop Alphonse De Berghes intervened, but in vain, and could not restrain internuncio Tanara and Martinus Steyaert from taking canonical measures. On 3 October 1685 the Louvain Faculty censured four theses originating from De Witte's work. Arnauld, who stayed in Brussels at that time, also got involved in a controversy with Steyaert on the same topic of papal authority. Both men wrote various pamphlets. Arnauld was supported by Quesnel and Gerberon, while Steyaert could count on the support of Du Bois and Désirant. De Witte stayed in the background and wrote three small treatises. Eventually, in 1686, a delegate of the Archbishopric of Mechlin forbade De Witte to write or publish against the authority of the Pope. However, the controversy between Arnauld and Steyaert still continued and De Witte continued to write pamphlets and letters to defend his case. He also entered into a controversy with the Friar Minor Henricus Bukentop and the Karmelite Father Marcus a St. Francisco, writing under a pseudonym. It is therefore not surprising that the conflict caused serious commotion in Mechlin in the period 1685–1688. See Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 37–47; Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 7–20.

13 Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 47–56; Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 20–29.

a good friend of Arnould, supported and protected De Witte in his beliefs until his death in 1689.¹⁴

In other words, for seven years long, De Witte struggled against the (regular) clerics who undermined his attempts to reinstall the practice of penance, to teach the Augustinian doctrine on grace and also to recommend vernacular Bible reading for the common people. Indeed, De Witte endorsed Van Neercassel's point of view that (vernacular) Bible reading would strengthen the faith, while at the same time considering the Moerentorf translation to be outmoded. As a result, he decided to compile a new translation of the Bible, based not only on the Vulgate, considered as the authentic version of the Latin Church, but also on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. It is precisely this starting point that would become one of the main causes for the later condemnation of his translation.¹⁵

The situation in Mechlin changed in 1690 when De Precipiano was confirmed as Archbishop. As already stated in the second and third chapter of this study, De Precipiano was a fierce opponent of the Jansenists and particularly of their ideas on vernacular Bible reading. Around 1690, De Witte asked permission to print a first version of his Dutch translation of the New Testament, but De Precipiano refused. On 9 January 1691, the new Archbishop even issued an edict in which he prohibited the laity from reading the Bible because he considered this practice as one of the main reasons of the confusion of his time. As stated in the previous chapter, the Louvain theologians Harney and Steyaert might have helped De Precipiano compiling this decree. This prohibition encountered fierce opposition from the Mechlin clergy and marked the beginning of a well-documented controversy between De Witte and De Precipiano that will be discussed more in detail in the following section. Because this ban on vernacular Bible reading conflicted with his conscience, De Witte resigned in 1691 from his office as pastor and dean of Mechlin, some six months after De Precipiano's taking office. However, De Witte stayed in Mechlin as supply until the end of 1691 and took the opportunity to direct a new series of treatises to his former friend Steyaert, this time on the *gratia Thomistica*. After leaving Mechlin, De Witte first stayed a while in Ouwegem, a village close to Oudenaarde. On 30 January 1692, the governor of Oudenaarde ordered the confiscation of De Witte's papers and books to have them checked because he

14 For information on the link between De Berghes and Jansenism, see L. Rochette, "Alphonse de Berghes et le jansénisme," *La Vie diocésaine, Bulletin du diocèse de Mechlin* 5 (1911), 376–385.

15 Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 99–101.

was suspected of preparing a conspiracy.¹⁶ De Witte could escape and went into exile in Utrecht at the end of 1693. In Utrecht, he joined his compatriot and fellow translator Andreas van der Schuur and he hoped to lead a quiet, scholarly life *in nidulo suo*.¹⁷

In Utrecht, De Witte was not given a cordial welcome, although he had been invited by Van der Schuur. Especially the vicar apostolic Codde, who was a peace-loving man, raised objections to De Witte's difficult character and his corresponding behaviour.¹⁸ Moreover, De Witte's arrival had happened against his will, as Codde explained in a letter to the *Propaganda Fide* in Rome, dated 6 May 1694.¹⁹ In Utrecht, De Witte was able to complete his translation of the New Testament in 1696 and have it published in Emmerik by Florentius Ab-bema. One year later, in 1697, De Witte published a translation of the book of Psalms, entitled *Davids Harp-sangen*, again in Emmerik by Florentius Ab-bema.²⁰ This translation was reprinted in 1699 in Delft by Hendrick van Rhijn, whose life will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

In the period 1697–1713, De Witte occupied himself with the situation in the Utrecht Church and the defence against the insinuations of Jansenism. He also entered again in contact with Quesnel who, in line with Codde, was offended by the impetuous character of the Flemish exile and who opposed himself to his fanaticism. In the autumn of 1697, De Witte wrote two Flemish letters in which he took the defence of Augustinianism against the ideas of the Jesuits. In his first letter,²¹ De Witte proposed to answer three important questions, namely (1) Can we fulfil God's commandment?; (2) Do we have a free will?; (3) Did Christ die for all people? He also criticised the Jesuit position that man can

16 L. Rochette, "Humbert Guillaume de Precipiano en het jansénisme (1690–1711)," *La Vie diocésaine, Bulletin du diocèse de Malines* 6 (1912), 85–86.

17 Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 106–110. The life and works of Andreas van der Schuur are discussed in Chapter 4.2.1.

18 Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 110–111. Even in the Jansenist circles, De Witte's ideas were considered extravagant. See Charles de Clercq, "Theologisch onderwijs en vorming te Rolduc van 1680 tot 1796," *Roda Sacra (Rolduc's Jaarboek)* 34 (1954), 15–69, there 27.

19 "[...] ad Foederatum Belgium sua sponte venit. Me ante adventum suum non consuluit, post adventum suum non visitavit, imo a viginti facile annis eum non vidi." See Cornelissen, Post and Polman, eds., *Romeinsche bronnen*, 3:363.

20 Aegidius de Witte, *Davids harp-sangen, of het boek der psalmen. Met korte verklaringen op de duistere plaatsen* (Emmerik, 1697).

21 Aegidius de Witte, *Brief van den eerw. heer Egidius de Witte, voordesen pastoor en koor-de-ken der parochiale en collegiale kercke van onse L. Vrouwe tot Mechelen, aen de geloovige gemeynte der selve stadt; rakende de leeringe van de voor-staenders van den H. Augustinus (de welke men nu jansenisten noemt) en die van de pp. jesuwieten* (n.p., 1697). See also Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 118–121.

do everything through his free will. In his second letter,²² De Witte proposed to answer the question why God decided to reserve the salvation of men to His graceful initiative, instead of entrusting it to the forces and the free will of men.²³ De Witte did so on the basis of Augustine's *De correptione et gratia*.

In the meantime, in 1695, De Precipiano had issued an Index in which he condemned 73 Jansenist writings. Because the Archbishop's requests to the Pope to confirm these condemnations were ignored, he also appealed to the authority of King Charles II to extirpate Jansenism from his territory. De Witte could not refrain from reacting and wrote in 1698 his *Panegyris Janseniana* (*Jansenist Panegyric*),²⁴ in which he spoke highly of Cornelius Jansenius. De Witte provided a biography of the bishop of Ypres and an overview of the Jansenist conflict. He also affirmed that Jansenius had not been the only one to ignore the ban on discussing topics related to *de auxiliis*. Many Jesuits had done the same thing, but had not been condemned. Codde had the well-founded fear that De Witte's treatise might harm the Catholic Church of the North. The vicar apostolic was right, as De Witte's book was put on the Index by a decree issued on 9 April 1699.²⁵ De Witte defended his work in three apologies, written in 1699, 1700 and 1701. When Steyaert, his former friend and now vehement opponent, died on 17 April 1701, De Witte also refuted the laudatory funeral oration of Harney in his work *Animadversiones in Naeniam funebrem Martini Steyaertii*.²⁶

22 Aegidius de Witte, *Tweeden brief van den eerw. heer Egidius de Witte, voordesen pastoor en koor-deken der parochiale en collegiale kercke van onse L. Vrouwe tot Mechelen, aen de geloovige gemeynte der selve stadt; rakende de leeringe van de voor-staenders van den H. Augustinus (de welcke men nu jansenisten noemt) en die van de p.p. jesuwieten* (n.p., 1697). See also Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 121–122.

23 "Nu soude ick U lieden door de selve gratie Godts eens geern voor oogen stellen, hoe, en waerom het gebeurt is, dat Godt het uytwercken van onse saligheyt niet en heeft willen toevertrouwen aen de krachten van onsen vryen wille, maer het selve bewaert en toegeschickt heeft aen den lof en de glorie van sijne gratie." See De Witte, *Tweeden brief*, 19.

24 Paulus Aurelius (= Aegidius de Witte), *Panegyris Janseniana, seu Testimonia eruditorum virorum celebrantia librum, cui titulus: Cornelii Jansenii episcopi Iprensis, Augustinus: addito prologo Galeato, hodiernis controversiis non parum illustrandis accommodo* (Grenoble [= Delft], 1698).

25 Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 122–124.

26 Aegidius de Witte, *Animadversiones in Naeniam funebrem Martini Steyartii, doctoris Lovaniensis*, (n.p., 1701). De Witte stated for instance that Steyaert did not know any Greek, as had been revealed in his silence against De Witte's translation of the New Testament: "Nulla illius peritiae, quod sciam, specimina vidimus: nisi quod quidpiam arrodere ausus in Embricensi versione, graeci textus energiam flandrice resonante, mox ab interprete repercutus, perpetuo se damnarit silentio." See De Witte, *Animadversiones*, 8. See also Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 126–127.

Steyaert's death appears to have been a turning point for De Witte. Henceforth, he did not longer occupy himself with the situation in the Southern Low Countries, but shifted his attention to the *Causa ultrajectina*, the *Causa Coddaeana* and his translation project. In this context, Van Kleef points out a fundamental difference between the controversies in the Southern and the Northern Low Countries. Contrary to the South, the discussions in North did not deal with dogmatic issues related to Jansenism, but with canonical questions, in particular with the confrontation between episcopalism and papalism.²⁷

Although in exile in the Northern Netherlands, De Witte edited a 100–page Flemish grammar book in octavo entitled *Ontwerp van eene Nederduytsche spraek-konst* (*Sketch of a Dutch Grammar*) in 1713. According to the information on the title page, the work was compiled by E.C.P. or Egidius Candidus Pastor.²⁸ The printing address was false, as printer Theodorus vanden Eynden worked in Utrecht in the North and not in Menen in the South. It can be assumed that this Southern city was put on the title page because the work was particularly intended for the Flemish population.²⁹ However, in his work, De Witte often compared the Flemish language with the languages of other Dutch-speaking areas.³⁰ Indeed, originating from Ghent, De Witte spoke Flemish, but

27 Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 167–168.

28 E.C.P. (=A. de Witte), *Ontwerp van eene Nederduytsche Spraekkonst; Voornamelijk voor het Land-schap van Vlaenderen: Opgedragen aen de Scholmeesters der stadt van Gendt, door E.C.P. Inboorling der selfde Stadt* (Meenen, 1713).

29 De Witte stated in the preface that he written this work out of affection for his native country: "Doch, gelijk men, in 't leeren van alle konsten, ordentiglijk van de eerste gronden beginnen moet; soo heb ik, uyt de genegentheyt die ik tot mijn Vaderlandt drage, dit kleyne werkjen by een verzamelt, en tot U lieden gemak en gediensstigheyt opgesteld." See E.C.P. (= De Witte), *Ontwerp van eene Nederduytsche Spraekkonst*, v.

30 In the section on the pronunciation of the letter "H," De Witte compared the Flemish pronunciation to the Brabant and Dutch way: "De H. mag ter nauwer noodt voor eene letter genomen werden: dewijl se eygenlijk maer een Aspiratie ofte Aenblaesing is: die den klank van de volgende klink-letter alleenlijk met eenen meer krachtigen aessem uyt de borst doet komen. Onse nabuerige Fransche (die weynig ofte niet Aspireren) hebben ons selfs van dese afspiratie allengskens berooft: soo dat die letter by ons soo veel als in windt verdwenen is; en dat wy daerom by de Brabanders, en by de Hollanders enz. met recht bespot en uytgelachen worden: als die geen onderscheyt in de uyt spraek maken tusschen *el* (*ulna*) en *hel* (*infernus*); tusschen *alle* (*omnis*) en *halle* (*macellum*); tusschen *als* (*quando*) en *hals* (*colum*) enz..." See E.C.P. (= De Witte), *Ontwerp van eene Nederduytsche Spraekkonst*, 14. In the section on the word gender for instance, he pointed out the differences with the Dutch language: "Onder de gene, die het Nederduytsch spreken, is 'er geen kleyn verschil in de *Geslagten* te vinden. Want de Hollanders, by voorbeeldt, komen in de zelfde veeltijts met de Brabanders, en Vlamingen, niet overeen [...] *Boek* is by ons deurgaens m. maer van de boeken der H. Schriftuer zegt men veeltijds: Het boek Genesis; Het boek der Rechteren; Het eerste boek der Koningen enz. De Hollanders houden zig aen 't onzijdig alleen." See E.C.P. (= De Witte), *Ontwerp van eene Nederduytsche Spraekkonst*, 43–45.

he was familiar with the Brabant dialect because he had studied in Louvain and had worked in Mechlin for seven years. In addition, he was also acquainted with the Dutch language after his exile to the North in 1693. The work was conceived as a guideline, and De Witte also showed that he attached importance to the knowledge (and grammar) of his mother tongue.³¹

De Witte was probably stimulated to write his grammar during his stay in Paris in the period 1673–1679 where he had become familiarized with the linguistic and pedagogical project of Port-Royal and the ideas of Arnauld, who had composed the famous *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* together with Claude Lancelot in 1660.³² Later, Arnauld had written other works on language, for instance *La logique ou l'art de penser*, together with Nicole (1662) or the *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement et en peu de temps* together with Lancelot (1699). Debbets discusses in his article the striking correspondences between De Witte's work and the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée*. He concludes that De Witte's book was the only Dutch grammar dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century that had been influenced by the ideas of Port-Royal.³³ Dibbets goes on to state that De Witte also had made use of other sources for the compilation of his work, for instance Augustine, the Dutch writer Joost van den Vondel and many contemporary Northern publications.³⁴ The Grammar book consisted of two parts divided into nine chapters. After the introduction, De Witte dealt with orthography and largely discussed the different word classes. The work was concluded by some general (linguistic) remarks on the Flemish language.

During his stay in Utrecht, De Witte was not only known for his many polemical writings on various topics³⁵ and his Flemish Grammar, but he was also able to translate various Bible books. Besides his translations of the New Testament (1696) and the Psalms (1699), his translation of the books Proverbs,

31 "Dit zy dan ook de eerste en de laetste Regel van onze spraek-konst, dat men de Regels der zelfde niet altijd angstiglijk achtervolgen moet; en dat men, om het algemeyne gebruyk te gemoet te gaen, ofte om de zoet-luydentheyt te behouden, zomtjids in kleyne dingen, van die uysterste nauwkeurigheid wel mag stappen; en wat aen het gehoor, ofte aen de algemeyne gewoonte van sijn Vaderlandt, in 't spellen toegeven." See E.C.P. (= De Witte), *Ontwerp van eene Nederduytsche Spraekkonst*, 99. See also Geert R.W. Dibbets, "Een nieuw spoor van de Port-Royalgrammatica in Nederland." *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse taal-en letterkunde* 1 (1994), 250–278, 267–268.

32 This French grammar had been reprinted in 1676 in Brussels by Fricx and in 1703 in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger.

33 Dibbets, "Een nieuw spoor van de Port-Royalgrammatica," 256–260.

34 Dibbets, "Een nieuw spoor van de Port-Royalgrammatica," 261–268.

35 For an overview of these works, see Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 164–188; 1–24.

Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Sirach appeared in 1702, and that of the Pentateuch in 1709. In 1713, De Witte withdrew from all controversies to finish his complete Bible translation. This translation, entitled *De geheele H. Schriftuur*, appeared in 1717 in two volumes in-folio and was published in Utrecht by Theodorus vanden Eynden. This translation was De Witte's last achievement. He died 7 April 1721 and was buried in the priestly grave of Warmond, close to Leyden, where also Codde and Quesnel had found their last resting-place.³⁶ De Witte's Bible translation activity and the condemnation of his New Testament translation will be discussed in the third and last section of this part.

4.1.2 *An Ardent Defender of Vernacular Bible Reading*

Undoubtedly an intelligent and eloquent man, De Witte was also an ill-famed polemicist, being frequently denounced as a rabid and headstrong Jansenist. He was known for his radical viewpoints on various topics, for instance his denial of the infallibility of the Pope, his emphasis on grace and penance, his rejection of probabilism, but also his plea for vernacular Bible reading. The Congregation of the Index intervened several times and put many of his writings on the Index. De Witte's motto was uncompromising: *Stare fortiter et viriliter agere* (*To stand strong and to act manfully*). It is therefore not surprising that he entered into vehement controversies with various anti-Jansenists. By the end of his life, even his friends had turned against him because of his difficult character, his *excessiva mordacitas*, and his sarcastic remarks. Even though he spent the last years of his life as a *solitarius peregrinus*, De Witte stayed faithful to his convictions until his death in 1721. He compiled more than 140 small and large polemical treatises, letters and pamphlets, mostly in classical Latin and Dutch, in which he voiced his opinion, often interlarded with sarcastic remarks and observations. Quite remarkably, most of his works were published at his own expenses. De Witte consequently must have been a wealthy man. He had the ability to translate the most difficult theological questions into comprehensible language. Because he strongly held on to his convictions, most of his writings consisted in an ardent defence of the Jansenist cause against the allegations of his opponents. This section particularly focuses on De Witte's reaction on De Precipiano's 1691 edict on Bible reading and his controversy with Harney.³⁷

36 F.A. Le Poole, "Het priestergraf te Warmond," *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken* 39 (1947), 112–114, there 113. See also Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 23.

37 Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 31–34.

4.1.2.1 Opposition against De Precipiano's 1691 Edict on Bible Reading

De Witte was an ardent defender of vernacular Bible reading for the laity and a vehement opponent of the 1691 decree on Bible reading and Archbishop De Precipiano. He relied on the Tradition of the Church, and particularly on the writings of the Church fathers. In line with Van Neercassel, he considered the *Regula Quarta* as a temporary measure that was no longer valid. Moreover, he was convinced that the Catholic Church had never forbidden vernacular Bible reading. All faithful should be encouraged and supported to read the Bible. After the promulgation of De Precipiano's decree, De Witte directed three French letters to the Archbishop. The first one was dated 6 February 1691. According to the summary of Van Kleef, De Witte stated in this letter that he did not intend to proclaim the decree on vernacular Bible reading because he had serious objections. On the contrary, he stated that it would be better to encourage vernacular Bible reading for the laity. De Witte then proposed to enter into a controversy on the decree with the theologians who had compiled it, probably Harney and Steyaert, in the presence of the Archbishop or another ecclesiastical authority in order to clarify his objections. At the end of this letter, De Witte admitted that he had written this letter in French because the Archbishop did not understand Dutch, which De Witte considered as an important weakness of an Archbishop of a Brabant diocese. Moreover, the letter was neither written in Latin because De Precipiano only had a very poor knowledge of this language. As a response, the Archbishop simply repeated that the decree had to be proclaimed from the pulpit and De Witte therefore wrote a second letter.³⁸

In his second letter,³⁹ dated 5 March 1691, De Witte testified of the indignation that De Precipiano appeared to have against him and largely dealt with his conscientious objections to proclaim the 1691 ordination.⁴⁰ De Witte also stated that he had accepted the function of pastor and dean in Mechlin at the explicit request of Alphonse De Berghes, De Precipiano's predecessor. In addition, De Witte referred not only to the various struggles and controversies that had taken place since his arrival in Mechlin in 1684, but he also alluded to the difficult material conditions he had to work in to fulfill his duties.⁴¹ De Witte

38 See Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 103–106 for a summary of this letter.

39 For the text of this letter, see Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 42–46.

40 "Car que vouloit-on que je fisse? Que je trahisse ma conscience par l'amour de mon repos & la crainte des peines & des amendes?." See Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 44.

41 De Witte wrote three works in which he described these material conditions. See Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte," 104.

concluded this letter by announcing that he considered resigning from his office.⁴²

In a third letter,⁴³ dated 24 March 1691, De Witte testified again of the pressure that was exerted on him to proclaim the decree on Bible reading. Next, he stated that he had decided to resign from the office in Mechlin. He added that he hoped to be succeeded by a pastor who was familiar with both Scripture and the Tradition of the Church.⁴⁴ It is interesting to bring up De Witte's digression on the denomination "Jansenist". He considered the term as simply a name tag used to blacken the reputation of a particular group of people, similar to what had happened with many Christians in antiquity.⁴⁵ Apparently, a man with an exemplary life, considered as a good ecclesiastical scholar and a laborious preacher for his flock, often turned out to be a Jansenist.⁴⁶ In other words, the Jansenists were praised because of their good qualities, but they were condemned and accused of heresies, errors and a suspect faith for unclear reasons. Therefore, De Witte firmly stated that it was wrong to associate Jansenism with some false doctrines on divine grace and free will, with aversive feelings towards the Holy See, with the repugnance of the cult of the Virgin Mary, or with strict rigorism in the administration of the sacrament of penance. On the contrary, those who were considered as Jansenists were wise and pious persons who did not like statements that favoured the corrupt nature of

42 "Il ne reste que le premier [l'intérêt & le préjudice qu'il appréhende de faire à la vérité, *sic*], à rompre, qui est de laisser mon Epouse entre les mains d'un Successeur qui la gouverne selon les Regles de l'Evangile & la Tradition des Saints Pères, & non selon les moeurs, & les maximes corrompues de ce Siècle présent." See Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 46.

43 For the text of this letter, see Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 47–51.

44 "Je Vous remets donc, Monseigneur, entre les mains mon Eglise sans aucune reserve, vous conjurant seulement de la pourvoir d'un homme nourri, non dans les relachemens & les chicanes de la Nouvelle Théologie, mais dans la vénérable antiquité de l'Ecriture Saint, des Regles de l'Eglise, & de la Doctrine uniforme des Pères de nôtre Religion." See Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 47.

45 "Le nombre n'en est pas si grand qu'on pense, & le malheur de nôtre Siècle est, que la plus grande part de ces Personnes rares sont rebutées par le nom bizarre de *Jansénistes*. Il me semble, qu'il se passe à l'égard de ceux qu'on veut noircir par ce nom quelque chose de semblable à ce qui se passoit autrefois au sujets de *Chrétiens*, selon le Témoignage de *Tertullien* dans son Apologétique." See Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 47–48. See also the poem of Van der Schuur in which he gives a similar explanation, appendix 2, p. 394–398.

46 "Car qu'entend on de plus ordinaire parmi le monde que cette exprobaton: cet homme est d'une vie exemplaire, c'est un scavant Ecclesiastique, c'est un Pasteur laborieux pour son troupeau, mais (le malheur!) c'est un *Janséniste*." See Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 48–49.

human beings. De Witte argued thus that Jansenists were good Catholics with an irreproachable life.

Also around 1690–1691, De Witte compiled two short works on the theme of vernacular Bible reading. The first work was entitled *Korte Bemerckinge op het tegenwoordigh Boeck-verbieden, door eenen Liefhebber van de Waarheyt* (*Short Remark on the Present Prohibition of Book, by a Truth Lover*).⁴⁷ According to the information on the title page, this fourteen-page treatise was printed in quarto in 1690, but it is not known where or by whom. The work started with De Witte's observation that it had become customary to condemn books by placarding the town with bulls, letters and bans, probably referring to the 1685 decree of De Precipiano, although this had been restricted to the diocese of Bruges. Therefore, De Witte proposed to sketch out what the Church stipulated exactly concerning the prohibition and the reading of books throughout history. Having Mt 19:8b⁴⁸ at the back of his head, De Witte started by studying the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils of Nicaea I, Constantinople I, Ephesus and Chalcedon that had forbidden the teachings of heretics like Arius, Eunomius or Nestorius. However, nowhere it could be found that the Church had forbidden the books of Christians. The same went for Pope Gelasius I (?–496), who had not installed an absolute prohibition on books, but only had made a distinction between legal and illegal books during a meeting with 70 bishops in 494. Moreover, Nicaea II (787) had ordered the confiscation of heretical books. According to De Witte, the Church had started to sentence the reading of heretical books fairly late. On 1 March 1420, Pope Martin V (1369–1431) issued a ban to exterminate the Hussites, Wycliffites and other heretics in Bohemia, but he did not take any measures against those who read their writings. Confronted with the writings of Luther, Pope Leo X might have been the first to forbade the reading of books on the penalty of excommunication. Next, De Witte stated that famous catalogues of forbidden books had been compiled, although he mentioned the random years 1548, 1552 and 1554, during which no Indices had been compiled, as stated in the second chapter of this study. These Indices had not only forbidden heretical books, but also had attacked books from pious Catholic authors on various themes. The main reason to condemn these books appeared to be the fact that they had been published anonymously, or that the author had adopted a sharp point of view. De Witte did not deny that it could be useful to compile some general laws to prevent both the anonymous publication of books and the use of sharp and polemical language. However,

47 Aegidius de Witte, *Korte Bemerckinge op het tegenwoordigh Boeck-Verbieden, door eenen Liefhebber van de Waerheydt* (n.p., 1690).

48 Mt 19:8b: "but from the beginning it was not so" (Douay-Rheims translation).

exceptions to the rule had to be allowed, and this is what De Witte intended to prove in this treatise.

First, De Witte demonstrated that in certain cases it was permitted to publish works anonymously. Paul had published the Epistle to the Hebrews anonymously and De Witte quoted several Church fathers⁴⁹ to show that Paul had done so with a good reason. Besides, the majority of the Old Testament books had been published without mentioning the name of the author(s). De Witte also provided other examples, among others, the anonymous work *De cardinalibus operibus Christi*, probably written by the Benedictine monk Ernardus Bonaevallis (c. 1156), or the work *Adversus avaritiam: sub nomine Timothei ad ecclesiam catholicam epistolares libri 4*, written by the fifth century-author Salvian under the pseudonym of Timotheus and printed for the first time in the sixteenth century.

Second, De Witte dealt in his work with the prohibition of books and the use of sharp and polemical language. He argued that it was sometimes absolutely necessary to use this kind of language and he quoted various examples to support his argument. John the Baptist, for instance, did not address the heretics when he blew out at the *genimina viperarum* (*generation of vipers*) (Mt 23:33). The same goes for Christ when he considered some people as the leaders of the blinds (Mt 15:14) or as whited sepulchres (Mt 23:27), or for Jerome who was nicknamed the *omnium lacerator* (*calumniator of all*) and who considered Rufinus as a scorpion, a dog or a pig. The anonymous regular canon who challenged the learnings of the French poet Peter of Blois or Petrus Blesensis (c. 1135–c. 1211), had written a tract entitled *Invectiva in depravatorem* (*Invectives to He who Depraves*) (c. 1198).⁵⁰ De Witte concluded by affirming that the act of using sharp language did not constitute a crime, but that this type of language had to be used for the right reasons. The Gospels and the Tradition of the Church fathers were the most important guiding principles of Christianity, instead of self-willingness and dominance.⁵¹ In other words, De Witte pleaded for more circumspection in the prohibition of books.

The two topics discussed above proved to play an important role in De Witte's later life. One of the main reasons for the later condemnation of his New Testament translation was the fact that it had appeared without any

49 He mentions writings of Clemens of Alexandria, Jerome, Chrysostom and. See De Witte, *Korte Bemercking*, 5–6.

50 De Witte, *Korte Bemercking*, 10–13.

51 "Het Christendom moet door den Regel van het H. Evangelie ende overleverigh der H. Vaders geregeert worden, niet door eygenlustigheid of dominantie." See De Witte, *Korte Bemercking*, 13.

name. In addition, as already mentionned, De Witte was particularly known for his particularly cutting language and polemical ideas.

DeWitte'ssecondworkonthetopicofvernacularBiblereading,printedinquartoformat,wascomposedoffourtreatisesintheformofadialogue,conductedbetween20Marchand11May1691(see table 13). These treatises expressed the stand of the Mechlin clergy and it goes without doubt that De Witte acted as the spokesperson of this group. The work seems to have been written in the aftermath of De Precipiano's decree that had appeared on 9 January 1691. Every dialogue involved a theologian and a parishioner of the Our Beloved Lady Church in Mechlin. In the second dialogue, a medical doctor also took part in the conversation. As mentioned above, De Witte had been pastor and dean in this church since 1684. Therefore, the theologian might be identified as De Witte, although both the parishioner and the medical doctor spoke about him in the third person.⁵² This theologian acted as a preceptor that instructed the parishioner on the content and the consequences of De Precipiano's decree on vernacular Bible reading in which the Archbishop appeared to have distorted the truth.

TABLE 13 Aegidius de Witte and his four dialogues on vernacular Bible reading

1	Samen-spraak tusschen eenen Parochiant van onse L. Vrouwe Kerck tot Mechelen ende eenen Theologant Aengegaen den 20. Maert 1691, Cologne, Petrus Metternich, 1691. ⁵³ (Dialogue between a Parishioner of the Our Beloved Lady Church in Mechlin and a Theologian on March 20, 1691)
2	Tweede Samen-spraak tusschen eenen parochiant van O.L. Vrouwe Kerck tot Mechelen, eenen Theologant, en eenen Doctoer in de Medecyne, s.l., s.n., 1691. (Second Dialogue between a Parishioner of the Our Beloved Lady Church in Mechlin, a Theologian and a Medical Doctor)

52 “*Paroch.* Stryden toch die wetten of die leeringh tegen het Decreet van den Aertsbisschop? En laet onsen Pastoor daerom het selve te kondigen?”; “*Paroch.* Ick sie dat Mynheer in dit stuck wel thuyts is, en onsen Pastoor voor Advocaet soudt konnen dienen. *Theol.* Dese nieuwe twisten hebben my aen-gehort om die materie wederom te gaen herlesen, maer zyt versekert dat uwen Pastoor hier in geenen anderen Advocaet van doen en heeft als syn eygen selven.” See Aegidius de Witte, *Samen-spraak tusschen eenen Parochiant van onse L. Vrouwe Kerck tot Mechelen ende eenen Theologant Aengegaen den 20. Maert 1691* (Cologne, 1691) 4, 11–12.

53 This was probably a fictitious address.

TABLE 13 Aegidius de Witte and his four dialogues on vernacular Bible reading (*cont.*)

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| 3 | Derde Samen-spraek tusschen eenen Parochiant van O.L. Vrouwe Kerck tot Mechelen, en eenen Theologant, s.l., s.n., 1691.
(Third Dialogue between a Parishioner of the Our Beloved Lady Church in Mechlin and a Theologian) |
| 4 | Vierde Samen-spraek tusschen eenen Parochiant van O.L.V. Kerck tot Mechelen, ende eenen Theologant, gehouden den 11 Mey 1691, s.l., s.n., 1691.
(Fourth Dialogue between a Parishioner of the Our Beloved Lady Church in Mechlin and a Theologian) |
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The first tract discussed the necessity to read Scripture in order to strengthen the inward man. The theologian first emphasized that the faithful had to trust in the laws of faith, the Gospels, and the teachings of the Church fathers. In other words, they had to rely on Scripture and the Tradition of the Church. Then he sketched the coming about of the New Testament in detail and strongly emphasized that the Gospels had been written by Christ's disciples in their mother tongue for the instruction of the common people.⁵⁴ Next, the parishioner mentioned the Index of Trent and stated that the Council appeared to have forbidden vernacular Bible reading. The theologian corrected this opinion: the Index had not been drafted by the Council, but by some cardinals at the explicit request of Pius IV. This statement seems to be in line with the statement of O'Malley that the Tridentine rules had been compiled by a conciliar commission during the Council and that the Pope had approved their work afterwards.⁵⁵ The theologian considered the Index as a temporary order that had been installed for a particular reason. At that time, the heretics (i.e. Protestants) had encouraged everybody to read the (vernacular) Bible without any further instruction (cf. *sola scriptura*), but it turned out that their Bible translations were all faulty. As stated in the *Regula Quarta*, it was the temerity of men that lay at the basis of this ban, and not the Bible itself. One of the consequences of this rule was, however, that the common people considered the Bible as a harmful book, as the parishioner affirmed. The parishioner also pointed at the (current) discord among the theologians of that time: some of them were in

54 "Wesende alle dese Evangelien geschreven in de moederlijcke tale van die Landen, tot onderrichtingh van het gemeyne volck." See De Witte, *Samen-spraek tusschen eenen Parochiant*, 5.

55 O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, 266.

favour of vernacular Bible reading, while others were opposed to this practice. The theologian responded that the Church fathers previously had not forbidden vernacular Bible reading and he referred to, among others, Chrysostom, Augustine and Jerome in this regard. Hereafter, the two men decided to continue their conversation in the afternoon in the garden of the parishioner.

The second treatise dealt again with vernacular Bible reading, but this time a third party was involved, namely a medical doctor who was an opponent of this practice, probably a reference to the earlier dispute with several medical doctors in which De Witte had been involved.⁵⁶ The theologian started with emphasizing again the necessity to read Scripture in order to strengthen the inward man. Then, the conversation was shortly interrupted when a medical doctor entered the garden. When the parishioner stated that the discussion dealt with vernacular Bible reading, the doctor openly asked him if he was planning to become a Jansenist, because it seemed that only the Jansenists discussed this issue.⁵⁷ When the doctor affirmed that the Church fathers had not permitted vernacular Bible reading for all, the theologian asked him to which Church fathers he exactly referred. The doctor replied by quoting epistle 53 of Jerome to Paulinus of Nola in which the Church father affirmed that physicians did physicians' work and carpenters did carpentry, but that only the art of Scripture was claimed by all-comers.⁵⁸ In line with Van Neercassel,⁵⁹ the theologian reacted by pointing at the important difference between reading and explaining Scripture (*ars scripturarum*) and by contextualising Jerome's statements. The doctor did not agree with the explanation and referred to the story of Basil and Demosthenes, the cook (or another official) of the Arian emperor Valens. The story goes that Demosthenes had tried to defend the Arians against Basil's point of view in order to impress the Emperor with his knowledge of theology. Basil, however, would have replied that Demosthenes' right place was in the kitchen where he had to cook food, while Basil would discuss

56 See p. 262, n. 12.

57 "Doctor. Ia begint gy oock Jansenist te worden? Over die questie en valt niet te disputeren als by Jansenisten." See Aegidius de Witte, *Tweede Samen-spraak tusschen eenen parochiant van O.L. Vrouwe Kerck tot Mechelen, eenen Theologant, en eenen Doctor in de Medecyne* (n.p., 1691), 2.

58 "Quod Medicorum est, promittunt Medici, tractant fabrilis Fabri. Sola Scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes vendicant." See Jerome, *Ep.* 53.6–7, CSEL 54, ed. Isidorus Hilberg (Vienna, Tempsky, 1910), 452–453.

59 "Het ghene den H. Vader dan berispt en is geensins het lesen der Schriftuur voor alle soorten van menschen, maer het uyt-legghen der Schriftuur door de gene die se lesen en niet en verstaen, waer in groot onderscheyt is." See De Witte, *Tweede Samen-spraak*, 2.

the dogmas.⁶⁰ The theologian replied that Basil had not reprimanded Demosthenes because he quoted Scripture, as Scripture had not been mentioned in the conversation.⁶¹ However, the doctor was still not convinced that it would be good for all people to read Scripture, quoting 2 Pe 3:16.⁶² The theologian then explained why some parts of Scripture were clear and others were obscure: both the common people and the learned had to find spiritual food in it. Gregory the Great⁶³ had compared the Bible in this context to a river in which a lamb could walk and an elephant could swim. At that point, the doctor had to leave and the theologian and parishioner continued their conversation. The theologian affirmed that priests, bishops and monks had particularly misinterpreted Scripture, referring to Arius, Nestorius, Pelagius and others. The opponents of vernacular Bible reading feared that the common people would become more learned than the priests and preachers and that they would discover the mistakes in their sermons. In this context, the theologian referred to the Protestant claim that the Catholic Church had forbidden Bible reading. He concluded by affirming that the parishioner had to consider all that had been said and that they would meet again the following day.

The third treatise discussed the obedience that had to be shown vis-à-vis legitimate superiors. The theologian stated that they could also be mistaken. In line with Bernard of Clairvaux, he affirmed that it was better to obey God, instead of human beings.⁶⁴ In addition, he stated that true obedience implied humble prudence and prudent humbleness in order to reach the truth. In addition, the theologian elaborated on the concept of blind obedience. He also emphasized that Scripture had multiple functions: it was not only food and drink, but also medicine and a means of comfort. The parishioner stated that henceforth he would not longer trust the bishops of the Low Countries, probably referring to De Precipiano, but that he would turn to the Church fathers

60 This story was written down in the fourth book of Theodoret of Cyrus's *Historia Religiosa*, Chapter 17. See Raymond Van Dam, *Kingdom of Snow: Roman Rule and Greek Culture in Cappadocia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 109–110, n. 34.

61 De Witte, *Tweede Samen-spraak*, 4–5.

62 2 Pe 3:16: “As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction” (Douay-Rheims translation).

63 “Habet in publico unde parvulos nutriat, servat in secreto unde mentes sublimium in admiratione suspendat. Quasi quidam quippe est fluvius, ut ita dixerim, planus et altus, in quo et agnus ambulet, et elephas natet.” See Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job, ad Leandrum*, 4, CCL 143, ed. Marc Adriaen (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), 1–7.

64 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Ep. 7,3 ad Adam Monachum*, PL 182, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1845). See also Aegidius de Witte, *Derde Samen-spraak tusschen eenen Parochiant van O.L. Vrouwe Kerck tot Mechelen, en eenen Theologant* (n.p., 1691), 1–3.

who were in favour of vernacular Bible reading for all. The faithful had to live according to the true rules of faith. The theologian concluded that it was not necessary to ask the bishop permission to read Scripture because this would reinforce the illusion that they had promulgated an order to ask for previous permission.⁶⁵ In other words, according to the theologian, the *Regula Quarta* had not been promulgated or was no longer valid. Finally, the parishioner asked which biblical books he had to read first and the theologian gave the following list: the New Testament, the Psalms of David and the books of Tobias, Judith, Esther and Wisdom. He stated that this list would keep the parishioner busy for a while.⁶⁶

The fourth treatise discussed the key question, namely whether lay persons were allowed to read the Bible. The theologian and the parishioner met again on 11 May 1691 and the parishioner affirmed that he had read the New Testament and the Psalms in the meantime. He also stated that according to some, it was improper to put the Word of God into the hands of everybody, particularly in those of the unlearned and the common men and women. The parishioner referred in this regard to the 1690 work *'t Heiligdom besloten* (*The Enclosed Sanctuary*),⁶⁷ in which it was demonstrated that vernacular Bible reading was forbidden on the basis of the often invoked passage Mt 7:6.⁶⁸ The theologian considered this book as a threat and affirmed that Nicolas Du Bois, censor of this work, had been reprimanded by the Privy Council.⁶⁹ The parishioner asked how he had to react when he was again confronted with arguments of respect vis-à-vis the Holy institutions. The theologian pointed at the distinction between the spoken words of Christ and the written message contained in the Gospels, which were directed to everybody, including to the

65 *Paroch.* "[...] Sou' het evenwel niet beter zyn van hem oorloof te vragen om de Schriftuur te lesen?" *Theolo.* "T'is seker dat het niet noodigh en is; en soo doende verstyft men de Oversten in de opinie dat sy sulck een gebodt wel gegeven hebben." See De Witte, *Derde Samen-spraek*, 7.

66 De Witte, *Derde Samen-spraek*, 8.

67 *'t Heylighdom besloten* (*The Closed Sanctuary*) of the Carmelite Alexander a Sancta Tereisia, written in 1690, was an elaborate refutation of Van der Schuur's 1685 two-volume treatise *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*. See p. 298 and following for an analysis of Van der Schuur's work.

68 Mt 7:6: "Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you, they tear you" (Douay-Rheims translation).

69 Van der Schuur discussed this reprimand of Du Bois in his 1691 work *Berigt voor deenvoudigen, wegens het lezen der kerkelijke gebeden en der H. Schrifte in de moederlijke tale*.

common people.⁷⁰ In addition, the Church fathers stated that Scripture had to be read with a humble mind and a kind-hearted will, because otherwise the reading would be useless. If one did so, he would benefit from reading the vernacular Bible.⁷¹ Next, the two men discussed the fact that people who were in favour of (vernacular) Bible reading (i.e. the Jansenists) were considered as heretics. The treatise also revealed that De Witte at that time had already resigned from his office as pastor and dean of Mechlin and that he had written his three letters to De Precipiano.⁷² These letters had been praised by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The theologian concluded the conversation by affirming that the present situation had to be tacitly deplored.⁷³

4.1.2.2 A Challenge Directed to Martinus Harney

In 1690 or 1691, De Witte wrote his *Provocatio ad Ex. P. Martinum Harney pro lectione S. Scripturae in linguis vulgaribus* under the pseudonym of Alethophilo Onitrama.⁷⁴ In this four-page treatise, he challenged Harney for a (public) debate. He started by openly attacking Harney's 1686 Dutch work *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden in het lesen der H. Schrifte in ghemeyne taele* that he considered to be an instrument of inopportune reciprocation that pinched and deafened the ears of its readers with its continuous harshness.⁷⁵ De Witte also criticised the 1689 partial Latin translation of this treatise.⁷⁶ In addition, he formulated four questions that he proposed to submit to

70 Aegidius de Witte, *Vierde samen-spraek tusschen eenen Parochiant van O.L.V. kerck tot Mechelen, ende eenen Theologant, gehouden den 11 Mey 1691* (n.p., 1691), 2–3.

71 He referred to De Witte, *Vierde samen-spraek*, 5–6.

72 *Theol.* "Ick ben wel versekert, dat uwen gewesen Pastoor berydt is aen den Paus en aen den Bisschop alle gebehoorelijcke eere en onderdanicheyt te bewysen, en hy heeft dit ten opsicht van den Bisschop dees aengaende genoech betoont door syne brieven." See De Witte, *Vierde samen-spraek*, 7.

73 *Theol.* "Wat wil ick u noch a veel seggen? Wy zyn nu in tyden gekomen, over de welcke men in stille moet suchen van het gene men dagelijckx hoort en siet." See De Witte, *Vierde samen-spraek*, 8.

74 See Alethophilo Onitrama (= A. de Witte), *Provocatio ad Ex. P. Martinum Harney pro lectione S. Scripturae in linguis vulgaribus* (n.p., 1690/1691).

75 "Credas serrarium esse, continua importunae reciprocationis asperitate vellicantem aures et obtundentem." See Onitrama (= De Witte), *Provocatio ad Ex. P. Martinum Harney*, 1.

76 "Neque multum recedit ab his vitiis recens fragmentum Latinum, & ipsum indolatum, praefatiunculis, objectiunculis, interrogationiunculis, scrupulis, reflexionibus mimicum, & quantum quantum est a scopo avium." See Onitrama (= De Witte), *Provocatio ad Ex. P. Martinum Harney*, 2. For a discussion of Harney's *De lectione gallicae translationis novi testamenti*, see p. 226 and following.

Harney:⁷⁷ (1) Was Scripture, and the New Testament in particular, written in the mother tongue of the people by the apostles and disciples?; (2) Was Scripture translated throughout time in the languages of the faithful to which it was propagated?; (3) Did the Church fathers recommend the reading of Scripture, and the New Testament in particular, to the faithful whatever their condition, age or sex?; (4) Are the reasons invoked in favour of Bible reading still valid for the unlearned and the simple? In addition, De Witte formulated four additional questions:⁷⁸ (1) Did Harney believe that vernacular Bible reading could be prohibited because of something inherent in Scripture?; (2) Did Harney believe that the power of the Divine Law supported the authority and the traditions of the Church?; (3) Did Harney believe that the ecclesiastical power merely depended from the decisions of the superiors and the scriptural prophecies, passed over by the Council fathers?; (4) Did Harney believe that this joint and unanimous recommendation of the Council fathers [i.e. *Regula Quarta*] was purely ceremonial, or merely from a positive law, natural or not?

In the following part of his treatise, De Witte referred to the controversy of Arnauld and Mallet on vernacular Bible reading and he stated that the divine precepts had to be put above the rules of kings and gentiles. Bible reading could not be prohibited because of something inherent in Scripture. Moreover, De Witte proposed to investigate whether both the Index and the *Regula Quarta* were still valid in his time. In the last sentence of his treatise, De Witte inserted a remarkable allusion to an *andabata*, a gladiator who wore a helmet with no eye-holes, herded towards the fight for the amusement of the crowd, and did not form part of the true gladiatorial contest.⁷⁹ Did De Witte this way allude to the blindness of his opponents on the issue of vernacular Bible reading who could not be considered as serious partakers in the theological debates of the times?

4.1.3 *An Exiled Bible Translator*

De Witte did not only write polemical works on Bible reading, but also worked as a Bible translator. This section focuses on his Bible translation activity. In the first part, attention will be paid to his New Testament translation of 1696. The next part examines the various reactions to this translation and the reasons for its condemnation. The third part deals with De Witte's complete Bible

⁷⁷ Onitrama (= De Witte), *Provocatio ad Ex. P. Martinum Harney*, 2–3.

⁷⁸ Onitrama (= De Witte), *Provocatio ad Ex. P. Martinum Harney*, 3.

⁷⁹ “Non diffugiemus hanc disquisitionem cum primum intellexerimus quid eximus pater de superioribus Asumptis sentiat ne andabatarum more palantes digladiemur in aera et mutuis non querelis et criminationibus sine fructu et decore confodiamus.” See Onitrama (= De Witte), *Provocatio ad Ex. P. Martinum Harney*, 4.

translation that appeared in 1717. Finally, the last part of this section discusses the *nachleben* of De Witte's translation project. An overview as complete as possible of De Witte's translations and the subsequent reprints is provided in the appendix.⁸⁰

4.1.3.1 An Anonymous Translation of the New Testament (1696)

In 1696, De Witte's anonymous Dutch translation of the New Testament entitled *Het Nieuwe Testament van onsen Heere Jesus Christ* was published in two volumes in Emmerik by Florentius Abbema.⁸¹ This was a false printing address, because Abbema actually worked in Utrecht. At that time however, Emmerik fell under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Utrecht and thus of the vicar apostolic of the *Missio Hollandica*. According to the information on the title page, the translation was based on the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, as it contained the mention *in den Franschen Bijbel*. Approbation for *Het Nieuwe Testament van onsen Heere Jesus Christ* came from Paulus Roskam on 24 September 1696 in Emmerik, and from Hugo Gael on 19 October 1696 in Leyden. Both men were archpriests in the area of the Dutch Mission. Gael also worked as assessor for the vicariate of Utrecht. They were vehement defenders of Jansenism, and mainly praised the clarity and the fluency of the translation that enabled the faithful to become familiar with the Divine Word.

The translation consisted of two volumes. The first volume contained, besides the preface and the two approbations, a chronicle of the life and deeds of Jesus Christ our Saviour (*onses Saligmakers*), a map of the Holy Land and the complete translation of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The volume was concluded by the notes and a table with the Gospel readings. The second volume, with a separate title page and pagination, contained the translation of the letters of Paul, the Catholic letters and the Apocalypse, followed by the notes and a table with the Epistle readings. This volume was concluded by a geographical index with the names of places that were mentioned in the New Testament and a map of the journeys of Paul.

The foreword to the translation was written in Dutch and consisted of two paragraphs on 35 pages.⁸² De Witte first dealt with the dignity and the general characteristics of the New Testament. In short, he considered the New Testament as a fulfilment of the Old Testament and a useful rule of faith. However,

80 See table 37, p. 414.

81 Aegidius de Witte, *Het Nieuwe Testament van onsen Heere Jesus, met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen; een chronycke van het leven onses saligmakers en van de wercken der apostelen*, 2 vols. (Emmerik, 1696).

82 There are no page numbers in the introductory part.

he argued that some preparation on the basis of the teachings of the Holy Spirit, the Church, the Councils and the Church fathers was needed in order to discover the divine message. This way, the New Testament could also be considered as, among others, a medicine, a mirror, a bath, a torch, powerful food or a garden of delight. Next, De Witte provided, by way of introduction, a short presentation of the different parts of the New Testament. The Gospels informed the reader on the birth, the life, the works, the miracles, the sufferings, the death, the resurrection and the ascension of Christ. The Acts of the Apostles constituted the fulfilment of the Gospels and testified of the sending of the Holy Spirit. In the Pauline and Catholic Letters, more information was provided on the evangelical precepts and they could be considered as a repository of divine knowledge. Finally, the Apocalypse functioned as a metaphorical guide for the faithful.

In the second part of the introduction, De Witte provided information on the original language of the New Testament (i.e. Greek) and the subsequent translations in, among others, Syriac, Latin, Ethiopian, Armenian or Coptic. He stated that translations of the New Testament had been generally accepted since early times, as Augustine's mention of various Latin renderings showed.⁸³ He also referred to writings of Jerome and Gregory the Great on the translation of the New Testament. The Council of Trent had declared the Vulgate, the Latin translation of Jerome, as the authentic version for the Latin Church. However, in case of doubts with regard to the text of the New Testament, appeal to the original Greek text was allowed. Therefore, De Witte proposed three general rules for a good translation. First, the Greek and Latin texts did not necessarily have to correct or to complete each other. The Greek text had to be considered as the original, but, in some cases, the Latin translation could have been based upon a superior, but no longer extant Greek text. Second, if it appeared that the ancient Latin translator had used the same Greek text as De Witte in his translation, then this Greek text had to be followed meticulously. Third, in case of doubt about the original character of either the Greek or Latin text, De Witte recommended, strangely enough, the writings of the Spanish biblical scholar Alfonso Salmerón SJ (1515–1585)⁸⁴ in order establish the original text. The

83 De Witte quoted a Dutch translation of Augustinus, *De Doctrina Christiana*, book 2.11.16, CC SL, 32, ed. Josef Martin (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), 42, l. 21–26. "Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari."

84 Alfonso Salmerón (1515–1585) was one of the first followers of St. Ignatius of Loyola. He composed sixteen volumes of Scriptural commentaries, of which eleven were on the Gospels, one on the Acts, and four on the Pauline Epistles. He was noted for his judicious study of the Fathers and his devotion to the Church. He participated in the Council of

recommendation is strange because De Witte was not a friend of the Jesuits and had fulminated heavily against their, in his view, laxist moral views.⁸⁵ Salmerón advised his readers to take into account the immediate context, the writings of the Church fathers, and the Catholic teachings.

Next, De Witte stated that he adopted a middle course in his translation: his starting point was the Latin text of the Vulgate, but he supplemented it with marginal annotations that contained variant readings from the Greek. This way, he still respected the Tridentine assertion of the Vulgate's authenticity. In the last part of his introduction, De Witte reflected on the concept of translation and on the differences between source and target languages. As a translator, he was a defender of vernacular Bible translation, but because of the on-going evolution of the vernacular languages, he pleaded for both the revision of translations and the preservation of the original versions. Furthermore, quoting Jerome's epistle 106 to Sunnia and Fretella,⁸⁶ De Witte held the opinion that a good translation consisted in an accurate transfer of the sense of the original to the target language, and not in a word-for-word rendering of the original text. In this context, he also pointed at the differences between Flemish, the Brabant dialect and Dutch, a topic he later discussed in his 1713 grammar. Already anticipating possible objections to his work, De Witte concluded his introduction by stating that objections should be formulated in Latin in order to protect the unlearned on the one hand and, on the other, because of the inadequacy of the Dutch language for conducting discussions of this nature. These objections were not long in coming; De Witte's translation was severely criticised by the anti-Jansenists, and it eventually provoked a condemnation by the Pope, as will be demonstrated in the following paragraph.

4.1.3.2 The Condemnation of De Witte's New Testament⁸⁷

De Witte's New Testament was controversial, and it is thus not surprising that the translation was officially condemned by Pope Clement XI in 1712. So far, however, there has been little discussion about the precedents for this

Trent in the discussions on, among others, justification, penance and the origin of episcopal jurisdiction. See Sommervogel (ed.), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 7:479.

85 See, among others, Van Kleef, "Aegidius de Witte 1648–1721," 31–32.

86 "Et hanc esse regulam boni interpretis, ut ἰδιώματα linguae alterius suae linguae exprimat proprietate." See Jerome, *Ep.* 106.3, CSEL, 55, ed. Isidorus Hilberg (Vienna: Tempsky, 1910), 250, l. 3–l. 4.

87 This section is based on Els Agten, "The Condemnation of Jansenist Vernacular Bibles in the Low Countries. The case of Gilles de Witte (1648–1721)," in *ETL* 91, no. 2 (2015), 271–280.

condemnation. This section, therefore, provides a non-exhaustive overview of reactions on De Witte's translation and aims to shed light on the reasons for its condemnation. Was it because De Witte had ignored De Precipiano's prohibition on vernacular Bible translations, issued in 1691? Or was it because his translation resembled the Jansenist-minded *Nouveau Testament de Mons* of 1667, which had been condemned twice? Or both?

The Louvain theologian Steyaert, a former study-friend of De Witte, had become his vehement opponent after converting to the anti-Jansenist camp. In his capacity as vicar apostolic of 's-Hertogenbosch, a position he held since 1691, Steyaert took a severe stand on the reading of the Bible. He reacted against the publication of the so-called "Belgian" version (*versionem belgicam*) of the New Testament in a declamation, dated 17 October 1697.⁸⁸ In this declamation, Steyaert indicated several pertinent mistakes in De Witte's translation, in anticipation of a broader refutation of the work. For instance, he had detected traces of Jansenism in De Witte's translation of 2 Thess 2:10(11):

En met alle bedriegelijcke boosheytt, om verleydinge van de gene die verloren gaen, om dat-se de liefde van de waerheytt niet en hebben aengenomen tot hunne saligheytt. Daerom sal hun God een soo krachtige dolinge (*operatione erroris*) toe senden, dat sy de logentael sulen gelooven.⁸⁹

De Witte had translated the Latin *operatione erroris* as *een soo krachtige dolinge* (*an efficacious error*), comparable to the translators of Mons' rendering as *un esprit d'erreur si efficace*. Both translations emphasized the efficaciousness of God's work, which was a very contested concept in the Jansenist controversy, since it suggested the inability of man to resist divine action.

De Witte refuted Steyaert's allegations in a work entitled *Capistrum ab Embricensi interprete dono missum M.St.V.A. declamatori in versionem Belgicam novissimam Novi Testamenti* (*Halter [Muzzle] of the Emmerick Interpreter, Presented as a Gift to M.St.V.A. [= Martinus Steyaert Vicar Apostolic], Declamator of the Newest Belgian Version of the New Testament*).⁹⁰ The title of this work

88 The declamation was entitled *Declamatio in versionem belgicam novissimam novi testamenti*.

89 2 Thess 2:10(11): "And in all seduction of iniquity to them that perish; because they receive not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. Therefore God shall send them the operation of error (*operatione erroris*), to believe lying" (Douay-Rheims translation). For an elaborate analysis of this passage, see p. 371.

90 Aegidius de Witte, *Capistrum ab Embricensi interprete dono missum M.St.V.A. declamatori in versionem Belgicam novissimam Novi Testamenti* (n.p., 1697).

already revealed De Witte's negative judgment. He emphasized that he had focussed on translating the meaning of the biblical text and that he had not simply rendered the words.⁹¹ He also refuted Steyaert's comments on various Bible passages, for instance on the translation of 2 Thess 2:10(11).⁹² De Witte concluded his work by sketching a portrait of his former friend and affirmed that after reading Steyaert's work, he had the impression to have read the work of a mad bull or a rabid dog that required a halter or a muzzle.

On 3 November 1697, Steyaert wrote a *Censura*⁹³ that once more dealt with the New Testament of De Witte and he confirmed that the translation was in fact a rendering of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*⁹⁴ and thus had to be condemned. This work consisted in fact of a review and an approval of a work by the Franciscan Henricus de Bukentop (1653/4–1716) directed against De Witte's translation.⁹⁵ When De Bukentop had received a copy of this translation, he immediately noticed the similarities with the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. Therefore, in 1698, De Bukentop published a Latin treatise entitled *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti, Embricae nuper impressae quo demonstratur translationis illius multiplex defectus & à vulgata latina editione diffinitas ac cum damnata gallica versione conformitas* (*An Examination of the Flemish Translation of the New Testament, Printed in Emmerik, in which the Many Weaknesses of this Translation, its Dissimilarity with the Latin Vulgate and its Conformity with the Condemned French Version are Demonstrated*).⁹⁶ In this work, De Bukentop argued that De Witte's translation did not do justice to the text of the Vulgate and relied too much on the text of the *Nouveau Testament*

91 "Multis in Praefatione probavi, ad fidi Interpretatis officum pertinere, sensum potius spectare quam verba: hoc est, illi praecipue incumbere ut exprimat cogitationes quas primigenius scriptor in mente habuit; ac dein ut id faciat, si potest, iisdem praecise verbis; sed si utrumque non potest, tum muneris eius esse, ut verba potius deserat quo cogitationes servet." See De Witte, *Capistrum ab Embricensi interprete*, 5.

92 De Witte, *Capistrum ab Embricensi interprete*, 12–14.

93 Martinus Steyaert, *Censura vicarii apostolici Silvaeducensis in versionem novissimam Novi Testamenti e lingua Gallica in Teutonicam* (Louvain, 1697).

94 "Hoc novum opus non tam esse versionem Novi Testamenti D.N. Jesu Christi, quam Novi Testamenti Gallici vulgo Montensis, toties damnati & proscripti, quod dubitari non potest versionis authorem prae oculis habuisse dum eam fecit, potius quam editionem Latinam vulgatam, aut quamvis aliam in Ecclesia probatam." See Steyaert, *Censura*, 2.

95 De Bukentop entered the Franciscan order in ca. 1673 and studied Greek, Hebrew and Exegesis. From 1689 until 1702, he was lector at the Franciscan convent in Louvain and in the period 1703–1714, he was active as defensor. See François Baix, "Bukentop (Henri de ou van)," in *DHGE* 10 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1938), 1108.

96 Henricus de Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti, Embricae nuper impressae quo demonstratur translationis illius multiplex defectus & à vulgata latina editione diffinitas ac cum damnata gallica versione conformitas* (Louvain, 1698).

de Mons.⁹⁷ For instance in the translation of the Gospel of Matthew alone, De Bukentop had discovered 60 mistakes. He furthermore condemned the anonymous character of the translation,⁹⁸ although he mentioned the name Candidus, the Latin rendering of De Witte's name, several times in his work.⁹⁹ De Bukentop's main objection was that De Witte had the impudence to praise a translation of the New Testament that had been condemned with *gravissimis decretis* by two Popes, namely Clement IX in 1668 – although this prohibition had not been promulgated in France and the Low Countries – and Innocent XII in 1675.¹⁰⁰ He furthermore listed the principal defects of the Emmerik translation and provided a systematic comparison with the condemned *Nouveau Testament de Mons* in order to demonstrate the similarities between the two translations. De Bukentop's work constituted one of the starting points for the case-study in the last chapter of this study.

De Witte could not refrain from defending his translation against the attacks of both Steyaert and De Bukentop, and wrote an *Epistola apologetica* (*Apologetic Letter*) in 1698. In his particularly sarcastic and direct style, he countered the accusations of De Bukentop by stating that he had followed the Vulgate meticulously and even corrected the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.¹⁰¹ It should be noted that De Bukentop also wrote a refutation of the Psalter translation that De Witte had issued in 1697 and to which De Witte obviously reacted.¹⁰²

As already stated, Archbishop De Precipiano had prohibited the laity from reading the Bible in a decree of 9 January 1691 and had entered into a vigorous

97 "Pervenit ad manus meas etiam volumen unum, quod ubi revolvere coepi, illico reperi translationem hanc a Vulgata quidem Sacrae Scripturae Latina editione maxime difformen, sed cum Gallica ista Montensi summe conformen." See De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 2.

98 "Quis huius Novae Translationis Auctor fit, nec in Frontispicio Libri habetur expressum, nec in Praefatione, nec in Opere universo, neque etiam in Approbatione illius [...]." See De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 3.

99 "[...] non est ita Candidum"; "Sed non Candidum vertit enim [...]." See De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 47; 73.

100 De Boer, "De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior," 17–22.

101 Aegidius de Witte, *Epistola apologetica ad Amicum Lovaniensem, adversus Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti Embricae nuper impressae auctore F. Henrico Bukentop &c.* (n.p., 1698), 22, 33–35. See also Van Kleef, *Aegidius de Witte 1648–1721*, 115–116.

102 Henricus de Bukentop, *Notae in psalterii davidici item libri actuum apostolorum translationem Flandricam, ut praefertur, Embricae impressam* (Louvain, 1699). De Witte reacted with: C.D.C Theologum Eutopianum (= A. de Witte), *Diatriba critica ad F. Henricum Bukentopium, Franciscani ordinis religiosum* (n.p., 1699) and C.D.C Theologum Eutopianum (= A. de Witte), *Disputio tumultuaria refutationis diatribae criticae directa ad F. Henricum Bukentopium* (n.p., 1700).

controversy with De Witte. In 1698, De Precipiano issued an edict in which he solemnly forbade De Witte's Bible translation in his archdiocese because the translation did not do justice to the text of the Vulgate, and because of the many resemblances with the already condemned translation of Mons.¹⁰³ For this ordinance, De Precipiano made extensive use of the above-mentioned work of De Bukentop.¹⁰⁴

In 1698 appeared a letter written by a certain J. Verleeghten who was a presbyter according to his signature. This letter took the defence of the New Testament of Emmerik by challenging the validity of the prohibition issued by Archbishop De Precipiano and also questioned the authority and power of the Archbishop in this matter.¹⁰⁵ The author for instance advanced the claim that the Archbishop did not speak Dutch and thus had relied on the opinion of his bishop's council in order to condemn the translation. In 1699, Hieronymus Harts countered Verleeghten's ideas in an elaborate refutation.¹⁰⁶

Another unexpectedly positive evaluation of De Witte's translation came from the Franciscan Franciscus Burgh de Hollandia (1650–1708) who had examined the translation by order of the Holy Office in 1702.¹⁰⁷ In his review, Burgh de Hollandia formulated three important objections against the translation. First, the translation did not contain the name of the author or a valid approbation. Second, the translation was not a faithful rendering of the Vulgate, but rather a paraphrase. Third, the translation showed several similarities with the already condemned *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. In spite of the three above-mentioned objections, Burgh de Hollandia finally approved the translation.¹⁰⁸

103 "[...] habito praevia plurimorum Theologorum tam Saecularium, quam Regularium iudicio, dictum Librum [De Witte's 1696 translation, *sic*] tanquam complectentam versionem in multis defectuosam, a vulgata editione Latina difforem, et damnatae Versioni Gallicae consonam. Imo et haec deteriorem, subditis quoque nostris prohibendum esse duximus, prout prohibemus per praesentes sub poenis in Indice Librorum prohibitorum contentis, mandantes Pastoribus seu curam animarum gerentibus, praecipue in Civitate Mechliniensi, Oppidisque Bruxellensi et Lovaniensi, et locis insignioribus hujus Archidiecesis, ut hanc nostram prohibitionem, simul ac praesentes receperint, populo publicent et inculcent, quod alii Concionatores utiliter etiam praestiterint." See De Clercq, *Cinq archevêques de Mechlin*, 1:68–69.

104 De Clercq, *Cinq archevêques de Mechlin*, 1:68–69.

105 J. Verleeghten, *Geestelycken raedts-brief op het verbieden van de vertalinge van het Nieuwe Testament gedrukt tot Emmerick* (n.p., 1698).

106 Hieronymus Harts, *Consilium obedientiae redditum J. Verleeghten ejusque asseclis, ut discant et doceant parendum decretis illustrissimi d. archiepiscopi* (Antwerp, 1699).

107 Aquilinus Emmen, "P. Franciscus de Hollandia O.F.M.," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 37 (1944), 264–270.

108 "Conclusum est, ni fallor, contra Denuntiatorem pro Embricensi versione. Inimici Interpretis sunt iudices [...] Interim censeo non absolvendam dumtaxat a delatione hanc novi

TABLE 14 Reactions to *Het Nieuwe Testament van onsen Heere Jesus Christ* (1696) of De Witte

Date	Author	Reaction
17 October 1697	Martinus Steyaert	<i>Declamatio in versionem belgicam novissimam novi testamenti</i>
3 November 1697	Martinus Steyaert	<i>Censura vicarii apostolici Silvaeducensis in versionem novissimam Novi Testamenti e lingua Gallica in Teutonicam</i>
1698	Henricus de Bukentop	<i>Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti, Embricae nuper impressae quo demonstratur translationis illius multiplex defectus & à vulgata latina editione difformitas ac cum damnata gallica versione conformitas</i>
4 November 1698	Archbishop De Precipiano	Ordinance against the New Testament of De Witte
1698	J. Verleeghten	<i>Defence of the New Testament in the work: Geestelycken raedts-brief op het verbieden van de vertalinge van het Nieuwe Testament gedrukt tot Emmerick</i>
1702	Franciscus Burgh de Hollandia	Approval of De Witte's translation after an examination by order of the Holy Office
10 September 1709	Holy Office	Decree to prohibit De Witte's translation
22 June 1712	Pope Clement XI	Official condemnation of De Witte's translation

The Holy Office, however, did not follow Burgh de Hollandia's opinion and prohibited De Witte's translation of the New Testament. First, a decree was promulgated on 10 September 1709,¹⁰⁹ and later the translation was officially

Testamenti Belgicam versionem, verum et potius commendandum esse." See Emmen, "P. Franciscus de Hollandia O.F.M.," 266.

109 Jesús Martínez de Bujanda and Marcella Richter, *Index librorum prohibitorum 1600–1966*, Index des livres interdits II (Sherbrooke: Université de Sherbrooke, 2002), 873. See furthermore Emmen, "P. Franciscus de Hollandia O.F.M.," 270.

condemned on 22 June 1712 and integrated in an appendix to the Index.¹¹⁰ This happened only one year before the promulgation of the papal bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, which initiated the final phase of the Jansenist controversy in France.

On the basis of the above-mentioned testimonies, four reasons for condemning De Witte's New Testament can be distinguished. Moreover, it will become clear that the opponents of De Witte's translations used the same argumentation that had been used over twenty years to condemn the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. First, the opponents of the translation took offense at the anonymous character of the translation, although the author had been quickly identified. Second, the text of the translation deviated too much from the Vulgate, the authentic version for the Latin Church and was thus contrary to the Tridentine regulations, although De Witte had explicitly stated in his preface that the Vulgate was the main starting point for his translation. In addition, De Witte's translation showed too many resemblances to the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* that had already been condemned twice, in 1668 and 1675. Third, the opponents stated that the translation contained passages that were considered as a plea in favour of the Jansenist ideas. Fourth, they affirmed that the translation had not respected the Tridentine regulations concerning vernacular Bible reading, and the *Regula Quarta* in particular. To conclude, further research is needed to substantiate the assertion that De Witte made extensive use of the edition of Mons, translating the French text almost literally and taking over its strong emphasis on *gratia efficax*, a Jansenist topic *par excellence*. The second case-study in the last chapter of this monograph constitutes a first attempt to examine the Jansenist character of, among others, De Witte's translation, on the basis of nine pericopes.¹¹¹

4.1.3.3 A Complete Dutch Bible Translation (1717)

In 1717, De Witte's complete Bible translation entitled *De geheele H. Schriftuur* was published in two volumes in Utrecht by Theodorus vanden Eynden.¹¹² The translation was printed without an official ecclesiastical approbation. In a short message, signed by *E.C.P.*, which refers to *Egidius Candidus Pastor*,¹¹³ De

¹¹⁰ *Appendix Novissima ad Indicem librorum prohibitorum Ab Anno M.DCC.IV usque ad totum mensem Martii M.DCC.XVI. Juxta Exemplar Romanum* (Prague, 1726), 25–26. See furthermore Cornelissen, Post and Polman eds., *Romeinsche bronnen*, 3:554, n. 3.

¹¹¹ See p. 352 and following.

¹¹² Aegidius de Witte, *De geheele H. Schriftuur: behelsende alle de boeken, de welke in 't algemeen Concilie van Trenten voor canonyke zyn goet-gekeurd. Nieuwe overzettinge in de Nederlandsche tael: met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaatsen*, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1717).

¹¹³ See table 32, p. 403.

Witte stated that the Holy Scriptures did not need any approbation.¹¹⁴ He also affirmed that he had done his best to free the present translation from its weaknesses on the basis of the main scriptural interpreters and the rules of Jerome. The title page contained a vignette representing David the harp player with a crown and the Latin-Dutch caption *Revela oculos meos, et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua – Neemt het deksel van myn ogen weg en ik zal de wonderheden van uwe wet beschouwen*, originating from Ps 118:18.¹¹⁵

The translation consisted of two volumes: besides the preface and a short message from the translator, the first volume contained a list of the Bible books considered to be canonical by the Council of Trent and followed by the Dutch translation of the books of the Old Testament. Every Bible book was preceded by an introduction with information for the reader on the book's title, the author, the date of writing and a short summary of the content. The second volume had a separate title page, but a consecutive pagination, and contained a short preface and the translation of the books of the New Testament. Like in the case of the Old Testament, every Bible book was preceded by an introduction. This volume was concluded by the notes on the books of the Old and the New Testament, a chronology from the beginning of the world until the coming of Christ,¹¹⁶ and two chronicles, one of the life and deeds of Jesus Christ and another of the deeds of the apostles. Next followed a short postscript in which De Witte listed several (typographical) errors that had crept in his translation and he added a short note on 1 Kg 21:11 and an elaborated Latin comment on 2 Tim 3:16.¹¹⁷ Finally, he provided a Dutch translation of the Prayer of Manasseh, although this was not considered as canonical.

The preface to the translation of the Old Testament consisted of six paragraphs. De Witte first briefly discussed the utility of Bible reading, comparing it, among others, to a lamp, a medicine and a mirror on the basis of the writings

114 "Het is een-ieder bekend, dat de H. Schriftuur geene Approbatie van noode heeft; en dat ze uyt haer eygen zelve hare goetd-keuring en Approbatie is. De swarigheyt zoude dan alleenlijk over de Vertalinge kunnen wezen: of 'er aen die niets en ontbreekt? Doch ik en en zelf van dit gevoelen niet, vervolgens wil ik diergelijke Approbatie van niemant verzoeken." See De Witte, *De geheele H. Schriftuur*, 1:ix.

115 Ps 118:18: "Open thou my eyes: and I will consider the wondrous things of thy law" (Douay-Rheims translation).

116 It is interesting to note that this chronology was partly based on the writings of the Jansenist Claude Lancelot, a friend of Sacy, and that it was also contained in the *Bible de Port-Royal*. See De Witte, *De geheele H. Schriftuur*, 2:530–538.

117 2 Tim 3:16: "All scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice" (Douay-Rheims translation). In his comment, De Witte focussed on the inspiration of Scripture, the distinction between the literal and the mystical meaning of Scripture and the decisions of Trent. See De Witte, *De geheele H. Schriftuur*, 2:538–539.

of the Church fathers. Second, he focussed on his own translation when he described the characteristics of a good translation. De Witte emphasized that it was generally impossible to make a decent translation from one language to another using the exact same words because of the specificities of each language.¹¹⁸ This was, for instance, the case for the translation of the first verses of the book Genesis. In other words, De Witte was not an advocate of a word-to-word translation. For some Hebrew words, for instance, it was very hard to find an appropriate Dutch equivalent. In addition, he discussed the evolution of the languages. The Latin language, for instance, had evolved into French, Italian and Spanish and De Witte stated that the same had happened with the biblical languages.

In the third paragraph of his preface, De Witte discussed his translation method. In line with his translation of the New Testament, the Latin Vulgate constituted the starting point, but he had also made use of the original texts and languages. He proved that neither the Hebrew of the Old Testament, nor the Greek of the New Testament, nor the Latin Vulgate were perfect and faultless.¹¹⁹ The fourth paragraph of the preface dealt with the decision of the Council of Trent to consider the Latin Vulgate as the authentic version for the Catholic Church. De Witte stated, on the basis of various *auctoritates*,¹²⁰ that this did not imply that the other original languages were abandoned. In the fifth paragraph, De Witte once again examined the finding that it was impossible to make a decent translation on the basis of a word-to-word rendering because every language had its own characteristics.¹²¹ He supported his statement by referring to the writings of Jerome. The last paragraph dealt with

118 "Maer dewijl nochte die rijkelijckheit, nochte die overeenkominge, in alle talen gevonden wordt, ja in 't tegendeel zommige zeer arm en mager zijn, zommige zeer dubbelzinnig, zommige zeer vreemd in hare uytdrukkingen (welke alles op een zekere wijze van de Hebreewsche tale gezeydt kan werden), zoo is het deurgaens onmogelijk een goede overzettinge, met de zelfde woorden, uyt eenige tael in een andere op te stellen, indien men de eygenste gedachten, die den eersten Schrijver gehadt heeft, in het verstandt van den lezer der nieuwe vertaling wil in-drukken, dat is, indien men eene oprechte, nauwkeurige, en natuurelijke vertalinge maken wil." See De Witte, *De geheele H. Schriftuur*, i:1.

119 "[...] nochte den Hebreewschen Tekst van 't Oude Testament, nochte den Griekschen van 't Nieuwe, nochte den Latijnschen dien men de Vulgate noemt, in alles gebrekkeloos oft volmaekt zijn; maer dat d'een door den anderen kunnen en moeten verbeterd, wederopgerecht, en herstelt worden." See De Witte, *De geheele H. Schriftuur*, i:iv.

120 He referred to the Franciscan monk Andreas Vega, Bellarmine, Salmerón, Serarius, Sixtus of Sienna, Driedo, Genebrardus and many more.

121 "Het waer te wenschen, dat men in alle vertalingen, en voornamelijk in die van de Heylige Schriftuur, de eygene woorden van het Origineel, oft van het oorspronkelijk afschrift, konde behouden, maer (gelijk wy hier-boven ten deele gehoord hebben) het is op vele plaetsen gansch onmogelijk dit met eenige fatsoenelijckheit oft gerijmheit te doen. Alle

some of the difficulties that a Bible translator could experience, for instance the translation of grammatical tenses, the Latin and Greek case system or the rendering of some prepositions. De Witte emphasized that he had rendered the literal meaning of Scripture and that its deeper meaning had to be discovered by the reader himself, helped by the Holy Spirit or competent ecclesiastical writers.¹²² In other words, if one did not understand Scripture, he had to summon the aid of others. De Witte concluded his preface with some remarks on the division of the Bible into verses and the Tridentine canon.

In line with the preface to his 1696 translation, De Witte repeated in a two-page preface to the New Testament that he considered the New Testament as a fulfilment of the Old Testament and as a useful rule of faith. Next, he provided a presentation of the different parts of the New Testament in order to initiate his readership in respectively the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline and Catholic Letters, and the Apocalypse.¹²³ De Witte concluded this short preface by stating that the medical doctor, the shepherd, the King, the saviour of souls, the reconciler, the high priest of the eternal tabernacle and the legislator of the new covenant – in other words Christ – could be found in the New Testament. It should be noted that, unlike the mention on the title page of 1696 New Testament translation, De Witte did not integrate a reference to the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* in his 1717 complete Bible translation.

4.1.3.4 Nachleben of De Witte's Translations

At first sight, the polemics surrounding De Witte's New Testament do not seem to have influenced his further works. The Emmerik New Testament was reprinted in 1698 in Emmerik and in 1702 simultaneously in Antwerp and Brussels.¹²⁴ De Witte's 1697 translation of the book of Psalms, entitled *Davids*

talen hebben hare bijzondere eyenschappen, en ook verscheyde uytdrukkingen, die met andere talen geen verdrag konnen maken." See De Witte, *De geheele H. Schriftuur*, 1:v.

122 "Den zin, daer wy hier van spreken, is den letterlijken zin, dien de woorden van zig uytgeven, en niet den geestelijken oft geheymen zin, dien vele H.H. Vaders voornamelijk voor ooghen gehad hebben in hunne uytleggingen. Maer dit en raekt het ampt van eenen vertaelder niet, die alleenlijk den *Grammaticalen* ofte letterlijken zin van zijn voorschrift moet uytdrukken, en de diepe geheyme zinnen der H. Schriftuur moet laten aen de godtvruchtigheyt der Geloovige, die ook de zelfde van den Heyligen Geest moeten afbidden, oft na-speuren in de boeken dewelke over deze verborgentheden door heylige mannen, by de H. Kerk aengenomen en goetdgekeurd, geschreven zijn." See De Witte, *De geheele H. Schriftuur*, 1:vii.

123 De Witte, *De geheele H. Schriftuur*, 2:262–264.

124 For an overview of De Witte's Bible production and the reprints, see table 37, p. 414 and following. It should be noted that the New Testament translations of De Witte and Van der Schuur are often confused.

Harp-sangen, was also subject to heavy criticism but was reprinted at least six times before 1725. That same year, Willem van Roost (1661–1746) canon and priest in Mechlin and considered a Catholic with Jansenist sympathies, published an anonymous reprint of De Witte's Psalter in Ghent.¹²⁵ The translation was approved by J. Verslype, book censor in Bruges. The text of the translation was a copy of De Witte's work, but the notes differed manifestly from the 1697 and 1717 editions. In 1728, Van Roost explicitly recommended the reading of De Witte's condemned New Testament for women, but he was declared a heretic, excommunicated and sentenced to a two-year imprisonment by the then Archbishop D'Alsace in an edict dated 1 August 1728. As a consequence, all his writings, including his translation of the Psalms, were condemned because they were said to contain heretical elements.¹²⁶ Van Roost defended himself in several letters directed to D'Alsace.¹²⁷

Notwithstanding the condemnation of his New Testament in 1712, De Witte's translation of the Old Testament, contained in his 1717 Bible translation, was never condemned and was even used in other publications. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, for instance, a book of pericopes was published, containing the Epistles and Gospels of the whole liturgical year translated into Dutch.¹²⁸ This book was reprinted several times in the following 150 years and was intended as a guide that the laity could use to prepare for, follow and ruminate on the liturgical readings (and even some liturgical prayers), with the assumption that further clarification would be given by a competent preacher. Quite surprisingly, the authors used De Witte's translation for the Old Testament pericopes.¹²⁹

125 Willem van Roost, *De Psalmen van David, met korte bemerkingen op den historischen, geestelijken en zedelijken zin* (Ghent, 1725).

126 Ouwens, "De Oud-Katholieke vertalingen," 143; De Clercq, *Cinq archevêques de Mechlin*, 1:224–226; J. Fruytier, "Roost (Willem van)," in *NNBW* 10, ed. Philippus Molhuysen, Petrus Blok, and Friedrich K.H. Kossmann (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1933), 883; Henri Coninckx, "Roost, Guillaume van," in *BN* 20 (Brussels: Bruylant, 1908–1910), 78–83; Van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, 3:657–658.

127 Willem van Roost, *Brieven van den eerw: heer Guilielmus van Roost [...] van Mechelen, aen een burger der zelfde stad. Waer in d'ongerechtigheid van het vonnis tegen hem aldaer uytgesproken door de cardinaal [...] word aangewezen uyt d'acten zelf* (Amsterdam, 1728).

128 The full title reads: *Epistelen en evangelien, te samen met de gebeden genaemt collecte, secrete en naer-communie, die door het geheel jaer onder den dienst der H. Misse gelezen worden volgens den Roomschen missael*.

129 Bernard Alfrink, "Over Nederlandsche Pericopenvertalingen," *Studia Catholica* 12 (1936), 204–218.

4.2 Andreas van der Schuur and Hendrick van Rhijn

4.2.1 *A Complete Bible Translation Compiled by Two Authors*

The second initiative for a so-called Jansenist Bible translation was taken around 1685 by vicar apostolic Van Neercassel when he entrusted his former secretary Andreas van der Schuur with the task of compiling a new and complete Dutch Bible translation. Is it a coincidence that this happened in the same period as De Precipiano issued his decree on vernacular Bible reading that would cause a great deal of controversy, not only in the diocese of Bruges, but both in the Southern and Northern Low Countries? Van der Schuur died in 1719 before finishing the translation project and the work was continued in 1725 by the Delft bookseller Hendrick van Rhijn. The complete Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn Bible translation was eventually published in 1732 in Utrecht.

Andreas van der Schuur, also known as Christianus Philirenus,¹³⁰ was born in Gorcum in 1656 and was trained as a priest in Louvain, just like Aegidius de Witte.¹³¹ After obtaining his licentiate in theology in Louvain, Van der Schuur returned to his native region.¹³² During his life, he held different ecclesiastical offices in various areas of the Northern Low Countries. He became secretary of Van Neercassel in 1680, but six months later he was transferred to Stompwijk to work there as a curate. After another six months, Van der Schuur was in The Hague, again in the function of curate. In 1683, he left The Hague and went to Enkhuizen, before being active in the pastorate in the parish of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rotterdam, also surnamed *The Paradise*. In Rotterdam, Van der Schuur caused commotion when he fulminated against the Jesuits through his sermons on predestination, justification and grace.¹³³ In 1684, Van der Schuur moved again, this time to Culemborg where he would live for eight years without giving up his struggle against the Jesuits. In Culemborg, Van der Schuur also started working on a vernacular Bible translation at the explicit demand of Van Neercassel. In 1689, the translation of the Gospels appeared. Three years

¹³⁰ For an overview of the pseudonyms used by Van der Schuur, see appendix 4, p. 405.

¹³¹ For biographical information on Andreas van der Schuur, see Ouwens, "De Oud-Katholieke vertalingen," 143–145; Anton van Duinkerken, *Bloemlezing uit de katholieke poëzie*, vol. 3 *Dichters der Emancipatie* (Bilthoven: De gemeenschap, 1939), 13–15; Polman, *Katholiek Nederland in de achttiende eeuw*, 1:343–344; "Andreas Van der Schuur," in *Oud-Katholiek* 2 (1886), 14–15; 3 (1886) 24.

¹³² Van Duinkerken, *Bloemlezing uit de katholieke poëzie*, 3:13.

¹³³ Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16^e en 17^e eeuw*, 2:304–305; Hendrikus J.W. Verhey, *Soli Deo gloria: geschiedenis van de Oud-Katholieke parochie van de Heilige Laurentius en Maria Magdalena te Rotterdam sedert de Hervorming tot 14 Mei 1940* (De Bilt: Patist, 1950), 35.

later, in 1692, Van der Schuur was transferred to Vianen, but soon resigned because of health problems and headed for Utrecht.

In Utrecht, Van der Schuur appears to have occupied himself chiefly with his translation work.¹³⁴ In 1692 appeared, beside a translation of the Psalms, a translation of the Acts, the Epistles of the New Testament and the Apocalypse. His complete translation of the New Testament was published in 1698¹³⁵ and reprinted in 1705. His Dutch translation of the Pentateuch was ready in 1715 and was published under the pseudonym A.V.S. Priester. That same year 1715, Van der Schuur was appointed canon of the metropolitan chapter of Utrecht. Two years later, in 1717, the translation of Joshua, Judges, Ruth and the four books of Kings was published. Van der Schuur died, however, on 15 January 1719 without completing his translation project.

Van der Schuur was known for his excellent knowledge of the Latin language. Quesnel for instance stated that Van der Schuur's Latin letters were written with such an elegance and politeness that he did not dare to answer the Dutch priest in Latin, because his own knowledge of the language left much to be desired.¹³⁶ At the end of his life, Quesnel also asked Van der Schuur to redact a Latin letter of thanks directed to the Rector of the Parisian University because he himself was no longer capable of doing so.¹³⁷

Van der Schuur conducted a correspondence with many learned men of his time and published three volumes of (partly polemical) letters in the years 1694, 1696 and 1697.¹³⁸ Letter 35, written in Latin and dated February 1690, was directed to Aegidius Candidus (or De Witte) who was still living in the Southern Low Countries at that time. In this letter, Van der Schuur referred to his 1687 Dutch work on Bible reading that replied to Martinus Harney's 1686 work *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden in het lesen der H. Schrif- ture in ghemeyne taele*.¹³⁹ Apparently, Harney had stated that he did not know Latin, but Van der Schuur refuted this assertion. The Louvain theologian had for instance attacked Arnould's French writings that caused commotion in the

¹³⁴ For an overview of Van der Schuur's Bible production and the subsequent reprints, see table 38, p. 420 and following.

¹³⁵ As already noted, the 1697 New Testament translation of De Witte and the 1698 New Testament translation of Van der Schuur are often confused.

¹³⁶ "Vos lettres sont écrites avec tant d'élégance et de politesse que je n'ose pas vous répondre en latin; le mien est trop grossier et il le paraîtrait encore davantage auprès du vôtre." See Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 207–208 (letter 101).

¹³⁷ See Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 546–547 (letter 294).

¹³⁸ Andreas van der Schuur, *Andreae Schurii Gorcomiensis, presbyteri s.t.p. Epistolarum*, 3 vols. (Utrecht, 1694–1697).

¹³⁹ For a discussion of this work, see p. 208.

South, and he had written the Latin treatise *De lectione gallicae translationis novi testamenti* in 1689.¹⁴⁰ Van der Schuur hoped to react to this work in Latin, which he eventually did in 1692 with his *Epistola Christiani Philireni ad Licum Candidianum insignem theologum*, directed against Harney.¹⁴¹

It is clear that Van der Schuur was also active as a polemicist and that he wrote treatises on various topics, including vernacular Bible reading, as will be demonstrated in the next section of this paragraph. In 1684–1685, Van der Schuur reacted vehemently to Hazart's *Triumph vande christelycke leere ofte Grooten catechismus* in three writings. In 1699, Van der Schuur reacted to a theological disputation that had been held on 24 November in Louvain under the presidency of Steyaert. The disputation discussed a new “Belgian” (*Belgico*) translation of the *Salve Regina* or *Hail Holy Queen*, one of four Marian antiphons, that had probably been printed in Utrecht.¹⁴²

Van der Schuur was also close friends with De Witte and invited him to come to Utrecht in 1693, but on some doctrinal points both men held different views, as revealed in their polemic on the five Jansenist propositions.¹⁴³ In 1707, De Witte had written his *Nouvelle apologie de la sainte doctrine de monsieur Jansenius* or *New Apology of the Holy Doctrine of Mr Jansenius* in reaction to an anonymous Jesuit treatise that had attacked Jansenius's teachings.¹⁴⁴ He was firmly opposed to the fact that Rome had condemned the five propositions in the papal bull *Cum Occasione* in 1653. According to De Witte, the five Jansenist propositions had been formulated in such a way that it was possible to understand them in a Calvinist, Pelagian, Arian, Nestorian, Eutychian and Catholic way. In this work, he also attacked the Molinist understanding of free will that he considered as a chimaera. When Van der Schuur read De Witte's treatise, he

140 “Habes Librum nostrum de legenda scriptura sacra adversus magistrum Harnaem quem te cupere dicebas, misissem iam dudum, si quem hominum nactus fuisset, qui tantillum oneris voluisset suspicere. Harnaes respondit nescio quid latine. Scilicet apud *Plebem* accusatus, apud *Senatum* causam dicit, homo plane facetus, qui posteaquam Arnaldum gallice scribentem Libro suo male Belgico provocavit, nunc mihi homini Batavo patria lingua adversus illum expostulandi, latine, si Musis placet, respondet: propediem etiam Opus aliquod *justae molis* eadem lingua pariturus in lucem.” See Van der Schuur, *Andreae Schurii Gorcomiensis, presbyteri s.t.p. Epistolarum*, 1236–137.

141 For a discussion of this work, see p. 313–314.

142 Andreas van der Schuur, *Adsertio hymni Mariani, cujus est initium Salve regina, carmine Belgico translati: adversus disputationem academicam eximii Domini ac Magistri Martini Steyaertii Somerghemii* (n.p., 1699).

143 Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M.G. De Witte*, 94–137.

144 Aegidius de Witte, *Nouvelle apologie de la sainte doctrine de Monsieur Jansenius evesque d'Ipre touchant les cinq propositions pour servir de response à un escrit calomnieux qui a pour titre: Le veritable esprit des nouveaux disciples de S. Augustin* (n.p., 1707).

was not pleased with it because he feared that this radical and outspoken work would harm the relationship between the Catholic Church of the North and the Roman court. Therefore, Van der Schuur, who was an advocate of the Clementine Peace, wrote a calming and conciliatory Latin work in 1708 in name of the Dutch clergy entitled *Irenikon, sive Epistola pacifica Christiani Philireni* (*Irenikon or Pacifying Letter of Christianus Philirenus*) in order to correct De Witte gently.¹⁴⁵ In his work, Van der Schuur accused De Witte of recklessness for having attacked the pure and simple subscription to the five propositions and having disturbed the *silence respectueux* (*respectuous silence*). He also examined the dispute on the Form of Alexander VII in detail and the statements contained in the various papal bulls that had been issued on the occasion of the controversy. De Witte could not refrain from reacting and composed his *Polemicon, sive Bellica expostulatio Catholici Philaletis* (*Polemicon or Warlike Protest of the Catholic Philaletes*).¹⁴⁶ He principally attacked Van der Schuur's attempts to save the (fake) peace and the union between the Church of Holland and Rome. Contrary to Van der Schuur, De Witte was a vehement opponent of the *silence respectueux*. His main goal was to demonstrate that the doctrine of Jansenius and Augustine were one and the same. Consequently, the papal bulls that condemned Jansenius's teachings also condemned the ideas of the bishop of Hippo. De Witte encouraged his readership to read Jansenius's work so that they would see that he was right. He furthermore affirmed that there was no consensus at all among the Catholics about the interpretation of the five propositions. De Witte concluded that this dispute did not mean the end of his intense friendship with Van der Schuur, distinguishing between his writings and his person.

To conclude, Van der Schuur was also active as poet and as a translator of poetry, as already demonstrated in the introduction to this study. In 1705, he appears to have issued a first edition of the work *Rijmdigten en Gezangen* or *Poems and Songs*.¹⁴⁷ Four years later, in 1709, a second and revised edition of this work appeared, entitled *Christelijke Rijmdigten en Gezangen* or *Christian Poems and Songs*, which consisted of revised, updated and reissued translations of biblical and ecclesiastical poetry in Dutch, Latin, Latin-Dutch and

145 Christianus Philirenus (= Andreas van der Schuur), *Irenikon, sive Epistola pacifica Christiani Philireni* (n.p., 1708).

146 Aegidius de Witte, *Polemicon, sive Bellica expostulatio Catholici Philaletis adversus Irenikon, sive epistolam pacificam Christiani Philireni* (n.p., 1708).

147 A.V.S. (= Andreas van der Schuur), *Rijmdigten en Gezangen. Met een aenwas van nieuwe stukken* (n.p., 1705).

French-Dutch.¹⁴⁸ In the poems from his own hand, Van der Schuur took a more personal tone. In the foreword to this edition, he reflected on the essence and the function of poetry.¹⁴⁹

After the death of Van der Schuur in 1717, new life was put into the translation project in 1725 by the Delft bookseller Hendrick van Rhijn¹⁵⁰ at the request of Archbishop Barchman Wuytiers. It is important to note that in the meantime the Old-Catholic schism had taken place in 1723. Van Rhijn was born in 1660, probably in Naaldwijk. It is hard to find out when exactly he arrived in Delft due to a lack of information on his childhood and youth. This event probably happened at a young age as Van Rhijn is called the *juvenis Delphensis* in a letter of Van Neercassel.¹⁵¹ In the early 1680s, Van Rhijn went to Louvain to study theology, but most probably, his weak eyes forced him to abandon his studies. Van Neercassel wrote indeed that Van Rhijn had *la vue faible* and mentioned in an introductory letter to the abbot of Orval that Van Rhijn did not have *vivaciores oculos*.¹⁵² Indeed, in August 1685, Van Rhijn went to the Cistercian abbey of Orval and received his habit on 14 November of that same year. The abbot Charles von Bentzeradt had high expectations of his new novice, but these were not redeemed. Van Rhijn left the abbey at an unknown date. He went again to Delft to start a bookshop and on 25 March 1690, he married Anna Ariensdochter van Berckel.

Van Rhijn printed many Jansenist-inspired works in Delft. In 1699, 1703, 1715 and 1719 he reprinted De Witte's translation of the Psalms and in 1700 and 1705, he printed respectively two partial and one complete translation of Van der Schuur's New Testament translation.¹⁵³ At that time, the city of Delft was a breeding ground for Jansenist ideas and the residence of several of their

148 The subtitle of the work states: "Vertaelingen uit de Heilige Schriften, Kerkelijke Boeken, aloude en laetere Schrijvers: mitsgaders Lofzangen, Maegdebruiloftzangen, Gezangen op de Geheimenissen, Zegendigten, Beeldspreuken, Bruilofte en Grafdigten: als ook eenige Kerkgezangen in de Latijnsche taele" and they were described as "niewlijks opgehelderd, veelszins verrijkt, in goeden schik gebragt, en aldus andermael in 't ligt gegeven." See A.V.S. Priester L.D.G. (= Andreas van der Schuur), *Christelijke rijmdigten en gezangen* (Utrecht, 1709).

149 Van Duinkerken, *Bloemlezing uit de katholieke poëzie*, 314.

150 In the older literature, Hendrick van Rhijn is often miscalled Hugo, probably in imitation of Hugo Franciscus van Heussen (1654–1719) whose works he translated in Dutch. For biographical information on Hendrick van Rhijn, see Ouwens, "De Oud-Katholieke vertalingen," 145; Polman, *Katholiek Nederland in de achttiende eeuw*, 110, 119, 244; Antoon Joseph van de Ven, "Hendrick van Rhijn (c. 1660–1732)," *Het Boek* 34, no. 3 (1960–1961), 183–195.

151 Van de Ven, *Hendrick van Rhijn (c. 1660–1732)*, 184.

152 Van de Ven, *Hendrick van Rhijn (c. 1660–1732)*, 186.

153 See table 38, p. 421–422.

leaders, for instance Arnould, Gerberon and Quesnel. During his stay in Delft, Van Rhijn moved in the Catholic and intellectual circles and this way he met Joannes Christiaan van Erkel, the pastor of the beguinage that was an important foyer of Jansenism.

Van Rhijn also applied himself to scholarly research and contributed to a publication on the city of Delft.¹⁵⁴ He worked as a collaborator of Hugo Franciscus van Heussen, the author of the famous works *Batavia Sacra* (1714) and *Historia episcopatum Foederati Belgii* (1719). Van Heussen was dean of the Dom chapter and vicar general in Utrecht and played an important part in the struggle of the Church of Utrecht against Rome. Van Rhijn translated Van Heussen's Latin works in Dutch shortly after their publication. The six-volume translation of the *Batavia Sacra* appeared in 1726 in Leyden under the title *Kerkelijke historie en Outheden der zeven Vereenigde Provinciën* (*Ecclesiastical History and Antiquities of the Seven United Provinces*) and accompanied by Van Rhijn's notes. He also provided the translation of several works that were used in the struggle of the Church of Utrecht against Rome. However, it is difficult to find out to what extent Van Rhijn defended the Jansenist point of view. As already mentioned above, he completed the Bible translation of Andreas van Schuur, published in 1732. Van Rhijn died that same year on 18 April and was buried in the Old Church in Delft. Although he must have been able to have a look at most of the printing proofs of the translation, he had already died when Barchman Wuytiers signed the approval.

4.2.2 *Van der Schuur and His Ideas on Vernacular Bible Reading*

In line with his compatriot and fellow translator De Witte, Van der Schuur was an ardent defender of vernacular Bible reading by all faithful, women and simple people included. He considered the practice as an obligation, following the principles of Port-Royal. He relied on the Tradition of the Church, and particularly on the writings of the Church fathers and, to a lesser degree, on the authority of the Councils. In line with Van Neercassel, Van der Schuur (wrongly) ascribed the Tridentine rules to the Pope and stated that the *Regula Quarta* had been a temporary measure that had been issued as a reaction to the assertions of the Protestants, but that was no longer valid. Catholic faithful had to be encouraged to read reliable vernacular Bible translation, but in case of doubts, they had to rely on the teachings of the Church and preceptors.

¹⁵⁴ Reinier Boitet, *Beschryving der stad Delft, behelzende een zeer naaukeurige en uitvoerige verhandeling van deszelfs eerste oorsprong, benaming, bevolking, aanwas, gelegenheid, prachtige en kunstige gedenkstukken en zeltzaamheden* (Delft, 1729).

A good summary of his views can be found in the work *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan d'eenvoudigen* (*The Sanctuary Unlocked for the Simple*), published in 1685, in which he learned the faithful to address God in prayer and informed them about God's presence in Scripture.¹⁵⁵ According to the information on the title page, the work had been printed by Arnold van den Eynden in Utrecht. The work was approved by the book censors Johannes Lacman and J.D. Cuyper on 17 January 1685 in Mechlin. It is striking that throughout this work, Van der Schuur referred to the *Regula Quarta* as "the prohibition on vernacular Bible reading without permission."¹⁵⁶

't Heiligdom onsloten aan d'eenvoudigen consists of two parts with a separate pagination.¹⁵⁷ In the seven chapters of the first part, Van der Schuur elaborated on the role and the purpose of prayer in Christian faith and the prerequisites to pray properly. Furthermore, he discussed how the faithful should address God in their prayers and clarified the precepts of interior prayer on the basis of various *auctoritates*. Van der Schuur explicitly connected interior prayer to the reading of Scripture, in particular of the Psalms. In the three chapters of the second part of his treatise, Van der Schuur focussed more on Scripture and the permissibility of vernacular Bible reading for the faithful. In the introduction, he already emphasized the important role of Scripture, and particularly of the New Testament, as the rule according which one had to live.¹⁵⁸ In line with the Church fathers, he considered Scripture as food and comfort for the simple, but also as a rule, testament and the letter of God, directed to all his

155 A.V.S. (= Andreas van der Schuur), *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan d'eenvoudigen: waar in geleerd word, hoe men Godt aanspreekt in 't gebed, en hem hoord spreken in de Heilige Schriftuur*, 2 vols. (Utrecht, 1685). In a short note to the reader at the outset of the work, Van der Schuur made mention of an unknown and sudden event that had taken place in 1684 and that had urged him to finish and to print the present work rather quickly. As a result, the second part of the treatise was considerably shorter and the work contained several (spelling) mistakes. Van der Schuur proposed to correct these inaccuracies and to complete the work in a second print. This 1684 event could have been Van der Schuur's move from Rotterdam, where he had caused commotion with his fulminations against the Jesuits, to Culemborg.

156 For instance: "Zoodanig was ook 't gebod van de Schriftuur zonder oorlof niet lezen in de moederlijke taal [...]" See A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan d'eenvoudigen*, 2:52.

157 The pagination of the second volume runs immediately from 62 to 73, probably because the book has been printed hastily.

158 "De Heilige Schriftuur, en voornamelijk dat deel, 't welk men noemt het Nieuwe Testament, is de Regul na de welke alle onze zeden en geheel ons leven moeten bestierd worden." See A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan d'eenvoudigen*, 1: introduction.

children. Scripture was not dangerous, but useful and beneficial because it increased the love of God and the heavenly wisdom.¹⁵⁹

In the first chapter, Van der Schuur discussed the teachings of the Church on Bible reading on the basis of God's Word and the writings of the Church fathers. He started by demonstrating that right from the beginning Bible reading had been considered beneficial for all people. In other words, the Bible was not a closed and inaccessible book, like the Ark of the Covenant, but had to be unlocked for all faithful, as the title of his treatise already indicated.¹⁶⁰ In the following chapters, Van der Schuur discussed the views of four important Church fathers in order to reinforce his own point of view. He started by stating that Jerome's experience with and his knowledge of the Bible were unequalled and the Church father held the opinion that not only men were allowed to read Scripture, but also children, virgins, married women and widows.¹⁶¹ Next, Van der Schuur dealt with Augustine's position vis-à-vis Bible reading. The bishop of Hippo affirmed that Scripture should be read and reread on a daily basis. Moreover, the reading of Scripture not only protected the faithful against errors and heresies, but also guided them to piety and salvation.¹⁶² Van der Schuur also studied Gregory the Great's ideas on Bible reading. According to this Latin Church father, Scripture was suitable for all levels of intellect: it was

159 "Eindelijk wy zullen zien, dat de Schriftuur niet gevaarlijk is; maar geheel nut en zalig is aan de genen die door 't lezen der zelve niet anders betragten, dan aan te wassen in de liefde Gods en in een Hemelsche wijsheid." See A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2: introduction.

160 "Deshalven wy zullen besluiten, dat de Heilige Schriftuur niet gelijk is aan dat deel van 't Tabernakel des Verbonds, 't gene men noemde 't Heilig der Heiligen, 't welk maar was voor d'Opperpriester, en daar 't gemeene volk noit aan mogt naderen: maar dat hier in tegendeel alle Godvrugtige zielen met betrouwen mogen ingaan, als zijnde een Heiligdom onsloten aan D'Eenvoudigen." See A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2: 7–8.

161 "De Heilige Jeronimus, die in ervarendheid en kennis der H. Schriftuur zijn gelijk onder de Kerkelijke Schrijvers noit gehad heeft, was dan niet van gevoelen, dat deselve alleen voor geleerde mannen was gegeven; maar verhefte zoo veel te hooger den lof der kinderen, der maagden, der getrouwde vrouwen en weduwen, hoe zy zig met meerder iver en volständigkeit oefenden in 't lezen der H. Schriftuur." See A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2: 15–16.

162 "Hy oordeelde dat men door 't lezen der H. Schriftuur in 't geloof bevestigd, en tegen alle dwalingen versterkt wierde [...]. Hy oordeelde, dat de Schriftuur bevatte al wat men elders beschreven vind, 't gene tot de godvrugtigheid en zaligheid dienstig is; en dat zy boven dien veel heilige onderwijzingen in hare wonderbare diepzinnigheid en nedrigheid behelsde, die in geen andre boeken te vinden zijn." See A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2: 23.

not only solid food for the older ones, but also milk for the infants.¹⁶³ Finally, Van der Schuur discussed the position of Chrysostom on Bible reading rendered in his often quoted third homily on Lazarus.¹⁶⁴ The Greek Church father emphasized that all faithful had to read Scripture and had to study its meaning before going to Church so they would better understand the sermons.¹⁶⁵ Chrysostom stated furthermore that all heresies had originated out of scriptural ignorance. If the faithful did not understand Scripture, they had to direct themselves to learned men and preceptors. In short, the reading of Scripture in general, and that of the New Testament in particular, was considered as very useful and salutary for all people. On the basis of the testimonies of these four Church fathers, Van der Schuur affirmed that Bible reading should be considered as an obligation for all Christians and that the Bible was an inexhaustible source of spiritual wisdom for everyone.

In the second chapter, Van der Schuur discussed the relation between Bible reading for all and the “prohibition from the Congregation of the Index,” i.e. the *Regula Quarta*, that affirmed that the faithful were allowed to read the Bible, as long as they had the (written) permission to do so. First, Van der Schuur affirmed that this rule had been compiled and installed to protect the common faithful against scriptural abuses and heresies, given their ignorance.¹⁶⁶ However, the *Regula Quarta* was no longer valid because faithful were now better instructed in the basic precepts of faith and could distinguish Catholic truths from heresies. In addition, they knew that they had to interpret God’s Word according to the Traditions of the Church.¹⁶⁷ In this context, Van der Schuur distinguished between two kinds of orders: on the one hand, the laws of nature

163 “Hy wil niet, dat imand om zijner eigen zwakheids wille, of om de diepzinnigheid en verhevenheid van ‘t goddelijk Woord, werde afgeschrikt van ‘t zelve te lezen: vermits, gelijk hy zeit, de Schriftuur zig voegt na allerleie verstanden; en niet alleen kloeke spijsje voor de grooten, maar ook een geestelijken melk tot voedsel van de kinderen in zig besluit.” See A.V.S., ‘*t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:26.

164 A.V.S., ‘*t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:34–46.

165 “Hy wil dat men de Schriftuur moet lezen en den zin der zelve navorschen, eer men na de Kerk gaat; om de Predikatiën zoo veel te ligter en beter te vatten.” See A.V.S., ‘*t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:40–41.

166 “Dit verbod is toen gegeven om dat de menschen ter oorzaak van hunne groote onwetendheid de H. Schriftuure zeer vermetelijk misbruikten; waar toe de vervalschte Overzettingen des Bijbels, en de zwevende ketterijen van die tijden, die nog niet genoegzaam waren onderscheiden, en daar zig derhalven ‘t gemeene volk naulijx voor konde wagten, niet weinig medewerkten.” See A.V.S., ‘*t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:48.

167 “Zoo dat het misbruik der H. Schriftuur voor de Catholijken, die door de Heilige Kerk in de grondpunten huns geloofs onderrigt zijn, zeer weinig meer te vrezen is; en by gevolg ‘t gebod van de gemelde Vergadering geen plaats meer heeft in onze tijden.” See A.V.S., ‘*t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:50.

that contained an eternal and immutable justification and could not be changed by humankind; on the other, the temporary laws, installed for specific reasons, for instance the classical example of the law expressed in Ac 15:20¹⁶⁸ that had been abolished, or the *Regula Quarta* that was no longer valid. Moreover, the faithful would experience more harm than good if they did not read Scripture. Second, Van der Schuur discussed the writings of some contemporary authors in favour of Bible reading, particularly those of the Bible translator and bishop of Vence Antoine Godeau,¹⁶⁹ the French Jesuit and Bible translator François Véron, who affirmed that the *Regula Quarta* had not been implemented in France,¹⁷⁰ and the German Jesuit Nicolaus Serarius (1555–1609).¹⁷¹ He applied their findings on the situation in the Low Countries and stated that Scripture was not a closed sanctuary, but had to be unlocked for everybody, including the simple. Van der Schuur concluded this paragraph with a reference to the ninth chapter of Van Neercassel's *Tractatus de lectione Scripturarum*. Third, Van der Schuur proposed to demonstrate that it was not absolutely necessary to read Scripture to obtain salvation. He referred in this context to some protagonists of the Old Testament and the first Christians who did not have the Gospels at their disposal, but still had been saved. Also in his time, there were Christians that were prevented from reading Scripture for various reasons. However, because they were instructed in the necessary points of faith and led a Christian and Godly life, they could also be saved.¹⁷² Next, Van der Schuur referred to the writings of Ireneus, Tertullian and Augustine on this topic.

The third and last chapter listed three prerequisites for reading Scripture successfully. First, the reader should have a pure heart. Reading Scripture with

168 Ac 15:20: "But that we write unto them, that they refrain themselves from the pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood" (Douay-Rheims translation). See A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:51–52.

169 A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:55–58. Godeau had published in 1668 his *Version expliquée du Nouveau Testament*. This was both a literal translation of the New Testament and a paraphrase. See Chédozeau, "La Bible française chez les Catholiques," 138–140.

170 A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:58–75 (= 65). Véron had published a New Testament translation in 1647. See Chédozeau, "La Bible française chez les Catholiques," 138–140.

171 A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:75–76 (= 65–66). Serarius wrote several commentaries on several books of the Old Testament, for instance on Tobias, Judith, Esther and Maccabees.

172 "En huidendaags worden 'er nog eenige gevonden, welkers natuurlijke dommigheid, of andere onmijdelijk beletsels niet toelaten, dat ze zig veel oefenen in 't lezen der Heilige Schriftuur: dewelke nogtans door de leering der Heilige Kerk van de noodige geloofspunten onderrigt zijnde, door een Kristelijk leven en Godvrezenden wandel d'eeuwige zaligheid aantreffen." A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:81 (= 71).

an impure heart could lead to heresies. Second, the reader needed to be humble because heresies arose from false and temerarious interpretations from Scripture. Third, the reader had to be prudent and had to read the Bible in accordance with his lifestyle. The book Tobias was for instance suitable for married people, while the letters of Paul to Timothy and Titus should be read by the leaders of the Church. Van der Schuur also referred to the advices given by Origen and Jerome in this regard.

A vehement reaction to Van der Schuur's work came in 1690, when the Carmelite Alexander a Sancta Teresia wrote a large refutation entitled *'t Heylighdom besloten* (*The Closed Sanctuary*).¹⁷³ Van der Schuur reacted with two letters, both published in 1691.¹⁷⁴ Since this paragraph particularly focuses on the position of Van der Schuur, the refutation of A Sancta Teresia and the reply of Van der Schuur will not be discussed. The analysis of *'t Heilighdom onslooten aan deenvoudigen* (*The Sanctuary Unlocked for the Simple*) has made clear that Van der Schuur was a vehement defender of vernacular Bible reading for the laity. He wrote several, sometimes polemical, works in Dutch and Latin to defend his position on this issue. The following two sections therefore focus on the one hand on Van der Schuur's fierce reaction on the writings of the Louvain theologian Harney and on the other on his passionate plea for making the Bible accessible for all faithful without distinction, and particularly the simple people.

4.2.2.1 A Fierce Reaction to Martinus Harney's Ideas

In 1687, Van der Schuur published a two-volume Dutch work entitled *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken in het lezen der H. Schrifture* (*Alleged Freedom of the Simple Catholics in the Reading of Sacred Scripture*) under the pseudonym A.A.P.L.D.G.¹⁷⁵ In this work, he took position against Harney's ideas on

173 Alexander a Sancta Teresia, *'t Heylighdom besloten, waer in wordt betoont dat de H. Kerck op doot-sonde heeft verboden het door-gaens lesen der H. Schriftuer, in de Moederlycke tael: en dat dit verbodt noch verbindt in onsen tydt ende landen* (Ypres, 1690).

174 Andreas van der Schuur, *Zendbrief van A. vander Schuer, priester, Licentiaet de H. Godgeleerdheid in de Hoogeschoole van Leuven, Aen den E.P. Alexander à Sancta Teresia: wegens het boekjen genaemd, Het heilighdom ontslooten aen deenvoudigen* (Antwerp [= Leiden?], 1691); Andreas van der Schuur, *Tweede zendbrief van A. vander Schuer priester, Licentiaet de H. Godgeleerdheid in de Hoogeschoole van Leuven, Aen den E.P. Alexander à Sancta Teresia: wegens het boekjen genaemd, Het heilighdom ontslooten aen deenvoudigen* (Antwerp [= Leiden?], 1691). Since this section particularly focuses on the position of Van der Schuur, the refutation of A Sancta Teresia and the reply of Van der Schuur will not be discussed.

175 A.A.P.L.D.G. (= A. van der Schuur), *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken in het lezen der H. Schrifture: of Kort en bondig antwoord op d'ydele betragtingen waer mede d'Eerwaerdige Pater Martinus Harney Leeraer der Godgeleerdheid het doorgaens lezen van*

vernacular Bible reading. Throughout this work, Van der Schuur again did not use the denomination *Regula Quarta*, contrary to Harney, but simply spoke of “the prohibition on vernacular Bible reading without permission.” According to the information on the respective title pages, the work came of the press in Fryburg (Freiburg),¹⁷⁶ but this was a fictitious address. It was probably printed in the Low Countries because the printing approvals had been given in Mechlin on 23 December 1686 and on 20 February 1687 by book censor J. De Cuyper. The treatise was composed in the form of twelve letters, six in each volume, and revealed Van der Schuur’s marked preference for writings in the form of correspondence.

The first volume started with a short preface in which Van der Schuur explained that his work had a double objective. On the one hand, he aimed at demonstrating on the basis of the teachings of the Church fathers that also the simple faithful of his time had the freedom to read the Bible in their mother tongue for their learning and instruction, as well as for their comfort and edification. On the other, he aimed at refuting Harney’s 1686 work entitled *Redelycke gehoorsaemheyt der Catholycke Nederlanden in het lesen der H. Schrifture in ghemeyne taele* because this work defended the opposite point of view. Van der Schuur stated that he would do so with the necessary respect for the Louvain master, distinguishing between his ideas and his person. Next, he explained that he had compiled this work under the form of short and concise letters because this format allowed him to come straight to the point. The six letters of the first volume were written between 12 November and 17 December 1686, while the six remaining letters of the second volume were compiled between 3 January and 10 February 1687.

The twelve letters can be considered as the steps of a reasoning to refute Harney’s 1686 treatise. By way of introduction, the first letter discussed Harney’s attitude towards Arnould, towards the writer of the work *Gods Woord Verdedigd* (probably Van Neercassel) and towards Suivius. Van der Schuur affirmed that he had examined Harney’s work closely and concluded that Suivius would praise it because it was in favour of his ideas, instead of those of Van Neercassel. He wondered, however, why Harney had directed his work against Arnould, while in fact he reacted against Van Neercassel’s statements on vernacular Bible reading that were contained in the ninth chapter of the Latin, French and Dutch versions of the vicar apostolic’s *Tractatus de lectio*

Gods woord onder d'oprege gelovigen onlangs heeft pogen te bestrijden vervat in verscheide Brieven aen een Vriend geschreven, 2 vols. (Fryburg, 1687).

176 The title page of the second volume contains a spelling mistake: Eryburg instead of Fryburg.

scripturarum. This was probably to prevent the publication of works in favour of Van Neercassel because he was a more important figure than Arnould in the Northern Low Countries. Consequently, more people would be willing to defend the vicar apostolic, even though he had passed away. Next, Van der Schuur dealt with the authorship of *Gods Woord Verdedigd*. Basing himself on the clues offered in the pamphlet, he identified the author as Van Neercassel although he did not explicitly mention his name. With regard to Harney's reaction on the ideas of Arnould, Van Neercassel and Suivius, Van der Schuur affirmed that he understood Harney's statements. The main goal of his work remained, however, to refute these allegations and to show that all faithful of his time were allowed to read the Bible in the vernacular.

The second letter discussed the twofold structure of Harney's work. Van der Schuur agreed with the opinion of one of his friends that the treatise had to be considered as a collection of absurdities.¹⁷⁷ He stated that Harney aimed at proving three things in the first part of his work: (1) the *Regula Quarta* had been issued at the request of Pius IV; (2) the *Regula Quarta* had been promulgated in the Low Countries; (3) the *Regula Quarta* is reasonable. Van der Schuur did not deny the reasonability of the *Regula Quarta* but, in line with Van Neercassel, he stated that this prohibition had to be considered as a temporary measure that now had lost its validity and that faithful had the freedom to read the vernacular Bible. Consequently, the question of who exactly had issued this prohibition had become superfluous. Harney's attempts to demonstrate that the *Regula Quarta* was (still) valid in the Low Countries were in vain and unfounded. According to Van der Schuur, the Council had ordered the examination of suspect and harmful books, but had not prohibited vernacular Bible reading. He concluded by affirming that Harney simply had followed the (doctrinal) trend of attacking Jansenism.¹⁷⁸

In the third letter, Van der Schuur argued that only two points of interest could be deduced from Harney's treatise: (1) The position of Tradition concerning Bible reading by the faithful; (2) The question whether either the opinion of the Church fathers or that of Harney and the 1685 bull from Bruges by De Precipiano had to be followed. In addition, Van der Schuur remarked again that Harney's lengthy book was full of inaccuracies and far-fetched arguments,

177 "Men spreekt van 't Boek van P. Harney niet anders dan van een samenraepinge van ongerymdheden." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 18.

178 "Edog wat raed, 't is niet alleen in kleedinge, maer ook in 't stuk van leeringe, dat men zig om door de wereld te komen, nu en dan een weinig naer de *Mode* moet voegen. En 't is nu de *Mode*, dat men tegen die gekkelijke en ongevoeglijke Jansenisten lustig moet kyven. Die Theologie schijnt althans wel den meesten trek te hebben." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 30.

for instance his elaborate passage on Erasmus, who had permitted Bible reading to everybody, even to a farmer or a smith. Moreover, the Louvain master had made several careless mistakes, not only in his translation of Bible passages, but also in his rendering of quotations of Van Neercassel and Arnould.¹⁷⁹

The fourth letter dealt with the central topics of Van der Schuur's treatise: (1) What did Tradition tell about Bible reading by common people?; (2) Should these old teachings still be observed? Van der Schuur started with an important remark on the distinction between vernacular Bible reading as a rule (*doorgaens*) and the indiscriminate reading of the vernacular Bible (*zonder onderscheid*). Although it was generally allowed, useful and beneficial to read the vernacular Bible, a threefold distinction had to be made between who could read the Bible – all people with the exclusion of presumptuous people and people unwilling to learn –, which translations had to be read, namely good and sincere Catholic Bible translations, and which Bible books had to be read, as Jerome had stated that some Bible books were easier to understand than others. In other words, the faithful were generally incited to read the vernacular Bible, particularly the Gospels and the other books of the New Testament.¹⁸⁰ Van der Schuur referred in this regard to the Jews and their habit to read the Bible. On basis of several authorities, among other Jansenius of Ghent and his interpretation of *Scrutamini Scripturas*,¹⁸¹ Van der Schuur concluded that it always had been a sacred duty to read the Bible and that Jews and Christians read the Bible not only in the synagogue or the church, but also at home.¹⁸²

In the fifth letter, Van der Schuur reacted against the bad quality of Harney's chapter on the Church fathers.¹⁸³ Harney had counted Chrysostom, Jerome,

179 "Ik heb reeds in den voorgaenden Brief aengemerkt, hoe dat men niet al te vaerdig moet aennemen al wat *Pater Harney* uit andere schryvers bybrengt, zonder die alvoren zelf te hebben nagezien." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 43.

180 "'t Is dan niet *zonder onderscheid*, maer met dit drielovdig onderscheid van Personen, Vertalingen en Boeken, dat het *doorgaens* lezen der H. Schrifture den Gelovigen word aangeprezen: en wel voornamelijk d'Evangelien en andere boeken des nieuwes Testaments." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 50.

181 Van der Schuur probably referred to his *Commentaria in sacrosanctum Iesv Christi evangelium secvndvm Lvcam*, published in 1574.

182 "Dat de Joden altyd bezig waren met de Schrifturen te lezen en t'onderzoeken, dat Christus hen deze oeffening aenprees, of immers de zelve niet tegensprak maer goedkeurde [...]." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 62.

183 "De zwakheid zyner antwoorden, die als een stroo door den vloed worden weggespoeld, zyn alleen bequaem om elkeen, die nog mogt twyfelen, t' overtuigen, dat de genen die Gods Woord verdedigen en de nuttigheid van 't doorgaens lezen deszelfs beweyren,

Augustine and Gregory the Great among the most vehement advocates of Bible reading,¹⁸⁴ but only briefly refuted Chrysostom's argumentation in his work without even mentioning the passages under discussion. Van der Schuur argued that the Church fathers had encouraged the general reading of Scripture, but that because of many abuses, Pius IV had installed a prohibition. However, this prohibition was only a temporary measure that now had lost its validity. Consequently, the faithful were again allowed to read the Bible, in line with the ideas of the Church fathers and Van Neercassel's argumentation.¹⁸⁵ Next, Van der Schuur invalidated several other arguments that Harney had invoked against Chrysostom's ideas.

In the sixth letter, Van der Schuur refuted Harney's interpretation of Gregory of Nazianze. He pointed at the important difference between reading Scripture and explaining or disputing Scripture on the basis of eight propositions from Gregory of Nazianze.¹⁸⁶ Only the learned and those who had been called, i.e. priests, pastors and preceptors, were allowed to explain and to dispute Scripture. Gregory of Nazianze had not made any statements that prohibited Bible reading. However, those who were dumb and those who were insatiable and imperious were forbidden to dispute Scripture.¹⁸⁷ Van der Schuur emphasized that Gregory of Nazianze had not reprimanded (young) women who read the Bible (*Bybeljuffrouwen*), contrary to Suivius. He concluded his letter by

d'Oudvaders aen hunnen zyde hebben." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 79.

184 "Deze drie of vier Oudvaders die het lezen der H. Schrifture op het aldersterkste aenprijzen, zyn volgens den Eerw. Pater de Heilige Jan Guldemonst of Chrisostomus, Jeronimus, Augustinus en de paus Gregorius, bygenaemd de Groote." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 66.

185 "[...] dat het Verbod van Pius den Vierden rakende 't lezen der H. Schrifture in de gemeine talen de Christenen niet meer verbind." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 72.

186 "Ik heb nu reeds doen opmerken, dat het wat anders is het lezen der H. Schrifture, en wat anders het verhandelen van al wat de Schriftuer aengaet aen sommige menschen te verbieden of te bepalen." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 87. For the propositions of Gregory of Nazianze, see Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 88–91.

187 "Maert 't gene hier verdient aenmerkt te worden, is dat de H. Gregorius het disputeren van hoogwigtige en sware hoofdpunten des geloofs niet alleen wilt verboden hebben aen de genen die *gansch dom en bot* zyn; maer ook aen de genen die *al t' onverzadelyk of te heerschtzigtig* zyn: dat is, niet alleen aen sommige *Bybelbroeders* en *Bybelzusters*, maer ook aen die *Bybelmeesters*, welke zig inbeelden dat zy alle de wysheid alleen bezitten, en daerom overal willen gelyk hebben, voor niemand willen zwigten, en somtyds hoger willen vliegen dan hunnen vleugels kunnen verdragen." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 92–93.

stating that the teachings of the Church fathers were left untouched: the Holy Spirit had given Scripture to the Church so that all faithful could generally read it fruitfully and with edification.¹⁸⁸

The second volume started with a two-page declaration of the author on the rosary and the announcement that he planned to deal with this topic in a third volume of his work. It is not sure whether this work was printed, but Van der Schuur did write some (Latin) letters on the subject of Mother Mary.¹⁸⁹

The seventh letter discussed the ability of both men and women to read Scripture. Van der Schuur affirmed that the Holy Spirit, who opened and enlightened the intellect for the meaning of Scripture, could more easily reach the hearts of the simple people, often considered to be unlearned, than those of the learned. No only the learned, but also the humble and the small would perceive the secrets of God's Reign. Next, Van der Schuur heavily criticized Harney's aversion from women who read Scripture. He stated that both men and women were allowed to read Scripture for their instruction, comfort and edification as long as they were pious, eager for salvation and pure of heart.¹⁹⁰ Van der Schuur noted, however, that he referred to the reading at home, and not in the church. With regard to any female weaknesses, Van der Schuur pointed out that also men had these weaknesses.¹⁹¹ Both groups could read and understand Scripture thanks to the help of mediators and he referred in this regard to, among others, Saint Teresa of Avila and to Jerome and Paula. Van der Schuur concluded this letter by affirming once again that he could not understand Harney's aversion for literate (young) women who read the Bible (*Bybelfuffrouwen*).¹⁹²

188 "Zoo dat wy ny wel onbeschroomd mogen besluiten, dat de leere der Oudvaders onberoerd blyft; Naemelyk dat de H. Geest de Schrifftuer aen de Kerk gegeven heeft, om doorgaens van alle de Gelovigen met vrugt en stigtinge te mogen gelezen worden." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 95–96.

189 For instance the disputation with Steyaert on the translation of the *Salve Regina* or *Hail Holy Queen*, one of four Marian antiphons.

190 "De ware staet van 't geschil is: Of de gemeine Christenen, en ook de vrouwen de vryheid hebbne om de H. Schrifftuer te lezen: te weten om die te lezen met den geest met welken zy moet gelezen worden, tot hunnen troost, stichting en onderwyzinge. Onze antwoord is, ja. De reden: Om dat de zuiverheid des herte en andere gaven der godlijke Genade die ons bequaem maken om de Schrifftuer met vrugt te lezen, niet minder in de vrouwen en eenvoudige Gelovigen, dan in de geleerde mannen gevonden worden." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 103–104.

191 "Maer van den anderen kant mag men ook niet lochenen, of deze gebreken zijn in de mans zoo wel als in de vrouwen te vinden." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 106.

192 "Zoo dat ik eindelijk niet kan zien, wat 'er dog zonderlings zoo berispelijk of ongerymd in die *Bybelfuffrouwen* te vinden is, 't gene hunnen heiligen yver tot het lezen van Gods

In the eighth letter, Van der Schuur discussed Harney's disfavour for vernacular Bible translations, which he considered as dangerous books. The Louvain master had, however, stated in his treatise that it was useful and good, but not necessary to translate Scripture in the vernacular. Van der Schuur invoked testimonies of Gregory the Great, Augustine, Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianze to show once more that Scripture was accessible and understandable to all.¹⁹³ By way of conclusion, Van der Schuur defined the concept of harmful books as books that undermined and subverted the foundations of Christian faith and he referred in this context to the controversy between Suivius and Van Neercassel.

In the ninth letter, Van der Schuur compared the reading of the Bible to praying of the rosary. He considered both practices fruitful for the faithful, but wondered why only the reading of Scripture was criticized. Next, he dealt with the objections against Bible reading, based on the obscurity of Scripture and the ignorance of the faithful. Van der Schuur stated that it would be better to forbid the learned man to read the Bible instead of the common faithful because the learned men insisted more on their own judgement.¹⁹⁴ The common faithful from their part did not rely on their own judgement, but on the authority of the apostolic Church, the basic rules of faith and the Catechism. As a consequence, the faithful were allowed to read Scripture. In addition, the rule of the Index, i.e. the *Regula Quarta*, was no longer valid, in spite of all the calamities and disasters that Harney had enumerated in his work and that appeared to have been caused by the reading of Scripture. Van der Schuur reacted by referring to the Gregory the Great's metaphor of the lamb and the elephant.¹⁹⁵ The Church father had compared the Bible a broad and deep stream that was both shallow enough for the lamb to go wading and deep enough for the elephant to swim. According to Van der Schuur, the elephants had to be considered as a metaphor for the conceiting people and the lambs as a

Woord aen sommige Mannen zoo zeer doet mishagen." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 113.

193 "[...] daer de H. Schriftuer voor klein en groot, geleerd en ongeleerd, voor mannen, vrouwen, ja ook voor de kinderen nut en zalig is"; "t Is dit Boeck 't welk bequaem is voor klein en groot, en daer alle ootmoedige herten hunnen troost en voedsel en de genezing hunner ziele zonder gevaer in kunnen vinden." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 120–121; 124.

194 "[...] zoo moest het lezen der H. Schrifture meer aen de geleerden dan aen de gemeine Gelovigen verboden worden; vermits de geleerden, als anders de deugd of ondeugd wederzyds gelijk is, meer op hun eigen oordeel staen, dan d'eenvoudige en gemeine luiden." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 135.

195 He stated that the Bible is like a stream of water in which a lamb may walk and an elephant may swim. See Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job, ad Leandrum*, 4:1–7.

metaphor for humble and faithful people. He went on by affirming that there had always been lambs and elephants among the faithful, also at the time of the Church fathers, and there would always be lambs and elephants.¹⁹⁶ He concluded this letter by referring to a quote from the New Testament translation of the Jesuit Franciscus Costerus.¹⁹⁷ In the note on Ac 8:30,¹⁹⁸ the pericope on the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch, Costerus had stated that nobody was forbidden to read Scripture if he did so fruitfully, which meant not according to his own judgement, but according to the teachings of the Church that were explained by her spiritual teachers.¹⁹⁹

In the tenth letter, Van der Schuur demonstrated that the *Regula Quarta* was no longer valid.²⁰⁰ He started his letter by summarizing the stipulations of the *Regula Quarta* and stated that the faithful of his time who were well instructed in faith actually benefitted from reading Scripture. The many writings that had appeared in favour of the prohibition had to be situated in the particular context and period in which they had come into being, namely right after the stipulation had been issued or at the time of the writers. Next, Van der Schuur enumerated six syllogisms that can be summarized as following: (1) The specific circumstances requiring the creation of the *Regula Quarta* have disappeared; (2) The *Regula Quarta* has caused more harm than good for the faithful and should therefore no longer be observed; (3) Faithful have the freedom to read Scripture and this freedom is granted to them by Christ and the Church fathers; (4) The reading of Scripture is an excellent means for achieving salvation, which is provided by God, and should therefore not be forbidden; (5) The *Regula Quarta* has never been implemented by the government in the Low Countries. Van der Schuur did not make any allusion to the ecclesiastical

196 "Dat 'er nu van die Olifanten, onwetende laetdunkende menschen ook niet weinige te vinden zijn, is meer dan al te zeker: maer dat het ten tijde der Oudvaders doorgaens al ootmoedige Lammeren waren, is een inbeelding van den Eerw. *Pater*, die gelijk wy hier voor gezien hebben, gansch los en ongegrond is." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 142–143.

197 For a discussion of this translation, see p. 135 and following.

198 "And Philip running thither, heard him reading the prophet Isaias. And he said: Thinkest thou that thou understandest what thou readest?" (Douay-Rheims translation).

199 "Noteert ten tweede, dat het niemand verboden word de H. Schriftuer te lezen, als hy dat profytelyk doet, te weten, die niet uitleggende naer zyn goeddunken, maer die verstaende naer d'uitleggin der H. Kerke, die ons haren zin verklaert door Philippus, dat is, door geestelijke Leeraers, ons daer toe van haer gezonden." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 147.

200 "Dat het Verbod of de Bepaling, waer door het lezen der H. Schrifture in de gemeine talen zonder uitdrukkelyken en bezonderen oorlof verboden was, althans niet meer verpligt." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 151.

implementation of the *Regula Quarta* through provincial councils or diocesan synods. He particularly referred to the practice of asking permission of the bishop in order to read Scripture, as set out in the *Regula Quarta*.²⁰¹ In other words, he was convinced that the government had never obliged the faithful to observe the *Regula Quarta*. Van der Schuur also stated in this context that, according to Van Neercassel, the Pope had made an exception for the Catholics in the Low Countries by allowing Bible reading. This last remark was most probably a reference to Clement VIII's 1603 dispensation that had granted Catholics in the Low Countries the right to read the Bible in the vernacular; (6) The *Regula Quarta* is no longer valid and the faithful will now receive the benefits from Bible reading, as Van Neercassel had already affirmed. Van der Schuur furthermore stated that none had opposed this statement, except for the authors of the so-called bull of Bruges as well as Suivius and Harney.

In the eleventh letter, Van der Schuur emphasized, in line with 2 Pe 3:16,²⁰² that only capable people were allowed to read Scripture and that the others had to follow the guidelines of their preceptors.²⁰³ He stated, however, that the number of capable people was far more larger than the number proposed by Harney,²⁰⁴ and that the faithful indeed could receive benefits from Bible reading. Next, Van der Schuur stated that the rightfulness of the *Regula Quarta* was beyond his comprehension and that he did not understand why Harney held on to this rule while the evidence to the contrary was overwhelming. Van der Schuur firmly concluded that there was no stipulation that forbade vernacular Bible reading for the Catholics of Holland and the United Provinces and added that Harney agreed with this statement:²⁰⁵ in the title and in the ninth chapter

201 "Maer 't heeft noit in 't gebruik geweest oorlof in geschrift van den Bisschop te vragen om de Schriftuer te mogen lezen, 't gene 't Verbod van den Boekenlijst nogtans wel duidelijk vereischt, en by gevolg heeft dit Verbod in deze landen noit plaets gegrepen." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 156–157.

202 2 Pe 3:16: "As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction" (Douay-Rheims translation).

203 "Niet dat alle menschen zonder uitneminge, in hoedanige gesteltenisse zy zig bevinden, en of zy bequaem zyn of niet, den Bybel moeten of mogen lezen: maer dat de bequamen daer toe de vryheid hebben, en d'onbequamen zig aen de bestieringe hunner Leeraers en Herders, zoo wel in 't lezen der H. Schrifture, als in 't gebruik der Sakramenten moeten onderwerpen." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 167.

204 "[...] dat de genen, die men tot het lezen der H. Schrifture bequaem moet agten, veel meerder in getal zyn, dan d'Eerw. Pater wel zoude rekenen [...]." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 172.

205 "Ik zeg nog eens: De Catholijken van Holland en onze Vereenigde Nederlanden mogen zonder eenig agterdenken, benaudheid of duttinge des gemoeds 't Woord gods in hunne tale, zoo dikmaels en wanneer het hen gelieft, doorbladeren en lezen. d'Eerw. Pater

of the first volume of his treatise, Harney had affirmed that the Index had never been observed in the North and that he only had focussed on the situation in those parts of the Low Countries that fell under the rule of the Catholic King and where Catholics could practice their faith publicly.²⁰⁶ However, Van der Schuur replied that his intention was to address all good Christians, and not only his Catholic compatriots in the North. In this context, he invoked the situation in Germany, described by the Jesuit Serarius, where vernacular Bible reading was allowed. He also referred to Van Neercassel's treatise in which the titular bishop of Castorie had dealt with the benefices of vernacular Bible reading.

At the beginning of the twelfth and concluding letter, Van der Schuur first stated that Harney's treatise was not much read because it was too voluminous. It was, however, necessary to write this refutation because the faithful might be inclined to read the work when they heard that a priest-preceptor in theology had written a work against Bible reading.²⁰⁷ Moreover, Suivius's supporters would not refrain from praising Harney's work. Next, Van der Schuur discussed the 1685 bull of Bruges in which vernacular Bible reading was forbidden. He took, quite surprisingly, the defence of bishop De Precipiano when he stated that the bishop had not written nor published this bull himself, but that he had been influenced by his (bad) advisers who had taken advantage of him.²⁰⁸ Van der Schuur's remarks on the bull were consequently not directly aimed at bishop De Precipiano. Moreover, the text of the 1685 bull had been written in Dutch, a language that De Precipiano did not master. In other

bekent dit met ons, en wy zullen 't ook in 't bijzonder bewyzen." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 177.

206 "Deze belijdenis van *Pater Harney* is te zien in den Tytel van zijn Boek als elders; maer op 't alderklaerste I.B.C. ix. n. 5. alwaer hy erkend hebbende dat het Verbod van den Boekenlyst in ons land van 't begin af noit, gelijk het luid, in 't gebruik geweest is, wel duidelijk verklaert, dat zijne bemerkingen ook niet en zien op de Vereenigde Nederlanden, maer alleen op die *Nederlanden, daer de Catholyken in d' openbare oeffening der Catholyke Religie, en besonderlyk onder de gehoorzaamheid van den Catholyken Koning leven*." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 177.

207 "Nu gy kent den aerd der menschen al te wel, Myn Heer, om niet te oordeelen dat de klank van dit eene woord, *Een groot Boek van Pater Leermeeester in de Godgeleerdheid*, meerder indruk op het verstand en 't gemoed van 't meerendeel der menschen doen zal, dan alle de redenen te samen die d' *Eerw. Pater* tot bewys van zyne zaek zoude kunnen bybrengen." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 185.

208 "Ik wil geloven, ja ik weet voorzeker, dat de Bisschop op wiens naem deze Bulle is in 't ligt gekomen, dezelve niet uitgegeven nog gemaekt heeft, voor zoo veel hy Bisschop van Brugge, maer alleen voor zoo veel hy *Humbertus Gulielmus*, dat is, een mensch is, die ook gelijk andere menschen aen 't gebrek der menschelijke zwakheid en aen misgrepen onderworpen is." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 186.

words, he could have approved a decree while relying on this advisors. Van der Schuur reproduced the text of the 1685 bull in parts and added each time his personal remarks and comments. He stated that this bull had been compiled because some pastors in Bruges had (rightly) incited the faithful to read the vernacular Bible because this practice was not forbidden. However, the writers of the bull affirmed that it was forbidden to read the vernacular Bible and referred in this context to a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* of Pius IV. This rule had not only been repeated and renewed by Clement VIII, but had also been accompanied by an edict of King Philip II. Van der Schuur corrected these statements by stating that the Holy fathers had already encouraged the faithful to read the vernacular Bible because it was useful and fruitful to do so. Moreover, the *Regula Quarta* had lost its validity. Van der Schuur also noted that the advisors of the bishop had not fully understood the text of this prohibition: they only affirmed that it had been explicitly forbidden to read the Bible without their mentioning the possibility of a permission of a bishop. Moreover, the Catechism did not explicitly forbade vernacular Bible reading, as stated in the bull, but only forbade the common faithful to read the vernacular Bible without permission. Van der Schuur concluded that the bull affirmed three times that vernacular Bible reading was forbidden and that there was a reason behind it: if the writers of the bull would have stated that permission was needed to read the vernacular Bible, this would have cost them extra work.²⁰⁹ The bull, and consequently the wrong interpretation of the *Regula Quarta*, had also been promulgated from the various pulpits of the diocese of Bruges. Next, Van der Schuur criticized Harney's treatise, precisely because it was based on the bull of Bruges. Van der Schuur concluded this letter by expressing his concerns for the Catholic Church in this debate and remembered in this context the golden rule that one should not treat others in ways that one would not like to be treated. This also went for Catholics, non-Catholics, Turks, Jews, pagans, in short, for all people.

Van der Schuur, writing under his pseudonym of Christianus Philirenus, again discussed Harney's ideas in 1692 when he published two Latin letters. These letters were addressed to his compatriot and fellow translator Lucius

209 "Want had men gesproken van oorlof te vragen, die *Geestelyke Persoonen, welke durven sustineren dat het lezen der H. Schrifture niet en zoude verboden zyn*, gelijk men daer klaegt, zouden ook niet nagelaetn hebben het volk aen te manen om dien oorlof te gaen verzoeken, 't welk dan te veel werks en belemmerings aen de Geheimschryvers en andere Bedienden van dat Geestelyk Hof zoude verschaft hebben." See Van der Schuur, *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken*, 194.

Candidianus, one of the pseudonyms of Aegidius de Witte.²¹⁰ The letters were published in the fictitious place Irenopolis, meaning “city of peace” by an unknown printer.

In the preface, Van der Schuur first provided an overview of his episodes with Harney. In 1686, the Louvain master had published a Dutch treatise on vernacular Bible reading in the Catholic Low Countries. Van der Schuur had reacted in 1687 with his above-mentioned refutation in the form of twelve letters entitled *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken in het lezen der H. Schrifture*. Next, Harney appeared to have written an apology that was not printed, maybe because the work had not been approved by the book censors or for another reason. However, some parts of the book had been typeset and had been consulted and read by Van der Schuur.²¹¹ It seems that these fragments have not been preserved. Van der Schuur also mentioned Harney's 1689 Latin treatise that he considered insignificant. He concluded his preface by stating that he had addressed these two letters to De Witte in expectation of a long-awaited larger refutation of Harney that would be published in 1693.

The first and longest letter was dated 16 November 1689. In this letter, Van der Schuur complained largely about the weak reaction of Harney to his 1687 refutation. He also recalled the efforts he had made writing this work and stated, on the basis of Harney's unpublished *Apologiam*, that the theologian probably only had read and reacted to the first letter. Van der Schuur concluded the letter by expressing the hope that Harney's following work would be of better quality. In the second letter, dated 15 October 1691, Van der Schuur dealt with the legitimacy of the prohibition on Bible reading in the vernacular that had been issued by Archbishop De Precipiano and stated that it went right against the writings of the Church fathers who had encouraged vernacular Bible reading.

4.2.2.2 A Passionate Plea for Vernacular Bible Reading for the Simple People

In his 1687 work *Beweirde vryheid der eenvoudige catholijken in het lezen der H. Schrifture* (*Alleged Freedom of the Simple Catholics in the Reading of Sacred Scripture*), discussed in the previous section, Van der Schuur had already

210 Christianus Philirenus (= Andreas van der Schuur), *Epistola Christiani Philireni ad Lucium Candidianum* (Irenopolis, 1692).

211 “Verum Harnaeus haud minus prompte sui Libri mox Apologiam paravit, atque adeo Typographo excudendam tradidit, sed quod censores sua denegarent suffragia, vel aliud quidpiam intervenerit causae nihil in lucem prodiit libri, cujus iam pars aliqua formulis typographicis erat excusa, quae nobis quoque visa fuit ac lecta.” See Philirenus, *Epistola Christiani Philireni*, 3.

emphasized that also the simple faithful of his time should have the freedom to read the Bible in their mother tongue for their learning and instruction, as well as for their comfort and edification. This topic also received ample treatment in other works of his hand. In 1691, he published a short treatise entitled *Berigt voor deenvoudigen, wegens het lezen der kerkelijke gebeden en der H. Schrifture in de moederlijke tale* (*Message for the Simple People on the Reading of the Ecclesiastical Prayers and the Holy Scriptures in the Vernacular*).²¹² According to the information on the title page, the treatise was published by Govert vander Sterre in Antwerp, but this was a false address, as Vander Sterre actually worked in Leyden. The title page also announced that the treatise contained an oration of Chrysostom (Johan Guldemonst) on vernacular Bible reading.

The treatise consisted of four parts. In the first part, Van der Schuur dealt with the reading of the ecclesiastical prayers. He stated that right from the beginning Mass had been said in the language of the common people. In the West, the Church still used Latin as the standard language, but she did not so to deprive the faithful from understanding the things that were said during the services. However, many pious and learned men, for instance in France and in the prince bishopric of Liège, judged that it would be better to translate the Mass in the vernacular so that the common faithful and the converted would better understand the Christian message. Van der Schuur emphasized that it was justified to do so as long as the Christian precepts were not dishonoured. He concluded by affirming that he was acquainted with translations of the Mass in France, Germany and the Low Countries that had been approved by bishops, priests, theologians, abbots, Jesuits and various other ecclesiastical men. Even the servants of the Pope in Rome were not opposed against this practice as long as the translations were faithful and approved by a censor.

In the second part of the treatise, Van der Schuur emphasized again the usefulness of reading Scripture, particularly the Gospels and some portions of the New Testament, for all faithful, both learned and unlearned, rich and poor, men and women, old and young. Many works had already dealt with this topic including especially the testimonies of the Church fathers in this regard. Van der Schuur referred to the works of Van Neercassel, his own work *'t Heiligdom onsloten* and the *Opera S. Gregorii Magni*, compiled by Pierre de Goussainville in Paris in 1675. He concluded that Scripture was not a dangerous book, but safe and useful if read according to the explanations of the Church. In this context, Van der Schuur referred again to the Jesuit Costerus who had affirmed

²¹² Van der Schuur, *Berigt voor deenvoudigen, wegens het lezen der kerkelijke gebeden, en der H. Schrifture in de moederlijke tale*, Antwerp, Govert vander Sterre, 1691.

the same in a note on Ac 8:30,²¹³ as discussed above. Next, Van der Schuur stated that also more recent works had been written on the topic of vernacular Bible reading, for instance the works of the Jesuit Adrianus Mangotius (1554–1629). However, these treatises had already been discussed in detail in, among others, his work *'t Heiligdom onsloten*.²¹⁴ Therefore, Van der Schuur limited himself to mentioning two additional works.

First, he quoted extensively from the *Moeurs des Chrétiens*, written by Claude Fleury (1640–1723) in 1682.²¹⁵ In his work, Fleury testified that right from the beginning many Christians, the unlearned and women included, had read the Bible with diligence and even knew it by heart.²¹⁶ Second, he mentioned the *Essais de Morale*, written by Pierre Nicole (1625–1695) in 1675. Nicole considered the reading of Scripture as an important means to protect and sanctify the souls of the faithful.²¹⁷ The French Jansenist added that the Church fathers had obliged the reading of Scripture, and particularly that of the Psalms and the New Testament. Van der Schuur concluded the second part of his treatise by extracting 21 short “one-liners” from the works of Fleury and Nicole. These “one-liners” could function as a guideline for the common faithful and they affirmed that, right from the beginning, Scripture had been read in the houses of learned and unlearned people by both men and women. The faithful had to do the same because it was useful and fruitful. The “one-liners” also clarified the right disposition to practice this reading. Van der Schuur concluded this section by emphasizing once again that the Church fathers and several contemporary writers had encouraged Bible reading. The Catholics of the United Provinces in particular did not have to hesitate whether they were allowed to do so. According to Van der Schuur, their previous bishop (i.e. Van Neercassel) had not only given written permission, in accordance with the

213 Van der Schuur already used this quote in his 1687 work. See also Van der Schuur, *Berigt voor deenvoudigen*, 15.

214 A.V.S., *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan deenvoudigen*, 2:1–46.

215 Fleury worked as preceptor of Louis de Bourbon, duke of Vermandois and his book was approved by Bossuet, at that time bishop of Meaux. He was considered neither Jansenist, nor Molinist, nor Ultramontanist, but Catholic. See Van der Schuur, *Berigt voor deenvoudigen*, 16–19.

216 “Men vond in die gelukkige tijden zeer veele Christenen, ook zelfs onder d'ongeleerden, die de H. Schrifte met zulken onvermoeiden naerstigheid lazen, dat zy dezelve van buiten wisten.” See Van der Schuur, *Berigt voor deenvoudigen*, 17–18.

217 “Men moet dezelve aenzien als de gemeine werktuigen van de heiligmakinge der zielen, en als een buis, langs welke de verligtingen waer door wy zalig worden, ons gemeinlijk komen toevloeden.” See Van der Schuur, *Berigt voor deenvoudigen*, 20.

Regula Quarta, but had also stimulated the practice in various writings.²¹⁸ It is surprising that Van der Schuur did not invoke the dispensation of Clement VIII that had granted Catholics in the Low Countries the right to read the Bible in the vernacular and explicitly referred to the written permission of Van Neercassel.

In the third part of his treatise, Van der Schuur provided a Dutch translation of a large part of Chrysostom's third homily on Lazarus in which the Greek Church father discussed the issue of Bible reading.²¹⁹ With this translation, Van der Schuur aimed not only at clarifying Chrysostom's ideas for the faithful, but especially at demonstrating that the Church father was an advocate of Bible reading for all.²²⁰ Van der Schuur referred in this context also to Father Alexander a Sancta Teresia who had written an extensive refutation of *'t Heilighdom onsloten* and who had accused Van der Schuur of falsifying the text of Chrysostom's homily. By way of conclusion, Van der Schuur listed all the advantages of Bible reading that Chrysostom had enumerated in his work.

The fourth and last part of the treatise was a short appendix in which Van der Schuur clarified why had written this work. The main reason appeared to have been to react against the above-mentioned refutation of Sancta Teresia. Apparently, this refutation had been so widespread that the Privy Council of the King in Brussels got acquainted with it and invited not only the author but also the censor of the work, Nicolas Du Bois, to clarify why this harmful work had been written and approved. However, Sancta Teresia was unable to attend the meeting and was represented by his superiors. Du Bois was present and acknowledged his fault. Van der Schuur noted that it was not the first time that Du Bois had approved a harmful book. In short, with this story, Van der Schuur intended to prove that his ideas were accepted and that the faithful should be encouraged to read the ecclesiastical prayers and the Bible.

In 1700, Van der Schuur published a continuation to his 1691 treatise on Bible reading, entitled *Nader berigt voor deenvoudigen, wegens het lezen der H.*

218 "Tot overmaet voegen wy hier by, dat de Katholijken der Vereenigde Nederlanden immers geen schijn ten minste hebben van te twijffelen of het gemelde lezen hen geoorloft is: nadien hun voorgaende Bischoep hen niet alleen by geschrifte verlof gegeven, maer ook wel hertelijk in verscheide boeken daer toe vermaend heeft." See Van der Schuur, *Berigt voor deenvoudigen*, 25.

219 Van der Schuur, *Berigt voor deenvoudigen*, 26–41. For the Latin and Greek text of the homily, see Johannes Chrysostomos, *De Lazaro Concio* 3, PG, 48, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1862), c. 991–1006.

220 "De H. *Chrisostomus* heeft in de bovenvertaelde Preekreden van 't begin tot het einde niet anders in den mond en in de penne, dan dat het volk de Schrifture moet *lezen*." See Van der Schuur, *Berigt voor deenvoudigen*, 42–43.

Schrijfture in de moederlijke tale (*More Detailed Message for the Simple People on the Reading of Scripture in the Vernacular*).²²¹ The Dutch work consisted of seven chapters in which Van der Schuur provided a lucid historical overview of the ideas of the Catholic Church vis-à-vis (vernacular) Bible reading. The work was approved by a certain J.W.C.T.V. on 1 February 1700.

In the introduction to his work, Van der Schuur first dealt with Van Neercassel's efforts to encourage and promote Bible reading for the laity. He stated that the benefits of Van Neercassel's endeavours were still visible among the faithful and that several priests continued to recommend the reading of the Bible in imitation of the titular bishop of Castorie. However, Van der Schuur regretted that this useful practice, applauded by the Church fathers, had given rise to conflicts and controversies within the Church. In line with his previous works, Van der Schuur affirmed that the main goal of the *Regula Quarta*, which he described as a precaution, had been to suppress abuses at the time of the Reformation and to refrain Catholics from reading bad translations or from reading translations without relying on the teachings of the Church. In other words, the Church at that time had stipulated that vernacular Bible reading was only allowed with the permission and the approval of the pastors, but had never intended to generalize this prohibition for all times.²²² Van der Schuur stated that this rule was no longer valid and that Catholics should be encouraged again to read Scripture. However, several pastors and preceptors did not agree and held on to the prohibition.

Second, Van der Schuur explained that he had written this treatise as a reaction against a Dutch work, published in 1699 and written by an unknown author, who can be identified as Adriaan van Wijck (1641–1719),²²³ an

221 A.v.S. (= Andreas van der Schuur), *Nader berigt voor d'eenvoudigen, wegens het lezen der H. Schrijfture in de moederlijke tale* (Utrecht, 1700).

222 "[...] en dat zy (= the Church) door de voorzorge, in de voorige eeuw omtrent dit lezen aangewend, niet anders beoogd heeft, als de misbruiken van die tijden te weeren en uit te sluiten: dat is, te beletten dat de Katholijken geen onregtzinnige vertalingen zouden lezen, nog ook aen t' lezen van Gods woord zouden vallen met die laetdunkende en verwaende inbeeldinge, als of zy van zelfs bequaem waren om het gene den Godsdienst en 't geloove betreft, daer uit te vinden, 't onderscheiden en te bepalen, zonder hunnen zin en oordeel aen de leere of verklaringe der H. algemeene Kerk t' onderwerpen [...]' 't welk dan de geestelijke Overigheit voor dien tijdt bewoog om te gebieden, dat de H. Schrijftuer in de gemeene tale niet anders dan met verlof en goedvinden der Herders zoude gelezen worden. Dog hare meining is noit geweest dit gebodt algemeen te maken: of, gelijk sommigen zig schijnen in te beelden, over alle tijden uit te breiden." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 5–6.

223 Adriaan van Wijck, *Korte onderrigting voor alle opregte Catholiken, voornamentlijk in Holland, enz. aangaande het lezen der H.H. Schriften in de gemeene taal: en byzonderlijk aangaande zekere Nederduitsche overzetting des Nieuwen Testaments; overeenkomende met de gedoemde Fransche, zoo genaamde Berg-Henegouwsche vertaaling* (Rotterdam, 1699). Fur-

anti-Jansenist archpriest of Delft. Van der Schuur stated that Van Wijck had attributed the wrong meaning to the word *onbescheiden* in all his writings when attributing the meaning of “neutral,” “impartial” or “undecided” to it. According to Van der Schuur, this word had another meaning, namely “immodest.” Therefore, he considered the address *ongescheide lezer* as a defamation. Van der Schuur concluded the introduction by stating that he aimed at formulating seven remarks against Van Wijck’s work.

The first remark dealt with the origin of the *Regula Quarta* of the Tridentine Index.²²⁴ According to Van Wijck, bishop Lindanus of Roermond had affirmed in his diocesan synods that this Index (and the rules) had been compiled by thirteen elected bishops and afterwards had been approved by all the Council fathers. This observation has been confirmed by recent historical research. However, Van der Schuur refuted this allegation stating that the Council fathers only had been ordered to list the suspect and harmful books but not had been asked to forbid or regulate the reading of the Bible.²²⁵ Moreover, it was unthinkable that the Bible would be considered as a suspect or harmful book by the Catholic faithful. Van der Schuur agreed in this matter with the above-mentioned French Jesuit Véron who had written in the preface to his French translation of the New Testament that the Council of Trent had not forbidden the practice of Bible reading nor had required a special permission to read it. Van der Schuur also recalled that the *Regula Quarta* had been a temporary measure that had been approved by Pope Pius IV and not by the authority of

ther on in his treatise, Van der Schuur identified the author of the treatise with the abbreviation A.v.W. (= Adriaan van Wijck). See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 11. Van Wijck studied philosophy and theology and was ordained a priest in Utrecht by Van Neercassel on 2 August 1665. He was a polemicist who opposed Jansenism and who was known as a vehement defender of Catholic doctrine and the rights of the Pope. During his life, he entered into many controversies with various Jansenists, including De Witte and Van der Schuur, and he could count on the help of the regular clergy, the Jesuits in particular. After the death of Van Neercassel, Rome recommended him as administrator of the Dutch Mission and his candidature was supported by the Jesuits. However, Codde became the new vicar apostolic and later temporarily suspended and condemned Van Wijck because of his polemical writings and ideas. Van Wijck was also involved in the process of Codde’s suspension. See J. Fruytier, “Wijck, Adriaan of Aart van,” in *NNBW* 7, ed. Philippus Molhuysen, Petrus Blok, and Friedrich K.H. Kossmann (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1927), 1340–1346; Abraham J. van der Aa, “Wijck (Adriaan van),” in *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 20 (Haarlem, 1877) 461–462.

224 Van der Schuur did not use the denomination *Regula Quarta* but spoke of “t bevel van den Boekenlijst” or “Dat vermaerd gebodt.” See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 10.13

225 “[...] de Vaders alleenlijk last geven om *verdachte en schadelijke boeken* te dempen, maer niet om het lezen der H.Schrijfture, in eenige tale te verbieden, of te bepalen, waer van hier in het minste geen gewag gemaakt word.” See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 11–12.

the Council. In this context, he remarked that the validity of his plea for vernacular Bible reading had been demonstrated over and over again on the basis of the authority of the Church fathers and writers of later times, for instance in his works *'t Heiligdom onsloten aan d'eenvoudigen* (1685), *Beweirde vryheid* (1687), *Berigt voor d'eenvoudigen* (1691), and many others. However, there were still people who tried to provide evidence to the contrary. Van der Schuur explicitly wondered whether it would be useful to write yet another refutation.²²⁶ According to Church father Augustine, it was good to write different works on the same theme so that everyone would understand. Van der Schuur concluded this section by affirming that his concise treatise would only deal with the most essential elements. At the same time, he hoped that it would be the last of its kind on the theme of Bible reading. Future refutations would have to be short, concise and based on two or three quotations of Church fathers or other authorities.

Second, Van der Schuur discussed the attitude of the French Catholics in this matter.²²⁷ He stated that the reading of the Bible was widespread in France, but wondered what bishops, teachers and pastors were exactly teaching to the faithful. According to Van Wijck, the *Regula Quarta* of Pius IV had to be observed in France, but he did not prove this point. Van der Schuur, however, enumerated two examples to refute Van Wijck's ideas. First, he referred to the above-mentioned Jesuit Véron who affirmed in the preface of his work that the Council of Trent had never required permission to read the Bible and that in France everybody was allowed to read Catholic Bible translations in French.²²⁸ Véron noted that in case of ignorance the faithful had to rely on the teachings of their preceptors, but also that they had been encouraged to read the Bible from an early age on. Second, Van der Schuur discussed the ideas of Michel de Marolles (1600–1681), abbot of Villeloin, who had dedicated his Bible translation to the bishops of the French Church. De Marolles firmly stated that the Council of Trent had never forbidden vernacular Bible reading, but that it had only forbidden heterodox translations of ignorant or malicious translators.²²⁹ The abbot referred in this context even so to the ideas of several Church fathers

226 "Deze redenen konden ons doen twijfelen, of 't niet beter was den arbeid van deze Verantwoordinge te sparen." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 15.

227 A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 17–30.

228 "Dat ydereen onder 't volk aldear den Bybel, door de Katholijken in het Fransch vertaeld, mag lezen: en dat hy door geene Kerkelijk wet of regel verpligt is om daer toe eenig verlof te vragen." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 19.

229 "D'algemeine Kerkvergaderingen, zeit hy, hebben het lezen der heilige Boeken in gemeine tale noit verboden, maer wel donregtzinnige Vertalingen van onweetende of quaedaerdige Overzetters." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 23.

and teachers of the Church,²³⁰ on the basis of which he concluded that the reading of Scripture was useful and fruitful for the faithful. Van der Schuur concluded this chapter by quoting the words of the converted French author Paul Pellisson (1624–1693) who affirmed that the prohibition of Bible reading only had been a temporary measure.²³¹

In the third remark, Van der Schuur discussed the freedom of the German Catholics regarding Bible reading and also referred to the situation in Italy. He started by quoting Rom 15:4–6²³² in which Paul stated that everything that was written in the past had been written to teach the faithful. With regard to the situation in Germany, Van der Schuur mentioned the writings of three Jesuits, namely Nicolaus Serarius, Paulus Layman and Ferdinand Nikolaus Schaten (1608–1676). These three savants affirmed that the *Regula Quarta* had not been promulgated in their country, and thus was not observed. People were allowed to read the vernacular Bible as long as the translations were faithful and free of heresies. Concerning the situation in Italy, Van der Schuur stated that an unknown writer affirmed that the reading of the Bible had always been encouraged in the Church, not only for priests and ecclesiastics, but for all people. It should be noted, however, that this testimony dated from before the coming-about of the *Regula Quarta*, but that this fact did not influence the finding that faithful were allowed to read the Bible. Van der Schuur completed by mentioning the Italian Bible translations of Jacobus de Voragine (1288/9–1298) and Nicolò Malermi (1422–1481) of the Camaldolese Order.²³³ By way of conclusion, he referred to the more recent work of Jan Kazimierz Denhoff (1649–1697), the Polish bishop of Cesena in Italy, who affirmed that Christian faithful were lost if they did not read the Bible and therefore had ordered the confessors

²³⁰ He referred to the ideas of Anselm of Canterbury, Thomas Aquinas, Claude d'Espence, Gregory the Great, Pico della Mirandola, José de Acoste SJ, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Bernard of Clairvaux, Franciscus Costerus SJ, Gregory of Valence, Robert Bellarmine SJ, Antonius Possevinus SJ, Jean Gerson, Pierre Nicole, Claude Fleury, Denis Amelot, Antoine Godeau and Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet. See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 24–28.

²³¹ “Heb een weinig geduld: dit verbodt, ‘t welk voor een tijdt tot de goede tugt behoort, maer geen vastblijvend leerstuk maekt, zal niet altijdt dueren. De tijdt zal eens komen, en hy is nu already verscheenen, dat de boeken der heilige Schrifture in de handen van al het volk zullen gezien worden.” See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 29.

²³² Rom 15:4–6: “For what things soever were written, were written for our learning: that through patience and the comfort of the scriptures, we might have hope. Now the God of patience and of comfort grant you to be of one mind one towards another, according to Jesus Christ: That with one mind, and with one mouth, you may glorify God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ” (Douay-Rheims translation).

²³³ Van der Schuur mentioned in this context the wrong name of Malherbe instead of Malermi. See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 34.

in his diocese to encourage Bible reading.²³⁴ It should be noted that in this case, Van der Schuur's observations deviated largely from the recent historical research conducted by Fragnito. One can therefore wonder whether Van der Schuur invoked these arguments "pour le besoin de la cause" without relying on reliable sources.

Fourth, Van der Schuur dealt with the imperial ordinances in the Low Countries that he considered as executions of ecclesiastical rules and laws. The ordination that the Emperor had issued in 1550, the so-called *Bloedplakkaat*, had been directed against those who had taken advantage of vernacular Bible translations, and not against the Catholics who had been allowed to read the Bible for their comfort and edification.²³⁵ Next, Van der Schuur made mention of the edict of 1529 that had also been directed against those who defended the ideas of the Reformation in wrong translations. He affirmed that good and justified Bible translations never had been rejected, for instance the 1548 Bible of Nicolaas van Winghe, the 1614 translation of the Jesuit Costerus and many others. In addition, the edict that had been issued in 1526, had only been directed against those who not only read, but also wrongly interpreted the biblical message, for instance in conventicles, and who tried to convince other faithful.²³⁶ In other words, these ordinances had only been directed against those who misused the biblical message, for instances apostates and non-Catholic teachers. To conclude, Van der Schuur elaborated on the 1614 New Testament translation of Costerus²³⁷ and stated that Costerus had a far better knowledge of the imperial ordinances because the Jesuit had lived in the period in which they had been issued. In the preface to his translation, Costerus had affirmed that good and justified translations of the Bible were necessary to

234 "[...] zoo beveelt hy zelfs aen de Biegtvaders, dat zy den genen die weinig wezen of gevoelen van Godsdienst toonen, onder andere oeffeningen ook *het lezen van het woord Gods* tot *Penitentie* zullen opleggen. Il leggere, ò *l'udire la parola di Dio*." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 35.

235 "Want, met een woord gezeidt, deze bevêlen, gelijk yder woord van der zelve inhoudt baerblijkelijk te kennen geeft, zien alleenlijk op de nieuwe Leeraers van die rampzalige tijden, die onder de Geloovigen inkroopen, en door 't *verhandelen en twisten over de Schrifture*, zoo *in het heimelijk als in 't openbaer*, door *het voorlezen, uitleggen* en misduiden der zelve, d'eenvoudige menschen van 't geloove, en van d'eenigheid der H. Kerk zogten af te leiden, en tot hunnen gemeenschap over te halen." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 38.

236 "[...] dat het geen anderen beoogt, dan de genen die *de dwalingen* dier tijden opperden en voordqueekten, niet door het eenvoudig lezen der H. Schrifture, maer door dezelve *naer hun gering verstand uit te leggen*: en die andere menschen door dat lokaes ligtelijk verleiden." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 39.

237 For a detailed discussion of Costerus's life and his translation, see p. 135 and following.

react against the efforts of the non-Catholics and to reinforce the unity in the Church. It should be mentioned that Costerus's translation had been printed with the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities. The Jesuit emphasized that Scripture had to be read according to the doctrine of the Church and affirmed in the comment on Ac 8:30, the pericope on the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch, that nobody was forbidden to read Scripture if he did so fruitfully. Finally, Van der Schuur shortly referred to the writings of another Dutch Jesuit who had encouraged vernacular Bible reading, namely Adrianus Mangotius, whose work had been discussed in Van der Schuur's previous works.

In the fifth remark, Van der Schuur paid attention to the ideas of Van Neercassel who had encouraged the faithful to read the vernacular Bible in his treatises and who had inspired several priests to translate the Bible in the vernacular, including Van der Schuur. Van der Schuur particularly referred to the ninth chapter of Van Neercassel's *Tractatus de lectione scripturarum* (1677) and the later French and Dutch translation.²³⁸ In this chapter, the titular bishop of Castorie affirmed that the statement of Pius IV on vernacular Bible reading had been a temporary measure and was no longer valid. Van der Schuur also referred to the adaptations and corrections of Van Neercassel's Latin treatise in the French translation of Le Roy (1680) and the Dutch version of Van Hoogstraten (1685). He affirmed that these corrections had been inserted with the explicit approval of Van Neercassel. Next, Van der Schuur dealt with the coming-about of the Tridentine Index and declared that the Tridentine rules had been inserted at the request of and with the approval of Pius IV. Some non-Catholic writers, so he stated, erroneously ascribed the Tridentine rules had to the Council of Trent. He concluded this chapter by affirming once again that Bible reading was useful and fruitful for the Catholic faithful. Moreover, the writings of the Church fathers could not be ignored and the papal ordinations should not be misinterpreted.²³⁹

In the sixth part of his treatise, Van der Schuur made clear that his opponents, for instance Van Wijck, condemned and blackened various decent men

238 See p. 183 and following.

239 "Is 't niet een ongerijmde en beklagelijke zaek, dat men d'eenparige vermaningen van alle de Vaders der H. Kerke agter den rugge stelt, op voorgéven van wetten die dog geen stand meer grijpen, en die de Wetgevers zelf niet begeeren dat men ze naer de letter nog zoude onderhouden? Is dat niet even de Kerke onteeren en ongehoorzaem zijn, de leere van hare heilige Leeraers wegschuiven, of tegenspreken: jae ook den zin en de meininge van de Pauselijke bevélen, door een verkeerde bevattinge, en aenhegtinge aen de letter, omkeeren en misduiden, wendende onbesuisd tegen de goede Geloovigen, 't gene de Pausen tegen 't misverstand en quaed gebruik der verleeden tijden beslooten hadden?" See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 58.

because of a lack of evidence to proof they were right, like for instance in the case of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.²⁴⁰ The main reason to oppose the translators of Mons appeared to have been the fact that they were considered as adherents of Jansenism. Moreover, the translators would have adapted the New Testament by their insertions, omissions and changes, although Van Wijck did not provide any proofs in this regard.²⁴¹

In the seventh and last remark, Van der Schuur elaborated on the translation of 1 Cor 15:10²⁴² and particularly on the words “yet not I, but the grace of God with me.” He started by quoting the Greek text and the Latin Vulgate of this verse. Next, he referred to the Latin versions of Erasmus and Montano (in the Antwerp Polyglot), and the French versions of De Marolles, abbot of Villemoreuil, and Véron (see table 15). He affirmed that it was self-evident that he had used the Latin Vulgate as a starting point for his translation.²⁴³

Van der Schuur affirmed that the enumerated translations corresponded to each other. Although the Latin word *quae* (*die* in Dutch) was not expressed in the text of the Vulgate, it was implicitly present in the authoritative text because otherwise, the Greek article *ἡ* would not be translated. Similarly, the Latin word *est* (*is* in Dutch) should also be added, both in the ground text and the translations. Van der Schuur concluded that these translations all rendered the same message: Paul excluded his own fame and gave all honour to the grace of God. Next, Van der Schuur focused on the meaning of these words and stated that the text of Paul and the above-mentioned translations confirmed the collaboration between the grace of God and the free will. In other words, Van der Schuur stated that God is with us, that He favours and helps us so that we would work and we would not succumb while working. In other words,

²⁴⁰ “Want gal te spouwen op de genen die men tegen heeft, is veelmaels een teken dat ‘er gebrek van bewijs is, en dat men ‘t genen ‘er aen de reden te kort schiet, met driften en stout spreken zoekt aen te vullen.” See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 61.

²⁴¹ “Reden van hunne bittere betigtinge tegen de Fransche Overzetters, *Dat het ten minsten zijn geweest voorstanders van de gedoemde Jansenische Leeringen*, en ‘t gene daer nog bystaet: reden hier van, zeg ik, geven zy gansch niet: dan alleenlijk met wilde en onbepaalde woorden te kennen gevende, dat zy hunnen vertalinge van het Nieuwe Testament door *invoeegen, uitlaten of veranderen* naer de gedoemde Leerstukken gepast en gefastoeend hebben: zonder dat de beschuldigers eenige proeve hier van geven, of het minste bewijs bybrengen, nog ook iets anders tot bekragtinge aenvoeren, behalven wat geblaes dat niet met al betékent, of ‘t welk niet alleen overlang beantwoord is, maer ook op de gemelde betigtinge ter wereld niet te pas koomt.” See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 64.

²⁴² 1 Cor 15:10: “But by the grace of God, I am what I am; and his grace in me hath not been void, but I have laboured more abundantly than all they: yet not I, but the grace of God with me” (Douay-Rheims translation). This passage will also be discussed in the first case-study of the last chapter of this study. See p. 350.

²⁴³ “Niemand moet hier opwerpen, dat wy de gemeine Latijnsche Overzettinge vertalende, niet het Grieksch, maer het Latijn moesten uitdrukken.” See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 67–68.

TABLE 15 Van der Schuur and the translation of 1 Cor 15:10

1 Cor 15:10	
Greek text	περισσότερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα, οὐκ ἐγὼ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοί.
Vulgate	Abundantius illis omnibus laboravi: non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum.
Erasmus	Copiosus quam illi omnes laboravi: non ego tamen, sed gratia Dei, quae mihi adest.
Montano	Abundantius illis omnibus laboravi: non ego autem, sed gratia Dei quae cum me.
De Marolles	J'ay travaillé davantage qu'eux tous: toutesfois non point moy, mais la grace de Dieu qui est avec moy.
Véron	J'ay travaillé beaucoup plus qu'eux tous: toute fois non point moy, mais la grace de Dieu qui est avec moy.
Van der Schuur	Ik heb meer dan zy allen gearbeidt: niet ik nogtans, maer de genade Gods die met my is.

God's grace is with us.²⁴⁴ In order to reinforce his interpretation, Van der Schuur continued by quoting Estius's interpretation of 1 Cor 15:10 that also focused on the cooperation between grace and free will.²⁴⁵ In addition, he emphasized that the Latin translation of the New Testament could be clarified on the basis of the Greek sources.²⁴⁶ Although the Vulgate had been accepted and approved by the Church, the other original texts were not to be excluded. Van

244 "Zoo zeggen wy: Godt is met ons, dat is, Godt begunstigt en helpt ons: hy staet ons by: niet op dat wy zouden leedig zijn, maer wel in tegendeel op dat wy werken, en werkende niet bezwijken zouden [...] Niet zoo zeer ik, als wel de genade Gods, zonder de welke ik niet ben. Hy sluit zijne wille niet buiten, maer hy geeft Gods werkende kragte d'eere en den voorrang. En dus toont hy de samenwerkinge van de hulpgenade en den vryen wille." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 69–71.

245 "Zoo dat alhier de samenwerking van de Genade en den Vryenwille te kennen gegeven word: invoege nogtans dat de Genade voornamelijk het werk doet." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 71.

246 "Dan 't zal evenwel niet onnut zijn, om sommiger knibbelzugt te dempen, of immers eenigsins te stremmen, eens voor al te doen bemerken, dat het geen ongeoorlofde zaek is, de Latijnsche Vertalinge des N.T. uit de Grieksche Bronnen, daer de zelve zuiver en helder vloeiden, op te helderen, maer dat zulks de pligt van een regtzinnig vertaelder is, mits dat het met een rijp en bescheiden oordeel geschiede." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 73.

der Schuur referred to the statements of Bellarmine and Amelote to support this argument. Both men had affirmed that the Greek text could be used as a guide in order to clarify the meaning of the Latin text. To conclude, Van der Schuur stated that translators of the New Testament could and had to make use of the Greek ground text, even when they translated the Latin text.²⁴⁷

In the conclusion to his treatise, Van der Schuur emphasized that for more than fifteen centuries, Bible reading had been encouraged by the Church fathers, as was demonstrated in various examples.²⁴⁸ It was useful and fruitful for all Christians, except for those who misinterpreted the biblical message and thus did not understand it properly. However, Van der Schuur also affirmed that the reading of Scripture was not necessary to determine the faith of a believer, but that one could also rely on the teachings of the Apostles, the pastors and teachers. He concluded his treatise by quoting Col 3:9–16²⁴⁹ as a message of reconciliation towards his opponents.

The first item in the appendix to Van der Schuur's treatise was a Dutch translation of a part of Chrysostom's second homily on Matthew.²⁵⁰ In this homily, Chrysostom fulminated against the faithful who stated that Bible reading was only reserved for the monks. Referring to 1 Cor 10:11,²⁵¹ Chrysostom affirmed that Scripture had been written for the education of the faithful and incited them not to despise the hearing of the divine Scriptures.

247 "Het is dan zeker dat men in het overzetten des N.T. zig mag en moet bedienen van het licht, 't welk de Grieksche grondtext ons geeft, ook zelfs wanneer men de Latijnsche vertalinge wilt overzetten." See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 76.

248 Van der Schuur referred, among others, to Hilary of Poitiers, the apostle Timothy, Saint Macrina the Younger and her brothers Basil the Great and Peter of Sebaste, to Jerome and his letters to Paula on her daughter-in-law Laeta and Gaudentius, but also to Cyril of Alexandria. See A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, 79–80.

249 Col 3:9–16: "Lie not one to another: stripping yourselves of the old man with his deeds, And putting on the new, him who is renewed unto knowledge, according to the image of him that created him. Where there is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free. But Christ is all, and in all. Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, holy, and beloved, the bowels of mercy, benignity, humility, modesty, patience: Bearing with one another, and forgiving one another, if any have a complaint against another: even as the Lord hath forgiven you, so do you also. But above all these things have charity, which is the bond of perfection: And let the peace of Christ rejoice in your hearts, wherein also you are called in one body: and be ye thankful. Let the word of Christ dwell in you abundantly, in all wisdom: teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual canticles, singing in grace in your hearts to God" (Douay-Rheims translation).

250 Johannes Chrysostomos, *Homiliae in Matthaeum* 2, 5–6, PG 57, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris, 1862), c. 30–32. See also A.v.S., *Nader berigt*, p. 82–86.

251 1 Cor 10:11: "Now all these things happened to them in figure: and they are written for our correction, upon whom the ends of the world are come" (Douay-Rheims translation).

In the second item of the appendix, Van der Schuur included three more testimonies concerning Bible reading. First, he referred to the *Formula reformationis* (*Formula of Reformation*) issued by Emperor Charles v in 1548 in Augsburg as a general decree of reform of church life. Van der Schuur stated that this formula had been repeated by the provincial council of Cambrai in 1550.²⁵² In the nineteenth part of this edict, it was stated that the common people were allowed to read, among others, the Sacred Books, the works of the Holy Doctors and the Lives of Saints for their piety and virtue.²⁵³ Second, Van der Schuur referred to the Jesuit Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) and his statement on the posthumously published Polish Bible translation of the Jesuit Jakub Wujek (1541–1597). Wujek had translated the Bible at the request of Pope Gregory XIII. His complete Bible translation was printed in 1599 in Krakau and approved by Clement VIII. Van der Schuur also mentioned the Polish translation of the Jesuit Justus Rabus (?–1612), printed in 1608, and the Hungarian translation of the Jesuit György Kaldi (1572–1635), printed in 1626 in Vienna. The Jesuits had also made Bible translations in, among others, English and Persian. Third, Van der Schuur invoked the writings of the French Oratorian Richard Simon (1638–1712) who also confirmed that the Church had never forbidden vernacular Bible reading and that the *Regula Quarta* had been a temporary measure.

The third and last item of the appendix was a letter, dated 24 January 1700 and directed to a learned and honourable priest. Van der Schuur formulated three remarks on the work of an unknown author *Mijnheer* ***. First, he affirmed that the *Regula Quarta* was no longer valid. However, those who still defended this rule at least had to encourage the faithful to ask a permission to read from their pastors or preceptors. Second, it was not necessary to investigate whether the *Regula Quarta* had to be installed again. Third, Van der Schuur mentioned that Pope Innocent XII had not given permission to take measures against Bible reading. He concluded his work by referring to Steyaert, who had stated that Bible reading was harmful. Van der Schuur therefore advised not to listen to this teacher.

252 See Josephus Hartzheim and Johann Friedrich Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, vol. 6 (Keulen, 1765), 741–767.

253 “Legat autem populos libros sacros, sanctos Doctores, vitas Sanctorum, historias praeclarorum & sortium virorum, & tales spectat imagines, quibus ad pietatem, virtutem, studia honesta, religionis & Reipublicae amorem accendatur.” See Hartzheim and Schannat (ed.), *Concilia Germaniae*, 6:763.

4.2.3 *The Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn Translation*

In 1732, the Bible translation of Van der Schuur and Van Rhijn, entitled *Biblia Sacra*, was published in two volumes in Utrecht by Cornelius Guilielmus le Febvre.²⁵⁴ According to the information on the title page, the translation was based on the Latin Vulgate.²⁵⁵ The last page of the translation contained a non-exhaustive overview of the various approbations that the individual Bible books had already received. Matthias Oosterling, book censor, canon and secretary of the Utrecht chapter had given his approval for the translation of the Pentateuch (1715), the book Joshua, Judges, Ruth and the four books of Kings (1718²⁵⁶), and the New Testament (1718). Johannes Bock, abbot of Kloosterdaedt, had approved the book of Psalms (1702) and Arnoldus Eyben, book censor and canon of Antwerp, had done the same for the translation of the Gospels (1689).

The Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn translation consisted of two volumes with a separate pagination. The translation of every Bible book was preceded by a short introduction with information for the reader on the book's title, the author, the date of writing and a short summary of the content. The translators added cross-references to parallel Bible passages in the margins and additional information in footnotes.

The first volume included the Pentateuch, the historical books and the wisdom literature of the Old Testament on 652 pages. It started with a three-chapter preface, followed by an overview of the Tridentine canon, an approval of the translation by Archbishop Barchman Wuytiers and the translation of the books of the Old Testament up until the book Wisdom of Sirach. The second volume of the translation included the prophetic books of the Old Testament and all the books of the New Testament on 584 pages. The translation of the New Testament was preceded by a separate title page and a short two-page preface. The translation was followed by three chronologies: the first started from the beginning of the world until the coming of Christ, the second dealt with the life and deeds of Jesus, and the third described the acts of the apostles. Next, the translators included an alphabetical table of contents with the moral lessons of Scripture as well as a list with the Gospel and Epistle readings. The Bible was concluded by a Dutch translation of the Prayer of Manasseh,

²⁵⁴ Andreas van der Schuur and Hendrick van Rhijn, *Biblia sacra, dat is, de H. Schrifte van het Oude, en het Nieuwe Testament [...] met korte verklaringen op duistere plaatsen* (Utrecht, 1732).

²⁵⁵ It was stated: "naer de laetste Roomsche Keure der gemeine Latijnsche Overzettinge, in nederduitsch Vertaald."

²⁵⁶ The approbation dates from 1718 although the translation was printed in 1717.

although this text was not considered as canonical. The last page of the translation contained the above-mentioned overview of the various approbations.

The three-chapter preface to the Old Testament took the form of a general instruction on the reading of Scripture. The short introduction to this preface started by referring to Van der Schuur and provided an overview of his valuable translation work.²⁵⁷ Next, it was mentioned that Van Rhijn had continued the translation project in 1725 but that he had not changed the work that Van der Schuur had already done. Indeed, Van Rhijn had adopted the same translation method by staying close to the Latin Vulgate, which was the source text and the authorised text of the Catholic Church. In order to clarify the (literal) meaning of obscure and unclear passages for the readers, the translation was said to contain short notes that were based on the works of authoritative scholars. The translators considered the Old Testament as a prefiguration of the New Testament. Finally, important attention would also be paid to the spiritual sense of the Bible, provided by the Holy Spirit.

The first chapter of the introduction aimed at demonstrating that the reading of Sacred Scripture had to be strongly recommended for all people.²⁵⁸ In other words, it was both useful and beneficial to read the Bible on the condition that the reader had the right disposition. Two sets of testimonies were invoked to support this statement: on the one hand various biblical passages from the Old and the New Testament, and on the other, 26 quotations from Church fathers and other authorities that belonged to the Tradition of the Church. By way of conclusion, the author of the preface affirmed that at that time many Bible translations circulated in the Catholic countries, among others in the Low Countries, Germany, Poland, and also in France. In addition, many bishops, priests and teachers had incited the faithful to read the Bible. Many books had been published on this issue and the author particularly referred to the Latin and Dutch version of Van Neercassel's *Verhandeling van 't lezen der H. Schriftuure* (*Treatise on the Reading of Scripture*).

In the following chapter the author dealt with the necessary prerequisites for reading Scripture successfully. Again, he referred to Van Neercassel's treatise on the reading of Scripture out of which he derived eight important points of interest: (1) The reader had to learn from the authority of the Catholic

257 Van der Schuur translated the following parts of the Bible: Gospels (1689), Psalms (1692), Acts of the Apostles (1692), Letters of the Apostles and Apocalypse (1692), Pentateuch (1715), Joshua, Judges, Ruth and four books of Kings (1717). The complete translation of the New Testament appeared in 1698 and was reprinted several times. See p. 422 and following.

258 "Het leezen der HH. Boeken kragtig aenbevoelen aen alle slag van menschen." See Van der Schuur and Van Rhijn, *Biblia sacra*, i.

Church which Bible books belonged to the canon of Scripture;²⁵⁹ (2) The reader had to acknowledge the supreme authority of the Catholic Church with regard to all doctrinal teachings; (3) The reader had to be careful because the Bible contained many difficult and obscure passages;²⁶⁰ (4) Scripture could not be read out of pure curiosity or as a basis for scholarly investigations; (5) Scripture was a source for the knowledge of the salutary truth of Christian faith; (6) It was important to purify the heart of all sins and bad inclinations before reading Scripture;²⁶¹ (7) It was important to be educated in the main dogmas of faith before reading Scripture in order to prevent a wrong interpretation of the scriptural message;²⁶² (8) Thanks to education and preparation, the reader was able to read some Bible books, but he still needed the help of a preceptor or mediator.

The difference between the literal and the spiritual sense of Scripture was discussed in the third and final chapter. The author first stated that attention should be paid to both the literal and the spiritual meaning of the Old Testament texts in imitation of the Church fathers. The Old Testament had to be considered as prefiguration of the New Testament. Second, the reader had to realise that one and the same text could have more than one spiritual meaning. Some texts of the New Testament were interpreted in different ways by the apostles. The author therefore proposed four basic rules to help the readers understand the literal and spiritual meaning of biblical texts: (1) The literal meaning should be considered as God's Word; (2) The spiritual meaning should be considered as a true meaning, inspired by the Holy Spirit; (3) Both the literal and the spiritual meaning coincided; (4) In case of more than one spiritual meaning in a text, the one that coincided the most with the literal meaning of the text should be preferred. The author also referred to the short introductions at the beginning of every Bible book and the notes. In the third and fourth part of this paragraph, the author went more deeply into the spiritual meaning of the Pentateuch and that of the other books of the Old Testament (i.e. the historical, prophetic and moral books). He stated that the content of these books directly or indirectly referred to Christ.

Archbishop Barchman Wuytiers addressed his approval of the translation, dated 31 May 1732, to the Catholics of the United Provinces (*Aen de Catholijken der Vereenigde Nederlanden*). He started by affirming that the present Bible

259 Reference was made to the episcopal letter and the first three chapters of Van Neercassel's treatise.

260 In this context, explicit reference is made to the complete treatise of Van Neercassel.

261 Reference is made to chapter fifteen of Van Neercassel's treatise.

262 Again reference is made to chapter fifteen of Van Neercassel's treatise.

translation was not only long-awaited and urgently needed, but could also be compared to a treasure that would enrich the Catholic Church in the North. Next, he recalled the efforts of Andreas van der Schuur to whom Van Neercassel had entrusted the task of compiling a Dutch Bible translation. He also mentioned that Van Rhijn had continued the project at his request after Van der Schuur's death in 1719. Van Rhijn was praised for his good linguistic and scientific skills. According to the theologians that had examined the translation, it was not only written in fluent Dutch, but it also rendered the true meaning of Scripture on the basis of the Latin Vulgate that had been approved by the Council of Trent. Because Van Rhijn had died on 18 April 1732, Willibrordus Kemp had been asked to take care of the printing of the Bible. Barchman Wuytiers concluded the first paragraph of his approval by exhorting the faithful to read the Bible with diligence, to attempt to understand the biblical message and to take note of the truth contained in it.²⁶³ In other words, the Archbishop was explicitly in favour of vernacular Bible reading by the laity.

The second paragraph of the approval explained why the laity should read the Bible. Barchman Wuytiers invoked the writings of Gregory the Great who compared the biblical books to letters of God to his faithful. These letters were a useful means and had to be read and studied meticulously. Next, he dealt with the difference between the clergy and the laity. Clerics had to devote as much time as possible to the reading of the Bible and they should not get involved in worldly troubles. The laity from the other hand had to look for instructions in the Bible and pass these over to their families. The Archbishop concluded that the Bible was a valuable means to enlighten and nourish the human soul, especially in insecure times.

Thirdly, Barchman Wuytiers discussed the clarity and the obscurity of Scripture. He clearly stated that the obscurity of Scripture was not an excuse for neglecting its reading. Many parts of Scripture were clear to understand, for instance, strangely enough, the book Deuteronomy and the Gospels. When confronted with obscure passages, the reader had to appeal to Tradition and the teachings of the Church in order to elucidate the meaning. Second, he enumerated the biblical books that could be easily understood: the historical books of the Old Testament, the book of Tobias, the Acts of the Apostles, but also the Letters of the Apostles and the book of Wisdom. He emphasized that

263 "Wy kunnen UL. niet te veel vermaenen en voorhouden met hoeveel yver en naerstigheid gy deeze HH. Boeken moet leezen, met hoeveel begeert gy tragten moet dezelve te verstaen, met wat nederige leerzaamheid gy de heilzaeme waerheden, die 'er in bevat zijn, aen moet neemen, en bijzonderlijk met hoe veel getrouwigheid gy moet volbrengen al het geene ons Godt in zijn H. Schriftuere beveelt." See Van der Schuur and Van Rhijn, *Biblia sacra*, xix.

the Old Testament was a prefiguration of the New Testament and that both books had to elucidated with the help of Tradition. The faithful had to consult their pastors and preachers, who in their turn had to consult the Church fathers. In order to understand properly Scripture, Barchman Wuytiers concluded that the reader should have an inquiring mind and an accommodating heart.

The short two-page introduction to the translation of the New Testament dealt again with the relation between the Old and the New Testament.²⁶⁴ The author affirmed that the books of the Old Testament were filled with references to Christ and the New Covenant.²⁶⁵ Next, he introduced his readership to the different parts of the New Testament by providing short introductions to the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Pauline and Catholic letters, and the Apocalypse.

Contrary to De Witte's translation of the New Testament, Rome did not condemn the Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn translation.²⁶⁶ In spite of the allegations of Reusch and Alfrink, only De Witte's 1696 translation was placed on the Index and officially condemned in 1712. The 1732 complete Bible translation grew into the standard Bible of the Church of Utrecht and was reprinted in 1743 and 1770. It was used until far in the nineteenth century. The translation of the Psalms was published separately in a volume with notes, comments and spiritual exercises in 1730 and reprinted in the following years. In addition, the translation of the New Testament was reprinted several times in the second half of the eighteenth century. Particular attention should be drawn to the 1721 reprint of the translation of the Gospels which was specifically destined to the *Krystelyke Jonkheit*. This edition contained an elaborate preface in which the author first argued in favour of biblical education for children.²⁶⁷ Second, it

²⁶⁴ Van der Schuur and Van Rhijn, *Biblia sacra*, 300–301.

²⁶⁵ He affirmed that “de Heilige Boeken van het Oude Testament eenigzins het merkteken zouden draegen van het Nieuwe Verbond en de verheevenen leere, leven en geheimenissen des Zaligmakers als van verre zouden aenwijzen, en onder veelderhande verbeeltenissen en schaduwen doen glinsteren.” See Van der Schuur and Van Rhijn, *Biblia sacra*, 299.

²⁶⁶ Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 2:853; Alfrink, “Over Nederlandsche Pericopenvertalingen,” 216. See furthermore Martínez de Bujanda and Richter, *Index librorum prohibitorum 1600–1966*, 873; *Appendix Novissima ad Indicem librorum prohibitorum*, 25–26.

²⁶⁷ “[...] zal het dunkt my zeer dienstig zyn uit Gods geheiligde Woordt, zoo ‘t Geschreeven als het Overgeleeverde, en uit het gedrag van veele Heiligen, die ons op den weg der zaligheid tot het eeuwige leven zyn voorgegaen overtuigendt te bewyzen dat het geheel en gantsch met den Geest Gods overeenkomt, de Kleine Kinderen van jongs af aen in de kennisse der Heilige Schriftuer op te brengen: voor al in die van het Nieuwe Testament ende der H.H. Evangelien, en ze hen ter hand te stellen om ze naerstig te

inserted a *Berigt aen de ouders*²⁶⁸ in which he enumerated twelve points as a guideline for proclaiming the Gospels to their children. The first prerequisite was the most important one: every household had to possess at least one edition of the New Testament.²⁶⁹ It is therefore not surprising that the New Testament translations of Van der Schuur and also of De Witte were reprinted at a large scale. The twelfth and last point underlined the importance of vernacular Bible reading. If children were not good, they were unworthy to read the Bible and the writer therefore recommended to forbid the reading of the Gospels regularly by way of punishment.²⁷⁰ The guidelines for the parents were followed by two prayers that both aimed at encouraging vernacular Bible reading. One prayer had to be prayed at least once a week in order to invoke the help of Christ before reading Scripture, while the other, specifically destined for the children, had to be pronounced every day before reading the Gospels. In other words, children were allowed to read the Gospels every day of the week.

Petrus Buys²⁷¹ revised the translation of the New Testament on the basis of the Greek and Latin text in 1846, but this translation was soon labelled as a Jansenist Bible.²⁷² This revision was published for the last time in 1884. The translation of the short lessons in the *Vesperboek* (*Book of Vespers*) of 1909 were also derived from Buys's translation and revised to fulfil the conditions. Owens states that in 1910, the possibility was considered to revise Buys's work on the occasion of the publication of the *Misboek ten dienste van de Oud-Katholieke Kerk van Nederland* (*Prayer Book of the Old-Catholic Church of the Netherlands*). This book appeared because the language of public worship had

doorlezen." See Andreas van der Schuur, *De heilige evangeliën onzes heere Jesus Christus*, (Antwerp, 1721), 1.

268 "Berigt aen de ouders dienende aen hunne Kinderen van Jongs af aen de liefde tot Gods Heilig Woord in te planten." See Van der Schuur, *De heilige evangeliën onzes heere Jesus Christus*, 39.

269 "Ieder huisgezin behoort ten minsten een Nieuw Testament te hebben." See Van der Schuur, *De heilige evangeliën onzes heere Jesus Christus*, 39.

270 "Eindelyk, men moet de Kinderen als een groot ongeluk en een groote kastydinge doen aanzien, dat zy nu en dan beroofd worden van het leezen in het Nieuw Testament; en als zy het verkurven hebben, hen voor oogen stellen dat zy onwaardig zyn den Zaligmaker Christus Jesus in dit Goddelyk Boek tot hen te hooren spreken: en om hunne stoutigheit en ongeregeldheit te straffen, hen inderdaet nu en dan niet toelaten in te leezen, terwyl aen hunne Broertjens en Zusjens dit word toegelaeten, om dat zy zoet en gehoorzaam zyn." See Van der Schuur, *De heilige evangeliën onzes heere Jesus Christus*, 41–42.

271 According to the information on the title page of the translation, Petrus Buys considered himself a Roman-Catholic priest who worked as president of the Roman-Catholic seminary in Amersfoort: "P. Buys, R.K. Priester en President van het R.K. Seminarie te Amersfoort."

272 Petrus Buys, *Het Nieuwe Testament onzes Heeren Jezus Christus* (London, 1846).

changed from Latin into Dutch.²⁷³ Also, in 1910, the idea was suggested to make a new Bible translation and the initial plan appeared to have been to revise the Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn translation. However, these plans were not executed immediately and the new Bible translation was only published in 1953. The Old Testament of this translation was taken from the new translation of the Dutch Bible Society (1951) while the New Testament was prepared by a special commission.

4.3 Philippus Laurentius Verhulst

4.3.1 *A Polemical Bible Translator from Ghent (2)*

Philippus Laurentius Verhulst, also known as L. Zeelander²⁷⁴ or P.H. Vlaming, was born on 7 September 1690 in Ghent, in the same town as De Witte.²⁷⁵ He studied philosophy in Louvain and returned to Ghent in 1706 to study theology in the diocesan seminary that was led by the Jesuits at that time. One year later, in 1707, at the occasion of his tonsure, Verhulst signed the anti-Jansenist Form of Alexander VII. A few years later, however, he began to feel remorse for this act. Conscience-stricken, he testified in several letters to Quesnel about this event.

The complete correspondence between Quesnel and Verhulst consists of five letters, of which the first four, dating from 1712, deal with Verhulst's remorse for having signed the Form of Alexander VII. In his first letter, Verhulst described in detail what had happened the day of his tonsure and he asked the French Jansenist for advice on the consequences of this act for receiving any

273 Ouwens, "De Oud-Katholieke vertalingen," 147.

274 This last name was the last name of his mother. See Emile Jacques, "Un curieux foyer de jansénisme à Diest (Brabant) au début du XVIII^e siècle," *RHE* 82 (1987), 5–27, there 21.

275 For biographical information on Verhulst, see Ouwens, "De Oud-Katholieke vertalingen," 145–146; Polman, *Katholiek Nederland in de achttiende eeuw*, 1:344; Jacques, "Un curieux foyer de jansénisme à Diest (Brabant)," 21–24; Ferdinandus Claeys Bouúaert, "Verhulst (Philippe-Louis)," in *BN* 26 (Brussels: Brylant, 1936–1938), 654–658; Alfrink, "Over Nederlandsche Pericopenvertalingen," 216–218; Van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, 3:648–650; "Philippus Laurentius Verhulst," *Oud-Katholiek* 4 (1886), 35–36; Blommaert, *Nederduitsche schrijvers*, 323–324; Charles-Louis Richard and Jean Joseph Giraud, "Verhulst (Philippe-Louis)," in *Bibliothèque sacrée, ou Dictionnaire universel historique, dogmatique, canonique, géographique et chronologique des sciences ecclésiastiques* 26 (Paris, 1827), 49–50; Louis Moreri, "Verhulst (Philippe-Louis)," in *Le grand dictionnaire historique* 10 (Basel, 1759), 544; Gabriel Dupac de Bellegarde, *Mémoires historiques. Sur l'affaire de la bulle Unigenitus, dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens; principalement depuis son arrivée en 1713 jusqu'en 1730* (Brussels, 1755), 91–93.

further ordinations.²⁷⁶ Quesnel almost immediately answered to this letter. He took Verhulst's request seriously and advised the young man not to present himself for further ordinations. He furthermore stated that when someone was rejected for ordination because of refusing to pronounce the oath, this was a serious and inconvenient matter as the public would consider him as a suspect of the so-called Jansenist errors (*des erreurs du pretend Jansénisme*). If Verhulst would defer his ordination, he could wait for conditions that were more favourable and this way he would be less suspect.²⁷⁷ Verhulst was confused when he received this answer and asked for additional explanations in a following letter.²⁷⁸ Quesnel reassured him and affirmed that mitigating circumstances could be considered. As a penance, he proposed that every day, for the rest of the year, Verhulst would humble himself before God to account for his errors while reciting Psalms 15 and 47.²⁷⁹ In the end, Verhulst received no more ordinations or academic grades. On 22 November 1737, he wrote a piece in which he dealt with the events that had taken place in 1707 and in which he openly asked for forgiveness for this sin. Verhulst also stated that he had already retracted his subscription in a letter to the bishop of Montpellier dated 29 July 1726.²⁸⁰

In 1708, after his tonsure, Verhulst came back to Louvain to study theology in the college of Viglius. In spite of his young age, Verhulst was engaged in the theological controversies of his time against the Jesuits, and, from 1713 onwards, also against the papal bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius*. He wrote several polemical works, both in Latin and Dutch.²⁸¹ His efforts and talents did not go by

276 Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 387–390 (letter 197).

277 Quesnel stated: "Si on est rejeté de l'ordination pour le refus du serment, c'est une note éclatante et un décri public qui fera regarder le refusant comme un homme suspect et prévenu des erreurs du prétendu Jansénisme: ce qui est toujours un inconvénient. Au lieu qu'en différant, on n'est pas si noté et on demeure plus en état de profiter des conjonctures favorables qui peuvent arriver." See Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 390–392, here 392 (letter 198).

278 Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 404–406 (letter 206).

279 "La pénitence donc que j'ai eu intention de lui marquer est principalement d'en gémir devant Dieu et de s'en humilier en sa personne, de s'offrir à lui pour en porter la pénitence qu'il voudra lui-même lui en imposer, et puisqu'il veut que je lui marque quelque chose en particulier, il peut durant le reste de cette année se présenter chaque jour une fois à Dieu pour s'humilier devant lui de ces deux fautes en récitant le Psaume 15 *Conserva me* par rapport à la tonsure et le Psaume 47 *Magnus Dominus* par rapport au saint nom de Dieu employé dans le sermon." See Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 406–407 (letter 207).

280 See "Philippus Laurentius Verhulst," 36.

281 For an overview of Verhulst's written production, see Claeys Bouúaert, "Verhulst (Philippe-Louis)," c. 567–658; Moreri, "Verhulst (Philippe-Louis)," 544; Dupac de Bellegarde, "Mémoires historiques," 92–93.

unnoticed and on 23 March 1716, Verhulst was appointed rector of the Latin school of Diest. In Diest, he was still involved in polemics and maintained contacts with some adversaries of *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, for instance Quesnel.²⁸² However, in 1723, Verhulst had to resign his function because of the position he took against *Unigenitus Dei Filius*.²⁸³ During his stay in Diest, and particularly in 1717, at the age of 27, Verhulst published a translation of the New Testament in Antwerp, which was sold in Ghent by Franciscus and Dominicus vander Ween. This translation was reprinted in 1721 in Ghent. That year, De Witte died and Verhulst legated his books, papers and writings, also because the Church of Holland was not really interested in the works of the ill-famed polemicist.²⁸⁴

Verhulst returned to Louvain in 1723 where he stayed in the company of some inveterate Jansenists in the College of Housterlé and later also in the Holland College or College of Saint Pulcheria, where he was commensal of some Dutch ecclesiastics, for instance Barchman Wuytiers. During this stay in Louvain, Verhulst studied and wrote several polemical works in favour of Jansenism, among others a *Mémoire* on the occasion of the consecration of Archbishop Cornelis Steenhoven in 1725.²⁸⁵

As early as 1729, Verhulst and twelve opponents of *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, all members of the Louvain University, were summoned by the official of Mechlin for alleged Jansenism. However, when they put forward the incompetence of the official, the thirteen, all suspected of Jansenism, had to appear before the rector of the Louvain University and were excluded from the University by a decree. In spite of appeals to the Council of Brabant and to Archduchess Maria Elisabeth of Austria, the sentence of exclusion was approved. Later, Verhulst wrote a complaint in order to justify the ideas of his partisans.²⁸⁶ In imitation of Van Espen,²⁸⁷ the majority of the group, Verhulst included, decided to flee the country and they went to the Northern Low Countries. Verhulst ended up

282 In 1719, Verhulst directed a letter to Quesnel at the occasion of a dispute on the interpretation *Unigenitus* in the abbey of Orval. In this letter, Verhulst asked the French Jansenist for a clarification in order to calm the situation down. See Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 558–559 (letter 301). The response to this letter dates from 18 October 1719. See Tans, *Pasquier Quesnel et les Pays-Bas*, 562–568 (letter 303).

283 Jacques, “Un curieux foyer de jansénisme à Diest,” 13–14.

284 Van Kleef, “Aegidius de Witte,” 111; Blommaert, *Nederduitsche schrijvers*, 323–324.

285 Philippus Laurentius Verhulst, *De consecratione archiepiscopi Ultrajectensis adversus dissertationem doctoris Damen epistola I[–V] presbyteri Ultrajectensis ad amicum jurisconsultum* (n.p., 1725–1726).

286 Philippus Laurentius Verhulst, *Expostulatio super edicto academiae Lovaniensis, dato 20 decembris 1730* (n.p., 1731).

287 See p. 53.

in the seminar of Amersfoort, where he taught theology from 1736 until his death on 15 June 1753, first together with Nicolas Le Gros and later as his successor.²⁸⁸

During his stay in Amersfoort, Verhulst entered into a controversy on the dogma of the Eucharist with the Leiden Calvinist pastor Jan van der Honert on the occasion of Van der Honert's work against the dogma of transubstantiation. Verhulst published his reaction entitled *De vaste gronden van het catholyk geloove wegens het H. Sacrament des Autaers* (*The Fixed Grounds of Catholic Faith because of the Sacrament of the Altar*) in 1738 under his pseudonym L. Zeelander. This work was not only based on the French treatise *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Église catholique sur l'eucharistie* (1667) of Arnauld and Nicole,²⁸⁹ but also on the works of the French theologian and orientalist Eusèbe Renaudot (1646–1720).²⁹⁰ After various retorts and refutations of Van der Honert, various complements to the work appeared in 1743, 1747 and 1751. However, Verhulst died before finishing his apology. In 1762, another supplement to the work appeared based on his notes.²⁹¹

In 1741, Verhulst wrote a three-partite Dutch work under the pseudonym of P.H. Vlaming that consisted of 22 letters on the three main disputes among the Roman Catholics, namely Jansenism, the papal bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius* and the conflict in the Archdiocese of Utrecht.²⁹² This work was directed against a treatise that had been compiled by David Pierman, a pseudonym of the

288 Frederik Smit, "Präsidenten, Professoren und Präfekten am altkatholischen Priesterseminar in Amersfoort während der Jahre 1723 bis 1823," *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 73 (1983), 246–260, there 255.

289 Claeys-Boùuaert, "Verhulst (Philippe-Louis)," c. 656–657; Joseph A.G. Tans, *Bossuet en Hollande* (Maastricht: Ernest van Aelst, 1949), 114–115; Jan Pieter De Bie and Jacob Loosjes, "Honert (Taco Hajo van den)," in *Biographisch Woordenboek van Protestantsche Godgeleerden in Nederland* 4 ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1931), 237.

290 Eusèbe Renaudot spent most of his life at the French court as a diplomat, but was also a specialist in Eastern languages, for instance Arab, Copt and Syriac. He published a history of the patriarchs of Alexandria, entitled *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* (1713) and a collection of liturgical texts of the Eastern Churches, entitled *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio* (1715–1716). In this last work, he defended the Gallican and Jansenist propositions of Antoine Arnauld, and particularly the perpetuity of the faith of the Church on the subject of the sacraments. See Casper D.G. Müller, *Eusèbe Renaudot*, in *BBKL* 8 (Hamm: Traugott Bautz, 1994) 34–44; Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres*, 12:25–41.

291 It should be noted that all these works received approbation from censors from Louvain and Ghent. See Claeys Boùuaert, "Verhulst (Philippe-Louis)," c. 657.

292 Philippus Vlaming (=Philippus Laurentius Verhulst), *De drie hoofdgescillen tusschen de Rooms-Catholyken, wegens het Formulier tegen Jansénius, wegens de Bulle Unigenitus, wegens het Aerts-Bisdóm van Utrecht, opgehelderd*, 3 vols. (Utrecht, 1741).

Haarlem Roman-Catholic canon Wilhelmus Wijtman (?–1747). In the introduction to this work, Verhulst summarized his opinion on book censorship and the *Regula Quarta*, as will be demonstrated in the third part of this section.

4.3.2 *A Translation of the New Testament*

In 1717, during his stay in Diest, Verhulst published a translation of the New Testament, entitled *Het Nieuw Testament van onzen here Jesus Christus* (*The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ*), which was printed in Antwerp by Franciscus Muller.²⁹³ According to the information on the title page, the translation was based on the Vulgate (*de gemeyne Latynsche overzettinge*) and sold in Ghent by Franciscus and Dominicus vander Ween. Verhulst inserted a message to the bookbinder (*Berigt aen den binder*) immediately after the title page in which he formulated two remarks with regard to the ordering of his work. Next, Verhulst mentioned explicitly in a warning to the reader (*Waerschouwinge aen den lezer*) that the present translation had been examined by several theologians and doctors of the Louvain University. One of them was of the opinion that a few small adaptations and corrections were necessary better to correspond to the Vulgate.²⁹⁴ Verhulst also inserted a list of the books of the New Testament with the supposed year in which they had been written and the corresponding page numbers. The approval of the translation was followed by a table with prophetic readings originating from the Old Testament that had to be read in Mass during the year. This might be an indication that also Verhulst considered the readings of the Old Testament as a prefiguration of the New Testament message. The last part of the translation consisted of a chronology (*Tydtwyzer*) of the New Testament, a list with the Gospel and Epistle readings and an overview of the moral lessons contained in the New Testament. The work was concluded by a list of printing mistakes and a map of the Holy Land.

Contrary to the translations of De Witte and Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn, the Verhulst translation was not preceded by an elaborate preface. Apart from the *Waerschouwinge aen den lezer*, Verhulst addressed himself to the reader in a short note (*Aen den lezer over dezen druk*) and only provided practical information on the chapter division, the notes and comments in the margins, and the used abbreviations. The translation consisted of two parts: on the one

²⁹³ Verhulst, *Het Nieuw Testament van onzen here Jesus Christus* (Antwerp, 1717).

²⁹⁴ “Deze vertaling gedrukt zynde, is sy nog overzien van verscheyde Godtsgeleerde en Doctoren van Loven, onder de welke zekeren Doctoer, wiens doordeel nog niet opgesteld en is, van gevoelen was, dat hier wegens de over-een-koinge met de Vulgate, nog behoorde gestelt te worden deze opmerkingen.”

hand, the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, and on the other, the Letters of Paul, the Catholic Letters and the Apocalypse. On top of every book chapter, Verhulst placed a short table of contents.

Verhulst received approval for his translation on 5 February 1717 from A. van Ertborn, book censor of the diocese of Antwerp, who stated that the translation in good Dutch faithfully corresponded to the Vulgate.²⁹⁵ Franciscus Martin, royal Louvain professor of Holy Scripture and Greek, wrote a Latin recommendation on 25 May 1717 in which he not only praised the faithful and clear character of the translation, but also the good quality of the Dutch language.²⁹⁶ Verhulst added a Dutch translation of this recommendation. The Augustinian friar Johannes Libens declared on 31 May 1717 that he had read the translation with great pleasure and satisfaction, and that it did not oppose Catholic faith and morals. Furthermore, he praised its fidelity to the Vulgate and its clarity. Finally, J.B. Schoeps, canon and pleban of the Saint Peter's Church of Louvain, approved the translation on 4 June 1717 and stated that it deserved praise and recommendation. The fluent translation was faithful to the Vulgate and contained learned notes and tables.²⁹⁷ Although Verhulst mainly seemed to rely on the Vulgate for his translation, Van Druten also noticed the influence from the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter.²⁹⁸ However, this influence must have been inconspicuous and negligible, as Verhulst received ecclesiastical approval for his translation. A possible explanation can be the fact that Verhulst maintained good contacts with people in the Southern Low Countries who were not suspected of Jansenism.²⁹⁹

The New Testament of Verhulst was reprinted many times, up until the twentieth century. Reprints appeared, among others, in 1721, 1825, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1854, 1865, 1868, 1877, 1901, 1907 and 1922. The above-mentioned Catholic book of pericopes with the Epistles and Gospels, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, appealed to the translation of Verhulst for the New Testament, instead of to the Moerentorf translation. The translation of the Old

295 He stated: "Voorders wat aengaet deze vertalinge, ik verklare dat sy nauwkeurig over-eenkomt met de Vulgate of de gemeyne Latynsche overzettinge, en dat sy volgens den aerdts en het tegenwoordig gebruyk van onze nederduytsche tale, zeer klaer en fraey is."

296 He stated: "Examinavi hanc novi testamenti versionem Belgicam, *secundum textum vulgata concinnatam, notis brevibus, idoneisque Tabulis munitam*. Censeoque commendari eam iprimis posse hoc nomine, quod fit *verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae*."

297 "[...] verklarende dat sy my ten uystersten behaegt, zoo om haere nette en duydelijke overstellingen van den zin en de letter der *Vulgate*, als om hare ciereleyke vloyentheyts, en om de geleerde aenteekeningen en profytigte tafels."

298 Van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, 3:649–650.

299 Ouwens, "De oud-katholieke vertalingen," 146.

Testament was based on De Witte's 1717 translation. In other words, for more than 150 years, the Roman-Catholic faithful used a book of pericopes with translations that found their origins in "Jansenist" circles (and may have been influenced by some of their ideas).³⁰⁰ It should be emphasized again that neither the Old Testament of De Witte, nor the New Testament of Verhulst were condemned by the Church. In addition, the same book of pericopes was used for a so-called Book of Sundays (*Zondagsboek*) entitled *Den christelyken Vader brekende het geestelyk broodt voor de kinderen* (*The Christian Father breaking the Spiritual Bread for the Children*) that contained explanations of all the Gospels to be read in Church to the faithful throughout the year. Later, both the translations of De Witte and Verhulst were also used when the book was expanded.³⁰¹

4.3.3 *Verhulst's Statements on the Index and the Regula Quarta*

Verhulst did not write a separate work in which he elaborated on his ideas on vernacular Bible reading or the *Regula Quarta*. However, in the introduction to his 1741 work on the three main disputes among the Roman Catholics, he extensively discussed the history of book censorship and his stand on the *Regula Quarta*. Verhulst provided a quite accurate historical overview. He situated the start of book censorship around 1500 as a reaction against the so-called heretical books in various languages that had inundated Europe and that had attacked Catholic faith. According to Verhulst, the Louvain University had been the first to compile a list of heretical books and the Louvain theologians had even done this work twice. In addition, Charles v had confirmed these lists in two edicts, in 1546 and 1556 respectively. He noted, however, that Charles v was succeeded by Philip II in the autumn of 1555. Philip II aimed at continuing the religious policy of his father and he confirmed the so-called *Bloedplakkaat* of 1550 in 1556.³⁰² Meanwhile in Rome, Pope Paul IV had taken the initiative in 1559 to compile a similar list that was judged too harsh. His successor Pius IV delegated this task to the Council of Trent. Several bishops and preceptors were appointed to examine a series of suspected and harmful books, to draw a list and to report to the Council, which had the final say in this matter, according to Verhulst. After about two years, the commission of bishops and preceptors was ready, but for lack of time, they had handed over their work to the Pope. Verhulst stated that on 24 March 1564, Pius IV issued the Tridentine Index of forbidden books, accompanied by his constitution *Dominici Gregis*

300 Alfrink, "Over Nederlandsche Pericopenvertalingen," 212.

301 Alfrink, "Over Nederlandsche Pericopenvertalingen," 204–218.

302 François, "De Leuvense theologien over de bijbel in de volkstaal," 354.

Custodiae. In addition, this Index also contained ten general rules to regulate book censorship.³⁰³ Next, Verhulst mentioned that the Popes Sixtus v, Clement VIII and Alexander VII had complemented these rules with their remarks and comments. Quite remarkably, Verhulst affirmed that some people erroneously believed that these rules had been prescribed by the Council of Trent because some printers inserted them, along with other papal ordinations, in their editions of the Council. He clarified, however, that this assertion was false and that the Council had not made any mention of these rules.³⁰⁴ Contrary to findings of recent historical research, Verhulst was convinced that Tridentine rules had been proclaimed by the Pope and not by the Council. This might also be an indication that Verhulst attached higher authority to the Council, than to the Pope.

Next, Verhulst dealt with the implementation of the Index and the rules. Although Pius IV had declared that all Catholics had to observe his order, Verhulst clearly stated that not all Catholics had blindly submitted to these stipulations.³⁰⁵ In France and Poland, neither the Index nor the rules were received. Also in Germany, not all the orders of Pius IV were observed. The *Regula Quarta*, for instance, was not accepted, as witnessed by the German Jesuits Serarius and Layman.³⁰⁶ In the Low Countries, as Verhulst emphasized, some of the Tridentine rules and a part of the Index were received, but certainly not all.³⁰⁷ For this reason, Philip II ordered a special commission under the guidance of

303 "Behalve deze lyst, gaf de Paus nog door den zelven Bevel-brief *Tien algemeine Regelen* uit, volgende welke nog veele andere Boeken, die in de lyst niet uitgedrukt stonden, moesten als verboden geagt worden, als ook alle diergelyke boeken, die 'er daarna nog mogten uitgegeeven worden." See Vlaming, *De drie hoofdgeschillen tusschen de Rooms-Catholyken*, 1:xlx.

304 "Eenige onkundigen beelden zig zomtyds in, dat het Regelen zyn door 't Concilie van Trenten zelve voorgeschreeven, om dat zommige Drukkers die Regelen, beneffens eenige andere Pauzelyke beveelen, als Byhangzelen agter het Concilie geplaeft hebben. Maer 't is wel zeeker dat 'er in 't Concilie alleenlyk geen gewag is geweest van die Regelen." See Vlaming, *De drie hoofdgeschillen tusschen de Rooms-Catholyken*, 1:l.

305 "Maert 't was 'er wel verre van daen, dat alle Catholyken zig daer blindelings aen zouden onderworpen hebben. Heele Ryken en groote landschappen, hebben nooit die Regelen willen aenneemen, nogt juist alle die Boeken willen verbieden die men te Roomen verboden had." See Vlaming, *De drie hoofdgeschillen tusschen de Rooms-Catholyken*, 1:li.

306 Layman clearly stated that the fourth rule forbidding vernacular Bible reading had not been received in Germany: "*De Vierde Regel verbied den Byble in de moederlyke tael, maer hy is in Duitschland niet aengenoomen.*" See Vlaming, *De drie hoofdgeschillen tusschen de Rooms-Catholyken*, 1:li-1ii.

307 "In Nederland oordeelde men insgelyks, dat men wel eenige van die Regels, en een groot deel van de lyst der verbode Boeken mogt aenneemen, maer niet alles." See Vlaming, *De drie hoofdgeschillen tusschen de Rooms-Catholyken*, 1:lii.

Montano to consult the Universities of Louvain and Douai, and to compile a new Index for the Low Countries, the so-called *Index Expurgatorius*, approved by an edict on 31 July 1571. Verhulst rightly remarked that only four of the ten Tridentine rules, namely rules 2, 5, 7 and 8, were contained in the 1571 Index.

In the following part of his introduction, Verhulst elaborated on the *Regula Quarta* and emphasized the fact that faithful had to obtain a written permission of the bishop to read the vernacular Bible, even if these translations had been composed by good Catholics and had been approved. Verhulst reacted with disbelief to these statements and affirmed that it was logical to forbid bad and heretical translations for lay people, but also admitted that the Council nowhere had made mention of a restriction of good and faithful Bible translations.³⁰⁸ He referred to the situation in Spain, Italy and Portugal where there were almost no lay people that had ever read a book of the Bible. Next, Verhulst dealt with the interpretation of the *Regula Septima* and the *Regula Sexta*.³⁰⁹

Another issue at stake was the relation between the ecclesiastical rules and secular laws. According to Verhulst, some of the Tridentine rules contained elements that belonged to the authority of the secular authorities and that seemed to follow the style of the Inquisition.³¹⁰ One of the measures contained in the *Regula Quarta* dealt for instance with the price of the books.

Booksellers who shall sell, or in any other way furnish, bibles in the vulgar tongue to any one not possessed of the license aforesaid, shall forfeit THE PRICE of the books, and shall be otherwise punished, at the pleasure of the bishop, according to the degree of the offence.³¹¹

Verhulst went on by stating that it was sometimes difficult or even impossible to find out why some books were forbidden, and, consequently, to determine if a reader had to be excommunicated or not. In some cases, theologians who

308 "Ook had het Concilie in de Vierde Zittinge met opzet gehandelt van vertaelingen en uitleggingen der H. Schriftuere, en van het drukken der zelve, dog zonder een enkel woordje te zeggen om het leezen van getrouwe vertaelingen te bepaelen." See Vlaming, *De drie hoofdgeschillen tusschen de Rooms-Catholyken*, 1:lv.

309 Vlaming, *De drie hoofdgeschillen tusschen de Rooms-Catholyken*, 1:1vi–lviii.

310 "T is ook aenmerkens waerdig, dat 'er in die Regelen eenige dingen geboden worden, die 't niet de Geestelyke maer de Weereldlyke Magt toestaet te gebieden, en die teenemael den trant der Inquisitie volgen." See Vlaming, *De drie hoofdgeschillen tusschen de Rooms-Catholyken*, 1:lix.

311 *Regula Quarta*: "Bibliopolae vero, qui praedictam facultatem non habenti biblia idiomate vulgari conscripta vendiderint vel alio quovis modo concesserint, liborum pretium in usus pios ab episcopo convertendum amittant, alisque poenis pro delicti qualitate ejusdem episcopi arbitrio subjaceant."

had to refute heretical books were obliged to read these works and thus had to be excommunicated if they did so without the necessary written permission. However, it was often very hard to obtain this permission, especially if it had to come from Rome. It becomes clear that Verhulst especially reacted against the written permission that had to be obtained in order to read certain books. He invoked the testimony of Claude Fleury³¹² to show that the former Popes and Councils had not proclaimed laws of this kind. However, Verhulst complained that Rome continued to forbade books following the even stricter rules of Pope Sixtus v and the advices of the Congregation of the Index and the Congregation of the Inquisition.

Verhulst stated that the authority of the Congregation of the Inquisition was valued higher than the Congregation of the Index because it explained why a book had been forbidden, while the other Congregation only used the words *Donec corrigatur* (*forbidden until corrected*). Another important distinction between these two organs was that the Pope sometimes assisted to the meetings of the Congregation of the Inquisition, but was never present in the meetings of the Congregation of the Index. Verhulst stated that it was not surprising that in France, the decisions of these two Congregations were not accepted, mainly because of the Gallican sympathies in this country. The other countries, for instance the Low Countries, were more favourably disposed towards the decrees of the two Congregations, but these stipulations first had to be approved by the secular authorities. Verhulst demonstrated that this habit was common in the Low Countries and other countries. Verhulst concluded the passage on book censorship by expressing the hope that his explanations would be useful for those who were not familiar with this topic. He also made clear that he was firmly opposed to the regulations on the reading of books.

³¹² Fleury also had stated that right from the beginning the unlearned and women had read the Bible with diligence and even knew it by heart.

The Translation Character of the Bible Translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst

't Geen zy van Gods Gratie leeren
Is het geen' de Kerk des Heeren
t' Allen tijden heeft geloofd
Naert de lesse van haert Hoofd
Christus, 't gene Paulus leerde
En zoo kragtelijk beweerde,
't Geen de Vader Augustijn
En Sint Thomas van Aquyn.¹



The common pursuit of the Bible translators De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst consisted in making the Bible accessible for all faithful without distinction. Their respective undertakings resulted in translations that related differently to the Vulgate and, in case of the New Testament, to the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the translation character of the New Testament translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst through two short case studies. The first case study presents five New Testament pericopes that were at stake in the sixteenth-century Catholic debates with the Protestants. The second case study deals with nine New Testament pericopes and discusses the influence of the condemned *Nouveau Testament de Mons* (1667) on passages related to the inner Catholic debates on grace and free will in order to determine the Jansenist character of the translations under study. However, by way of introduction, a short characterisation of the translations is provided based on the available (older) secondary literature, namely the contributions of Ouwens (1990), Groenen (1917) and Van Druten (1905).²

¹ Van der Schuur, *Ware afbeelding*, 3.

² See Ouwens, "De oud-katholieke vertalingen," 137–151; Petrus Gerardus Groenen, *Algemeene inleiding tot de Heilige Schrift: geschiedenis van den tekst* (Leiden: Theonville, 1917), 354–355; Van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, 3:633–665.

The 1696 New Testament of De Witte was contested, not so much because the translation deviated from the Vulgate, but because De Witte openly admitted on the title page that he had made use of the twice-condemned *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. With regard to the language of De Witte's work, clear traces of a Southern-Dutch idiom could be found. This is not surprising given the fact that De Witte had compiled a Flemish grammar book in 1713 that was destined to the schoolteachers of the city of Ghent (*Schôl-meesters der Stadt van Gendt*). In addition, De Witte resorted to an unusual choice of words and wayward ideas. All authors agreed that his 1696 translation seemed to fit in very closely with the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.³

Van der Schuur seemed to have consulted the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* to a lesser degree for his translation of the New Testament, although there were some striking similarities with the translation of Mons, according to Van Druten.⁴ Ouwens considered the 1732 complete Bible translation of Van der Schuur and Van Rhijn as the best from a literary point of view. This translation fitted in with the idiom of Holland and Utrecht and became indeed the most important Bible translation for the Church of Utrecht.⁵

The translation of Verhulst appeared to be more faithful to the Vulgate and differed in this regard from the translation of De Witte. Van Druten stated that Verhulst probably knew the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, but did not make extensive use of it.⁶ However, Verhulst did not make a literal translation of the Vulgate either, contrary to what the censors of his work had affirmed in their approvals. According to Ouwens, Verhulst's translation was the least surprising with regard to language and style and the most faithful rendering of the Vulgate.⁷

5.1 Passages Reflecting the Protestant-Catholic Debates

Given that De Witte (DW), Van der Schuur and Van Rhijn (VDS-VR), and Verhulst (VH) were Catholics living and working in a predominantly Protestant context, the first case study aims to investigate how they translated five confessionally charged Bible pericopes that had been at stake in the sixteenth-century debates between Catholics and Protestants.

3 Ouwens, "De oud-katholieke vertalingen," 147; Groenen, *Algemeene inleiding tot de Heilige Schrift*, 354; Van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, 3:637–658.

4 Van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, 3:653.

5 Ouwens, "De oud-katholieke vertalingen," 147.

6 Van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, 3:649–650.

7 Ouwens, "De oud-katholieke vertalingen," 146.

5.1.1 *Mt 3:2 and Mt 4:17*

TABLE 16 Mt 3:2 and Mt 4:17

	Mt 3:2	Mt 4:17
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Pœnitentiam agite : appropinquavit enim regnum cœlorum.	Exinde cœpit Jesus prædicare, et dicere : Pœnitentiam agite : appropinquavit enim regnum cœlorum
Statenvertaling (1637)	Bekeert u: want het Coninckrijck der Hemelen is nae by gekomen.	Dan toen aen heeft Jezus begonnen te prediken ende te seggen: Bekeert u want het Conickrijck der Hemelen is naby gekomen.
DW (1696)	Doet penitentie: want het rijck des hemels is voorhanden.	Van dan af begon Jesus te predicken, en te seggen: doet penitentie: want “het rijck des hemels is voorhanden. 17 Dit rijck is het gene door het welcke Godt, te niet gedaen hebbende de heerschappye van den Duyvel, als koninck bestiert de herten van sijne uytverkoren; welck rijck hier in de heylige Kercke begint, en hier namaels voltrocken wort in den hemel.
DW (1717)	“Bekeert u: want ‘t Rijk des hemels is voorhanden.	Van dien tijdt af begon Jesus te prediken, en te zeggen: Bekeert u: want ‘t “Rijk der hemelen is voorhanden. 17 Dit Rijck is het gene door het welcke Godt, te niet gedaen hebbende de heerschappye van den duyvel, als Koninck bestiert de herten van sijne uytverkoren; welck Rijck hier in de heylige Kercke begint, en hier-namaels voltrocken wort in den hemel.

TABLE 16 Mt 3:2 and Mt 4:17 (*cont.*)

	Mt 3:2	Mt 4:17
VH (1717)	Doet penitentie; want het Ryk der Hemelen is aenstaende.	Van dien tydt af begon Jesus te prediken, zeggende: Doet penitentie; want het Ryk der Hemelen is aenstaende.
VDS-VR (1732)	Doet boetvaerdigheid: ^b want het Rijk der hemelen [*] is naby. ^b Mt 10,7; Mc 1,15; Lc 10,9.11; Jak 5,8 [*] v. 2 <i>Het rijk der hemelen</i> : Door 't welke Godt over de zielen der geloovigen heerscht: welk rijk alhier begon- nen word, maer in den hemel zijne volkoomenheid zal krijgen.	^h Van dien tijdt af begon Jesus te preeken, zeggende: Doet boetvaerdigheid: want het Rijk der hemelen is naby. ^h Mark.1.16

In Mt 3:2, John the Baptist called upon to do penance. The New Testament of De Witte 1696, the New Testament of Verhulst 1717, and the Bible of Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn 1732 provided a faithful translation of the Vulgate by translating *pœnitentiam agite* literally as *doet penitentie* or *boetvaerdigheid*. However, the translation of this pericope in De Witte’s 1717 Bible bore close resemblance with the Statenvertaling as De Witte translated *pœnitentiam agite* as *bekeert u*. In Mt 4:17, Jesus started to preach repentance using the same words as John the Baptist. Also in this case, the three translators provided a faithful translation of the Vulgate by translating *pœnitentiam agite* literally as *doet penitentie* or *boetvaerdigheid*. However, De Witte’s 1717 rendering of this passage bore again close resemblance with the Statenvertaling when he translated *pœnitentiam agite* as *bekeert u*. Further research should point out whether more passages in De Witte’s 1717 testify of crypto-Calvinist influences.

5.1.2 *Mt 16:18*

All three Dutch translations corresponded to the Latin Vulgate when they translated the Latin *Ecclesiam* by *Ker(c)k(e)*, contrary to the Statenvertaling that opted for *gemeynte*.

TABLE 17 Mt 16:18

Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Et ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam
Statenvertaling (1637)	Ende ick segge u oock, dat ghy zijt Petrus, ende op dese Petra sal ick mijn gemeyn te bouwen, ende de poorten der Helle en sullen de selve niet overweldigen.
DW (1696)	Ick seg' u oock: gy voert den naem van "een steenrots: op die steenrots sa lick mijn Kercke bouwen, en de "poorten der hellen en sullen die niet overmeesteren. 18. <i>Petrus</i> of <i>Petra</i> is een steenrots te seggen. 18. Dat is, de krachten: want een Stadt wort versterkt door hare poorten ende bollewercken. Of, <i>de eeuwige doodt en sal die niet overmeesteren</i>. Siet <i>Isai.</i> 38.10. &c.
VH (1717)	En ik zegge tot u, dat gy zyt (c) Petrus, en op deze steen-rots zal ik myn Kerke bouwen; en de poorten der Helle zullen tegen haer niet vermogen 18. (c) Den naem van Petrus beteekent eenen steen oft steen-rots in het Grieks, Latyn, en Syriaks; welke laetste tael als dan by de Joden in 't gebruyk was.
VDS-VR (1732)	En ik zeg u, ⁱ dat gy zijt Petrus * en op dezen Steen * zal ik mijne Kerk bouwen, en de poorten der Helle *, zullen tegen haer niet vermoogen. ⁱ Job 1,42 * v. 18 <i>Gij zijt Petrus</i>: Petrus of Petra is een steenrots te zeggen. <i>Op dezen Steen</i>: Deze Steen betekent niet alleen Petrus; maer ook het geloof dat hy beleed, en Christus zelf.

5.1.3 *Rom 3:28*TABLE 18 *Rom 3:28*

Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Arbitramur enim justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis.
Statenvertaling (1637)	Wy besluyten dan dat de mensche door het geloove gerechtveerdight wort, sonder de wercken der wet.
DW (1696)	Wy besluyten dan, “dat den mensch gerechtveerdigt wort door het geloove sonder de wercken des Wets. 28. Dat is, dat d'uytwendige wercken, door de kennisse des Wets gedaen, den mensch niet en rechtveerdigen; maer het geloof in Christus, en de goede wercken uyt dat geloof vloeyende. Want soo moet dese plaetse van den H. Apostel Paulus versoent worden met de leeringhe van den H. Jacobus in ‘t tweede Capittel van sijnen Algemeynen brief.
VH (1717)	Wy besluyten dan, dat den mensch geregtveerdigt wort door het geloof , zonder de werken van de Wet.
VDS-VR (1732)	* Wy besluiten dan dat de mensch geregtvaerdigd word door ‘t geloof , zonder de werken der Wet *. * Gal. 2,16 en 3, 2.8.11 en 14. * v. 28 <i>Zonder de werken der Wet</i> : Zulke werken die uit het geloof niet voortskomen.

The three Dutch translations did not follow Luther who controversially had added the word “alone” in his translation of Rom 3:28, stating that man was justified through faith alone, excluding the works as a means to obtain salvation. The *Statenvertaling* neither included the addition “alone” because the reformed wanted to provide a faithful translation of the original text. De Witte made in his annotation a distinction between the external works of the Law (*d'uytwendige wercken*) that did not justify the faithful and the good works as a

result of the faith in Jesus (*de goede wercken uyt dat geloof vloeyende*). De Witte considered this second type of works as a necessary component of faith. The translation of Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn contained a similar annotation which favoured the works as a result of faith.

5.1.4 1 Cor 15:10

De Witte provided a literal translation of the Vulgate when he translated *gratia Dei mecum* as *de gratie Godts met my* and thus did not mention the implicit Latin verb *est* (*is* in Dutch). However, in his annotation, De Witte referred to

TABLE 19 1 Cor 15:10

Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Gratia autem Dei sum id quod sum, et gratia ejus in me vacua non fuit, sed abundantius illis omnibus laboravi : non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum .
Statenvertaling (1637)	Doch door de genade Godts ben ick dat ick ben: ende sijne genade die [<i>aen</i>] my [<i>bewesen is</i>], en is niet ydel geweest, maer ick hebbe overvloediger gearbeydt, dan sy alle: doch niet ick, maer de genade Godts die met my is .
DW (1696)	Maer door Godts gratie ben ick dat ick ben; en de gratie, die hy my bewezen heeft, en is niet vruchteloos geweest; maer ick hebben veel meer gearbeydt als sy allegader; doch ick niet, maer de gratie Godts “met my . 10. Of. Die met my is. Gr.
VH (1717)	Doch het gene ik ben, dit ben ik door de gratie Godts: en syne gratie, aen my bewezen, is niet ledig geweest X: maer ik heb meer als sy allegader gearbeyt: niet ik nogtans, maer de gratie Godts die met my is .
VDS-VR (1732)	Dog het gene ik ben, ben ik door Gods genade: en zijne genade aen my bewezen, is niet leedig geweest: ¹ maer ik heb meer dan zy allen gearbeidt: niet ik nogtans, ^m maer de genade Gods die met my is . ¹ 2 Kor. 11, 23 en 12,11/ ^m Phil. 2,13

the Greek variant in which this verb was expressed. Verhulst and Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn both translated the implicit verb *est* by the Dutch *is*. Van der Schuur dealt extensively with this pericope in his work *Nader berigt voor d'eenvoudigen*⁸ and stated in this context that it was allowed to make use of the Greek text in order to elucidate the Latin text. Van der Schuur also included a cross-reference to Phil 2:13. Contrary to the renderings of De Witte and Verhulst, Van der Schuur did not particularly emphasize the *gratia efficax* and the efficaciousness of God's work to the detriment of human free will. In other words, Van der Schuur seemed to accept the cooperation between the grace of God and the free will of man in his renderings of both 1 Cor 15:10 and Phil 2:13.

5.1.5 *Jas 5:14*

The three Dutch translations provided a faithful rendering of the Vulgate by translating *presbyteros ecclesiae* as *Priesters van de Kerk* (*Priests of the Church*) and they did not follow the Protestant translation *Ouderlingen der Gemeynthe* (*the Elders of the Congregation*).

TABLE 20 Jas 5:14

Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Infirmatur quis in vobis ? inducat presbyteros ecclesiae , et orent super eum, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini
Statenvertaling (1637)	Is yemandt cranck onder u? dat hy tot hem roepe de Ouderlingen der Gemeynthe , ende dat sy over hem bidden, hem salvende met olye in den name des Heeren:
DW (1696)	Is iemandt onder u kranck? dat hy de Priesters van de Kercke tot hem ontbiede; en dat sy over hem bidden; en hem salven met olie in den naem des Heeren.
VH (1717)	Is iemant onder u krank? Dat hy de Priesters van de Kerke by zig roepe; en dat sy over hem bidden; hem zalvende met olie in den naem des Heere:
VDS-VR (1732)	Is er iemand onder u krank? Dat hy de Priesters der Kerke by zig roepe: en dat zy over hem bidden, ^p hem zalvende met olie in den naeme des Heeren. ^p Mark. 6,12.

8 See table 15, p. 325.

5.1.6 *Concluding remarks*

By way of conclusion, it becomes clear that the translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst do not seem to have been influenced by Protestant ideas, except for De Witte's 1717 rendering of Mt 3:2 and Mt 4:16. This is not surprising as their translations aimed at providing the Catholics from the Northern Low Countries with good and decent Catholic Bible translations in the vernacular in order to reinforce their position vis-à-vis the Protestants. In this context, it should be noted that Van Neercassel, the moving force behind the translation project of Van der Schuur, was opposed against the Protestant *sola scriptura*-principle and aimed at showing the solidity of the Catholic practice of reading Scripture in light of the Tradition, as revealed in his *Tractatus de lectione scripturarum* (1677) and the subsequent French and Dutch translations of this treatise.

5.2 The Jansenist Character of the Bible Translations

The second case study aims to determine the Jansenist character of the New Testament translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst through the analysis of nine New Testament pericopes. Particular attention will be paid to the way in which these translations differ from the 1592 Clementine Vulgate and to the influence of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* (NTM). In order to provide an overview as complete as possible and to highlight other possible influences, the tables of comparison also contain the Greek text,⁹ the 1599 Moerentorf translation, which was considered as out-dated at that time, and finally the Statenvertaling of 1637. The nine pericopes were selected on the basis of the works of Charles Mallet and Michel le Tellier who had firmly condemned the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* because of its Jansenist influences. In addition, the works of Henricus de Bukentop and Martinus Steyaert against the New Testament translation of De Witte were consulted.

Mallet and Le Tellier divided the Jansenist influences in the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* into various categories. The nine pericopes under study are characterised by two main themes: on the one hand, their alleged affinity with the works of the Calvinist Theodore Beza (1519–1605) and the translators of Geneva, since Jansenists were often considered as crypto-Calvinists, and, on the other, their interpretation of the issue of grace and free will, and the relation between the sufficient grace (*gratia sufficiens*) and the efficacious grace

9 The Greek text is retrieved from Eberhart Nestle, Kurt Aland, Erwin Nestle and Barbara Aland (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart, Deutsche Biblegesellschaft, 2012).

(*gratia efficax*). As already stated at the outset of this study, the Jansenists had entered into a controversy with the Jesuits on their optimistic concept of free will of man, mainly based on the ideas of Molina. Molina held the opinion that the free will of man could and had to play an important role in order to achieve salvation. If a person accepted sufficient grace,¹⁰ this grace became efficacious. In other words, if the human will gave its consent, then grace that was sufficient in itself became efficacious. Consequently, in Molina's view, predestination only meant that God preordained people for eternal salvation *post praevisa merita*, or after their foreseen cooperation to the work of salvation. In other words, in case of this cooperation, a person received efficacious grace as a special gift of God. However, if the human will withheld its consent, the grace remained inefficacious (*gratia inefficax*) and was reduced to merely sufficient grace (*gratia mere sufficiens*).

The Jansenists, however, had a different idea of sufficient grace and were even suspected of denying this type of grace. They were said to be hostile to all free will. According to the Jansenists, the grace of God, who was omnipotent, could only be considered as efficacious grace. This efficacious grace was necessary because of the fundamental impotence of man to contribute to his salvation. In other words, grace meant that God tempted or worked on the human will in such an efficacious way that humankind did not want anything else than the things that God wanted. What God desired, was to perfect human will. This efficacious grace was only effective in the persons whom God had predestined to salvation from all eternity, without taking into account any (possible) human cooperation (*praedestinatio ante praevisa merita*). It goes without saying that this theological system was suspected of undermining the freedom of human will to such a degree that this freedom appeared to be completely eliminated. In addition, God's gift of grace was depicted irresistible – another doctrine considered as Jansenist.¹¹

5.2.1 *Lk 2:14*

According to Mallet,¹² this passage made clear that the Son of God had announced peace to all people of good will. In other words, the Son of God had offered peace, but in order to receive this peace, the faithful had to prepare

10 *Gratia sufficiens* means that all people were bestowed with the ability to be saved (*posse*) by God, through Christ's redemptory passion and resurrection.

11 Spiertz, "Jansenisme in en rond de Nederlanden 1640–1690," 145–149; Ceyssens, "Diepere gronden van het jansenisme," 81–83.

12 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 306–316.

TABLE 21 Lk 2:14

Greek New Testament	Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας.
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.
Moerentorf translation (1599)	Glorie sy int alderhoochsten Gode, en inde aerde vrede den menschen die van goeden wille zijn.
Statenvertaling (1637)	Eere [zy] Godt in de hoogste [<i>hemelen</i>], ende vrede op aerden, in den menschen een welbehagen.
NTM (1667)	Gloire à Dieu au plus haut des cieux, ³ & paix sur la terre aux hommes ⁴ cheris de Dieu. ³ <i>g.</i> paix sur la terre, grace aux hommes. ⁴ <i>l.</i> aux hommes de bonne volonté.
DW (1696)	Glorie aen Godt in de hoogste hemelen, en vrede op der aerden aen de menschen van “goede genegenheyt. 14. Of, tot de welcke Godt wel genegen is. Of, vrede op der aerden door de goede genegenheyt Godts tot de menschen. Vide gr.
VH (1717)	Glorie zy aen Godt in ‘t alderhoogste, en op de aerde (<i>a</i>) vrede aen de menschen van goeden wille. 14. (<i>a</i>) Gr. Vrede op de aerde, goeden wille tot de menschen.
VDS-VR (1732)	Glorie zy aen Godt in ‘t alderhoogste, en op der aerde vrede, den menschen van den goeden wille *. * v. 14 <i>Den menschen van den goeden wille:</i> Dat is, die van Godt goedwilliglijk en genadelijk bemind worden; gelijk blijkt uit het Grieksch.

themselves by relying on their good will and lifestyle. Although this explanation seemed obvious, the translators of Mons contested it and Mallet relied on the authority of the Church fathers to be put in the right.¹³ He concluded from their testimonies that the Son of God had come to the world to bring peace to all people. If someone did not receive peace at all, this meant that he lacked good will.¹⁴

The translators of Mons were said to have followed the interpretations of the Protestant theologian Theodore Beza and the translators of Geneva, as they were often considered as crypto-Calvinists. Mallet stated that according to the Protestants, the words *bonae voluntatis* did not refer to the faithful, but to God. Therefore, the passage had to be understood the following way: peace had been given to those that had been predestined, for whom God had a certain predilection or who had been chosen by God. In other words, the translators of Mons were not convinced that the Son of God had come for the salvation of all people. They reflected this wrong interpretation in the translation of the passage, particularly by the words *cheris de Dieu*, which was not a faithful rendering of the Latin *bonae voluntatis*, as well as of the commentary in the margin.¹⁵ In this context, Mallet stated that the Greek *εὐδοκία* did not always refer to God's will, as demonstrated by Paul in Rom 10:1, 2 Cor 5:8 or Phil 1:15.¹⁶ He concluded that the translators of Mons were in fact the only ones who rendered this particular Greek word as God's will.¹⁷

The three Jansenist translators De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst referred to the Greek text in the respective annotations to their translations. De Bukentop followed Mallet's argumentation when he stated that De Witte's translation of Lk 2:14 was not a faithful rendering of the Greek text, but a copy

13 He referred to Ambrose, Beda Venerabilis and Bernard of Clairvaux. See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 307–308.

14 “Et c'est cette explication de Beze & de Geneve que les Traducteurs de Mons ont preferée à celle des SS. Pere que ces Heretiques n'ont abandonnée, que pour ne point reconnoître que le Fils de Dieu fût venu au monde pour le salut de tous les hommes.” See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 310.

15 Le Tellier held the same opinion when he argued that in this passage the Mons translation was not in conformity with the Latin Vulgate. See Le Tellier, *Avis importants et necessaires*, 59–60.

16 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 314–315.

17 “En un mot, de tous les endroits du Nouveau Testament, où nous lisons, il n'y a que celui-cy que la Version de Mons ait entendu de la volonté de Dieu: ce qui fait voir que cette traduction n'a pas été fait sans dessein, & que Beze ayant donné cette explication à ce passage pour en exclurre, comme il le dit luy-même la volonté generale du Fils de Dieu de sauver tous les hommes, que les Traducteurs de Mons pourroient bien avoir suivi son interpretation pour favoriser sa doctrine.” See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 315–316.

of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.¹⁸ De Witte referred in his annotation explicitly to the people that had been predestined or chosen by God when he wrote *tot de welcke Godt wel genegen is* and *door de goede genegenheyt Godts tot de menschen*. At first sight, the Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn translation provided a correct rendering, but it emphasized God's active part in the note: *Dat is, die van Godt goedwilliglijk en genadelijk bemind worden*. Verhulst, to conclude, provided the most neutral translation and referred in a note to a variant reading in Greek: *Vrede op de aerde, goeden wille tot de menschen*, meaning *Peace on earth, good will among men*.

5.2.2 Jn 6:44–45

With regard to Jn 6:44, Mallet¹⁹ and Le Tellier²⁰ affirmed that the translators of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* had denied the *gratia sufficiens* in their annotation and consequently had banished the free consent of human will.²¹ The

TABLE 22 Jn 6:44–45

Greek New Testament	(44) οὐδείς δύναται ἔλθειν πρὸς με ἐὰν μὴ ὁ πατήρ ὁ πέμψας με ἐλκύσῃ αὐτόν, κἀγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτόν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. (45) ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, Καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδασκοὶ θεοῦ: πᾶς ὁ ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μαθὼν ἔρχεται πρὸς ἐμέ.
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	(44) Nemo potest venire ad me, nisi Pater, qui misit me, traxerit eum ; et ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die. (45) Est scriptum in prophetis : Et erunt omnes docibiles Dei. Omnis qui audivit a Patre, et didicit , venit ad me.

18 De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 111–115.

19 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 345–346.

20 Le Tellier, *Observations sur la nouvelle défense de la version française du Nouveau Testament imprimée a Mons*, 172–238.

21 “L’Annotation, qui est icy mise à la marge donne ce sens à ce passage; personne ne peut aller à Jesus-Christ sans une grâce efficace; car il est certain que l’attrait interieur, qui fait vouloir, est la grâce efficace. Or dire, que personne ne peut aller à Jesus-Christ sans une grâce efficace, c’est détruire la grâce suffisante, c’est détruire la liberté de l’homme, c’est nous impose une nécessité inévitable, & c’est renouveler la doctrine condamnée de Jan-senius.” See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 344–345.

TABLE 22 Jn 6:44–45 (*cont.*)

Moerentorf translation (1599)	(44) Niemandt en mach tot my comen ten sy dat de vader die my gesonden heeft hem trecke en ic sal dien verwecken in den uitersten dage. (45) Tis geschreven inde Proffheten: En sy sullen alle van Godt geleerd worden. Alle diet handen vader gehoort heeft ende geleert die comt tot my.
Statenvertaling (1637)	(44) Niemandt en kan tot my komen, ten zy dat de Vader die my gesonden heeft, hem trecke: ende ick sal hem opwecken ten uystersten dage. (45) Daer is geschreven inde Propheten, Ende sy sullen alle van Godt geleert zijn. Een yegelijck dan die [<i>het</i>] van den Vader gehoort, ende geleert heeft, die komt tot my.
NTM (1667)	(44) † Personne ne peut venir à moy, si mon Pere qui m'a envoyé ne le tire ⁶ à luy: & je le ressusciteray au dernier jour. (45) Il est écrit dans les Prophetes: Ils seront tous enseignez de Dieu: Quiconque donc a ouï <i>la voix</i> du Pere, & a esté enseigné de luy vient à moy. † Mocr. des 4. temps de la Pent. ⁶ ex. par un attrait interieur en luy faisant vouloir ce qu'il ne vouloit pas auparavant. Aug.
DW (1696)	(44) Niemandt en kan tot my komen, ten zy den Vader, die my gesonden heeft, hem treckt , en ick sal hem doen verrijsen in den lesten dagh. (45) Daer staet by de Propheten geschreven: * sy sullen allegader van Godt selve geleert worden. Al den genen dan, die de stemme des Vaders gehoort en van hem geleert heeft , die komt tot my. * <i>Isa.</i> 54:13

TABLE 22 Jn 6:44–45 (*cont.*)

DW (1717)	(44) Niemand en kan tot my komen, ten zy den Vader, die my gezonden heeft, hem “trekke: en ik zal hem doen verrijzen in den laetsten dag. (‘) Daer state by de Propheten geschreven: † Sy zullen allegader van Godt zelve geleert worden. Al den genen dan, die de stemme des Vaders gehoort heeft; en van hem geleert is; die komt tot my. 44. Door sijne zoete en almogende gratie † <i>Isa.</i> 54, v. 13
VH (1717)	(44) † Niemand kan tot my komen, ‘t en zy dat den Vader, die my gezonden heeft, hem trekke: en ik zal hem doen verrijzen in den jonsten dag. (45) Daert staet geschreven by de Propheten: En sy zullen alle van Godt geleert worden. [<i>Isai.</i> liv. 13.] Al den genen dan die ‘t van den Vader gehoord en geleert heeft, komt tot my.
VDS-VR (1732)	(44) Niemand kan tot my koomen, ten zy de Vader, ⁱ die my gezonden heeft, hem trekke * : en ik zal hem verwekken ten jongsten dage. (45) Daert staet geschreeven in de Propheeten: ^k En zy zullen alle van Godt geleerd worden *. Al die van den Vader gehoord en geleerd heeft, koomt tot my. ⁱ <i>Boven</i> 4,34 <i>Onder</i> 8,42 en 10,36. 1 Joh 4,9,10 en 14. * v. 44 <i>Ten Zy de Vader ... hem trekke</i>. Door d’innerlijke, zoetlokkende, en kragtdadige genade. ^k <i>Isai.</i> 54,13 * v. 45 <i>Alle van Godt geleerd worden</i>: Te weten, <i>alle</i> waere geloovigen.

translators of Mons made mention of God's grace in the form of an *attrait intérieur* (internal attraction), which was bestowed only to the elect faithful and efficaciously moved their will towards both willing and performing the good (*velle et agere*).²² In other words, they considered Jn 6:44 as a testimony of the *gratia efficax* and renewed, according to Mallet, the doctrine of Jansenius, which had been condemned in the papal bull *Cum Occasione* of 1653. Mallet illustrated his supposition by referring to Chrysostom who affirmed that the Manicheans had used Jn 6:44 in order to establish their rejected doctrine, interpreting the words of the Son as *gratia efficax*. However, the Greek Church father had refuted these suppositions and had stated that this passage only referred to the *gratia sufficiens*, given to all. Mallet went on to state that Calvin, Luther and Jansenius also had followed the wrong and manifest heretical interpretation of the Manicheans.²³

The Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn translation adopted the idea of *gratia efficax* in an annotation on Jn 6:44 by mentioning *door d'innerlijke, zoetlokkende, en kragtadige genade* (through the inward, sweet drawing, and efficacious grace). However, this formulation did not seem to imply a denial of the free will as could be read in the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. Both De Witte and Verhulst followed the Vulgate and did not copy the comment of the Mons translators. However, in his complete Bible translation of 1717, De Witte seems to have adopted the idea of *gratia efficax* when he added the mention *Door sijne zoete en almogende gratie* (Through his sweet and omnipotent grace) in the footnote to Jn 6:44.

According to Mallet²⁴ and Le Tellier,²⁵ the translators of Mons affirmed in their rendering of Jn 6:45 that grace was always efficacious and that the free will never could resist. They went on to state that the Mons translators defended in fact the second proposition of Jansenius that had been condemned in the bull *Cum Occasione* in 1653²⁶ and which can be summarized as follows:

22 They referred to the following quotation of Augustine in the annotation: "Trahitur ergo miris modis, ut velit, ab illo, qui novit intus in ipsis hominum cordibus operari, non ut homines, quod fieri non potest, nolentes credant, sed ut volentes nolentibus fiant." See Augustine, *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*, 1, 19, CSEL 60, ed. Carolus F. Urba and Iosephus Zycha (Vienna: Tempsky, 1913), 454.

23 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 345–346.

24 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 347–352.

25 Le Tellier, *Observations sur la nouvelle defense de la version française du Nouveau Testament imprimée a Mons*, 126–150.

26 "Dire que la grace est inseparable de son effet, & conclurre que la volonté donnera son consentement, parce qu'elle sera éclairée des lumieres du Ciel, c'est dire que la grâce est toujours efficace, & que la volonté ne luy resiste jamais: qui est la seconde proposition de Jansenius condamnée du S. Siege." See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 347.

"In the state of man's fallen nature, he cannot resist interior grace". Subsequently, Mallet and Le Tellier identified two falsifications in this passage that provided it with a heretical meaning. First, the translators had added the word *donc* (*therefore*) that was not contained in the Vulgate. Mallet noted that this conjunction could be found in a vulgar and less reliable Greek version, but that it was not contained in the Greek text that Jerome had used to correct his Latin rendering. Since the Tridentine Council had declared the Vulgate as the authentic version for the Church, both the less reliable Greek text and the *Nouveau Testament* were manifestly wrong. Besides, by adding the conjunction *donc*, the translators had turned the second proposition into a consequence of the first one. This way, they affirmed that the consent of the will was an inevitable consequence of the attraction of grace.²⁷

Second, Mallet and Le Tellier affirmed that the translation of the active Latin verb *didicit* by the passive form *a esté enseigné* confirmed the heretical interpretation stated above. A passive form required a personal agent by whom the action of the verb was performed (i.e. God) and thus underlined the subordination of the human will. If it was true that everybody who was taught by God, would consequently go to him, then nobody could resist grace. Mallet therefore proposed another anti-heretical translation of the second sentence, namely *Quiconque a ouy la voix du Pere, & a appris vient à moy*. In addition, he pointed out that there was a fundamental distinction between the French verbs *avoir été enseigné* (*to have been taught*) and *avoir appris* (*to have comprehended*) in the context of moral and divine instructions. When something was taught, this did not imply that one had comprehended it, unless he had listened with submission and obedience. Mallet affirmed along with Chrysostom that it was not enough to hear the voice of God, but it was also necessary to apprehend what He taught us. In other words, God had to be obeyed and this required the consent of the free will. The translators of Mons, however, established the *gratia efficax*, which the free will could never resist.²⁸

In his 1696 version, De Witte was faithful to the Vulgate and translated *didicit* by the active form *van hem geleerd heeft*. However, in his complete Bible edition of 1717, De Witte followed the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* when he translated the Latin form by the passive form *van hem geleerd is*. Verhulst provided a faithful rendering of the Vulgate. The Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn translation was also faithful to the Vulgate by translating the verb actively as *geleerd heeft*. In the annotation, however, the *gratia sufficiens*, which was attributed to

27 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 348–349.

28 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 349–352.

all by virtue of the crucifixion of Christ, seemed to be negated by the mention of *alle waere geloovigen* (*all true believers*) that could refer to the elect.

5.2.3 Rom 5:6

According to Mallet²⁹ and Le Tellier,³⁰ the translators of Mons had not properly translated the Vulgate. Instead of affirming that Christ had died for all ungodly people (*pro impiis mortuus est*), they had added the words *comme nous qui estions encore dans les langueurs du peché* (*like us who were still in the languors of sin*) to the translation. This way, it appeared that Christ had not died for all people, the ungodly included, but only for certain people, namely those who had been predestined or the Christians that had received faith, like the Romans in Paul's letter.³¹

De Bukentop remarked that De Witte had followed the translators of Mons in his translation of Rom 5:6 by adding the words *voor ons*.³² The rest of De Witte's translation appeared to be based on the Vulgate. Verhulst also followed the example of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and added not only the words *voor ons*, but also bracketed together the translation of the words *infirmi* and *impiis*: *als wy nog krank en goddeloos waren* (*when we were still sick and sinful*). The Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn translation was a faithful rendering of the Vulgate and did not copy the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*.

TABLE 23 Rom 5:6

Greek New Testament	ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν ἔτι κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν.
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Ut quid enim Christus, cum adhuc infirmi essemus, secundum tempus, pro impiis mortuus est?
Moerentorf translation (1599)	Want waerom is Christus (doen wy noch cranck waren nae den tijt) voor de ongoddelijcke gestorven?

29 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 330–331.

30 Le Tellier, *Avis importants et nécessaires*, 60–62.

31 “[...] reduisent la Mort de Jesus-Christ, qui a été pour tous les hommes, même pour tous les impies, à certaines personnes seulement, sçavoir aux seuls predestinez, ou aux seuls Chretiens qui ont reçu la foy, tels qu'estoient les Romains à qui S. Paul parloit dans cette Epître.” See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 330–331.

32 De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 194–195.

TABLE 23 Rom 5:6 (cont.)

Statenvertaling (1637)	Want Christus, als wy noch krachteloos waren, is te sijner tijdt voor de godloose gestorven.
NTM (1667)	Car pourquoy <i>Jesus C h r i s t</i> est-il mort dans le temps <i>destiné de Dieu</i> , pour des méchans & des impies comme nous , qui estions encore dans les langueurs du peché?
DW (1696)	Want waerom soude Christus, als wy noch in de swackheyt <i>der sonde</i> waren, voor ons goddeloose op den gestelden tijdt gestorven zijn?
VH (1717)	Want waerom zou Christus op den gestelden tydt, als wy nog krank en goddeloos waren, voor ons gestorven zyn?
VDS-VR (1732)	Want waerom is Christus in den tijdt, als wy nog zwak * waren, § voor godloozen gestorven? § Heb. 9,14; 1 Petr. 3,18. * v. 6 Als wy nog zwak: Zondaers

5.2.4 Eph 3:20 and 1 Thess 2:13

Mallet³³ and Le Tellier³⁴ affirmed that the translators of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* had only paid attention to the *gratia efficax* in their translation of Eph 3:20 and 1 Tess 2:13 by adding respectively the words *avec efficace* and *efficacement*, which were not contained in the Vulgate or the Greek text.³⁵ This meant that the translators had negated the *gratia sufficiens*. They also argued that the Greek verb ἐνεργέω did not indicate an efficacious operation. Mallet supported his argumentation by referring to other scriptural passages that

33 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 368–374.

34 Le Tellier, *Avis importants et nécessaires*, 72–73.

35 “Il est visible par ces deux passages, que lors qu’il s’agit de la grâce, les Traducteurs de Mons l’expliquent seulement de l’efficace, encore bien qu’il n’y en ait aucun mot dans le Texte.” See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 369.

TABLE 24 Eph 3:20 and 1 Thess 2:13

	Eph 3:20	1 Thess 2:13
Greek New Testament	Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑπὲρ πάντα ποιῆσαι ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ ὧν αἰτούμεθα ἢ νοοῦμεν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐνεργουμένην ἐν ἡμῖν	Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως, ὅτι παραλαβόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐδέξασθε οὐ λόγον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς λόγον θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Ei autem, qui potens est omnia facere superabundanter quam petimus aut intelligimus, secundum virtutem, quæ operatur in nobis.	Ideo et nos gratias agimus Deo sine intermissione : quoniam cum accepissetis a nobis verbum auditus Dei, accepistis illud, non ut verbum hominum, sed (sicut est vere) verbum Dei, qui operatur in vobis, qui credidistis .
Moerentorf translation (1599)	Maer den genen die machtich is alle dingen te doen overvloedelijcker dan wy begeeren oft verstaen na de cracht die in ons werct.	Daerom dancken wy oock Gode sonder ophouden: want doen ghy van ons gehoort hadt het woort van Godts ghehoor heb dy dat ontfanghen niet als een woordt der menschen maer (gelijck dat warachtelijck is) het woort Gods die in u lieden werckt die gelooft hebt.
Statenvertaling (1637)	Hem nu die machtigh is, meer als overvloedelijck te doen boven al dat wy bidden ofte dencken, na de cracht die in ons werckt.	Daerom dancken wy oock Godt sonder ophouden, dat als ghy het woort der predikinge Godts van ons ontfangen hebt, ghy daetaengenomen hebt, niet [<i>als</i>]

Table 24 Eph 3:20 and 1 Thess 2:13 (*cont.*)

	Eph 3:20	1 Thess 2:13
		der menschen woort, maer (gelijck het waerlick is) [<i>als</i>] Godts woort, dat oock werckt in u die geloovet.
NTM (1667)	Que celuy qui par la puissance qui agit en nous avec efficace peut faire infiniment plus que tout ce que nous demandons & tout ce que nous pensons.	C'est pourquoy aussy nous rendons à Dieu de continu- elles actions de graces, de ce qu'ayant entendu la parole de Dieu que nous vous pres- chions, vous l'avez receüe, non comme la parole des hommes, mais comme estant, ainsy qu'elle l'est veritable- ment la parole de Dieu, qui agit efficacement en vous qui estes fidelles .
DW (1696)	Voorders aen hem, die volgens de kracht, die hy in ons uytwerckt , veel meer machtigh is te doen, als al het gene wy ver- soecken of dencken,	Daerom dancken wy oock Godt sonder ophouden, dat gy het woordt Godts van ons gehoort en ontfangen heb- bende, het selve ontfangen hebt niet als het woordt van mensen, maer (gelijck het waerelijck is) als het woordt van Godt, die in u geloovige krachtelijck werckt .
VH (1717)	Ondertusschen, aen hem, die magtig is door de kragt, die in ons werkt , veel meer te doen als al wat wy begeeren oft denken.	Daerom danken wy ook Godt zonder ophouden, om dat gy, het woordt Godts van ons gehoort en ontfangen heb- bende, het zelfde aengenomen hebt, niet als een woordt van mensen, maer gelijk het waerlijck is, als het woordt van Godt, die in u, Geloovige kragtelijck werkt .

Table 24 Eph 3:20 and 1 Thess 2:13 (cont.)

	Eph 3:20	1 Thess 2:13
VDS-VR (1732)	Ondertusschen zy hem ^a die magtig is, door de kragt die in ons werkt , veel meer te doen dan al wat wy begeeren of denken, ^a Rom. 16,25	Daerom danken wy ook Godt zonder ophouden, dat als gy het woord Gods van ons gehoord en ontvangen hadt, gy het zelve aengenoomen hebt niet als een woord van mensen, maer gelijk het waerlijk is, als het woord van Godt, ⁿ die werkt in u, welke 't geloof aenvaerd hebt. ⁿ Fil. 1,6 en 2,13.

TABLE 25 1 Cor 12:6

Greek New Testament	καὶ διαίρεσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσὶν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεός, ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πάντιν.
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	et divisiones operationum sunt, idem vero Deus qui operatur omnia in omnibus.
NTM (1667)	Et il y a diversité d'operations <i>surnaturelles</i> ; mais il n'y a qu'un même Dieu qui opere tout en tous.

contained the Greek verb ἐνεργέω but in which the translators of Mons had not added the term *efficace*, for instance in 1 Cor 12:6.³⁶

He concluded that if the Greek verb ἐνεργέω would indicate an efficacious operation in scriptural language, then the suggestions of the devil should also be considered effective, since the same word was used in Scripture to indicate these acts, for instance in Eph 2:2.³⁷

In other words, it seemed that the translators of Mons had added the word *efficace* to their translation because they wanted to contest the doctrine of the Church that admitted the presence of sufficient grace (*gratia sufficiens*) for all.

36 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 370–371. See also table 25.

37 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 372–373. See also table 26.

TABLE 26 Eph 2:2

Greek New Testament	οὐ ἐστὶν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν ψεύδους
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	cujus est adventus secundum operationem Satanæ in omni virtute, et signis, et prodigiis mendacibus
NTM (1667)	⁵ <i>cet impie dis-je, qui doit venir accompagné de la puissance de satan, avec toutes forces de miracles, de signes & de prodiges trompeurs.</i>

De Witte followed the translators of Mons in his translation of Eph 3:20 although he did not provide a literal translation of the French *avec efficace*, but used the verb *uytwerkt*. This verb had the connotation of working efficaciously or executing. In his rendering of 1 Tess 2:13, De Witte followed the translators of Mons when he almost literally copied the text of the French New Testament, translating the French *efficacement* by *krachtelijck* (*efficaciously*). In his commentary on De Witte's 1696 translation, De Bukentop affirmed that De Witte, in line with the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, had added the word *krachtelijk* in several passages, for instance Gal 2:8, Eph 1:19, Eph 4:16, Col 1:29, and many others.³⁸ Jerome had never translated the Greek verb ἐνεργέω as *working efficaciously* and De Bukentop therefore argued that De Witte did not consistently translate the Greek verb the same way.³⁹ Moreover, De Bukentop stated that the word *efficaciter* was not contained in the Vulgate and that the Latin word *efficacia* only appeared once in the Latin Bible, namely in Sir 9:4.⁴⁰ Therefore, he declared that the Latin *efficacia* was not a correct translation of the Greek

38 De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 204–205.

39 “Si Graecum verbum aut nomen praetendat significare *Krachtelyck wercken*, vel *Krachtige werkinge*, cur ipse saepius aliter transfert [...] Praeter loca ibi allegata eandem vocem Graecam vertit sine illo termino *Krachtelyck*, Ephes. 1. v. 20. *Uytwercken*. Cap. 2. v. 2. *Uytwerkinge*. Et ad Philipp. 2 v. 13. semel *Doen*, & semel *Uytwercken*. Sed Etymologiam verbalem si attendas, erit Latine ἐνεργέω *Inoperor*, ab ἐν *In*, & ἔργον *Opus*. Est autem vox δύναμις cum derivatis ab illa, quae praecise correspondet Flandrico *Krachtighlyck*, *Krachtige werkinge*, vel etiam simpliciter *Kracht*, ut aliquoties Candidus transfert Graecum ἐνεργέων v.g. 2 Thessal. 2 v. 9.” See De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 205.

40 Sir 9:4: “Cum saltatrice ne assiduus sis, nec audias illam, ne forte pereas in efficacia illius.”

ἐνεργεῖα. In addition, the Latin verb *efficio* appeared 22 times in the New Testament, but never as a translation of the Greek ἐνεργέω.⁴¹

Although Verhulst made a faithful rendering of Eph 3:20, translating *operatur* as *werkt* (*worked*), he added the word *kragtelijk* (*efficaciously*) to his translation of 1 Thess 2:13, in line with the translators of Mons and De Witte. Van der Schuur and Van Rhijn followed the Vulgate in their rendering of the two Bible passages when they translated *operatur* as *werkt* (*worked*). In their rendering of *credidistis* however, they added the mention of *welke 't geloof aenvaerd hebt* (*those who have accepted faith*). This mention could either refer to the elect who had accepted faith, in contrast to those who had not, or to an active volition resulting from the gift of sufficient grace. These two possible interpretations show how subtle the discussions concerning grace and predestination were at that time.

5.2.5 Phil 2:13

Just like in the two above-mentioned pericopes, the translators of Mons paid attention to the *gratia efficax* in their translation of Phil 2:13. In their annotation, they stated that the Greek ἐνεργῶν had to be translated as *produit efficacement* (*works efficaciously*). In other works, they affirmed that God worked

TABLE 27 Phil 2:13

Greek New Testament	θεὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Deus est enim, qui operatur in vobis et velle , et perficere pro bona voluntate.
Moerentorf translation (1599)	Want t'is Godt die in u lieden werct beyde het willen ende het volbren-gen na den goeden wille.

41 "Demum si ἐνεργέω significaret *Efficaciter operari*, mirandum foret vocem *Efficax* tantum semel in toto Novo Testamento ab Interpreto Latino positam fuisse, cum tamen Graeca illa vox innumeris ibidem habeatur locis. Aequè mirandum esset nullo loco illam restituisse Hieronymum, dum jussu Damasi *Novum Testament Graeca fidei reddidit*. Quin imo Adverbium *Efficaciter* in tota Vulgata ne semel reperitur, nomen *Efficacia* semel, nempe Eccli. 9.4. Verum ibi non est in Graeco ἐνεργεῖα, sed ἐπιχειρήμα. Verbum *Efficio* habetur in Novo Testamento vicibus 22. sed ne semel illis locis est in Graeco verbum ἐνεργέω." See De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 206.

TABLE 27 Phil 2:13 (cont.)

Statenvertaling (1637)	Want het is Godt die in u werckt beyde het willen ende het wercken, na [<i>sijn</i>] welbehagen.
NTM (1667)	Car c'est Dieu qui ² opere en vous le vouloir & le faire , selon qu'il luy plaist. ² ἐνεργῶν, produit efficacement . <i>au.</i> qui vous fait vouloir & qui vous fait faire.
DW (1696)	Want 't is Godt, die in u en 't willen, en 't doen uytwerckt volgens zijn welbehagen.
VH (1717)	Want het is Godt, die volgens welbehagen in u uytwerkt het willen en het volbrengen.
VDS-VR (1732)	ⁿ Want het is Godt die in u werkt het willen en 't volbrengen naer het welbehaegen *. ⁿ 1 Kor. 15,10; 2 Kor. 3,5. Boven 1,6. * v. 13 <i>Naer het welbehaegen</i> : Naer zijn welbehaegen en goedvinden.

efficaciously in the faithful to make them will (*qui vous fait vouloir*) and act (*qui vous fait faire*) so they would fulfill His good purpose.

De Bukentop⁴² affirmed that De Witte followed the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* when he translated *selon qu'il luy plaist* as *volgens zijn welbehagen*, adding a possessive pronoun that was not contained in the Latin *pro bona voluntate*. De Witte also integrated the French *efficacement* in his translation by using the verb *uytwerkt*. The same went for Verhulst who also used this verb with the connotation of working efficaciously or executing. The Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn translation provided a faithful and literal translation of the Vulgate without the additions of the Mons translation.

42 De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 202–203.

5.2.6 Col 1:24

TABLE 28 Col 1:24

Greek New Testament	Νῦν χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία,
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Qui nunc gaudeo in passionibus pro vobis, et adimpleo ea quæ desunt passionem Christi, in carne mea pro corpore ejus, quod est Ecclesia :
Moerentorf translation (1599)	Die nu my verblijde int lijden voor u lieden en ic vervulle t'gene datter gebreect aen Christus passien in mijn vleesch voor zijn lichaem d'welck is de kerkcke.
Statenvertaling (1637)	Die my nu verblijde in mijn lijden voor u, ende vervulle in mijn vleesch de overblijfselen van de verdruckingen Christi, voor sijn lichaem, 't welck is de Gemeynthe:
NTM (1667)	Moy Paul, qui me réjouis maintenant dans les maux que je souffre pour vous, & qui accompis dans ma chair ce qui reste ¹² à souffrir à <i>Jesus Christ</i> , en souffrant moy-même pour son corps qui est l'Eglise. ¹² des souffrances de.
DW (1696)	Die my nu verblijde in mijn lijden voor u, en die vervulle in mijn vleesch het gene aen Christus noch “voorder toestaet te lijden , voor sijn lichaem dat de Kercke is; 24. Te weten in sijne lidmaten.
VH (1717)	Die my nu verblyde in myn lyden voor u, en vervulle in my vleesch, het gene'er (b) nog ontbreekt van het lyden van Christus voor sijn lichaem, het welk de Kerke is: 24 (b) Alle opregte Christene moeten hun deel hebben in het lyden van Christus, maer bijzonderlijk de Geestelijke Overste, die veel verdruckingen moeten onderstaen, om de

TABLE 28 Col 1:24 (*cont.*)

	mensen door het Evangelie lidmaten van Christus te maken, en in de H. Kerke tot de zaligheyt te brengen. Paulus schreef ook deze brief te Roomen gevangen zynde.
VDS-VR (1732)	Die my nu verblijde in mijn lijden voor u, en voltrek het gene 'er ontbreekt * aen de verdrukkingen van Christus , in mijn vleesch, ^a voor zijn lichaem, het welk de Kerk is: * v. 24 <i>Het gene'er ontbreekt</i> : Aen het lijden van Christus in zijne ledemaeten / ^a Rom. 12,5; 1 Kor. 10,17 en 12,13 en 26; Eph. 4,12.

According to Mallet,⁴³ this passage pointed out the necessity of satisfactory works. By connecting his sufferings to those of Christ, Paul filled up that which was lacking in the afflictions of Christ. Mallet affirmed that Beza knew very well that the Catholics used this passage to proof the necessity of satisfactory works. Therefore, Beza had falsified his translation of this passage. Instead of following the Latin *adimpleo ea quae desunt passionum Christi* (*I fill up those things that are lacking in Christ's afflictions*), he followed the translators of Geneva by translating *reliquias afflictionum Christi vicissim expleo* (*I fill up again the remnants of Christ's afflictions*). In other words, Mallet affirmed that according to the Protestants, Christ still suffered through His members. They did not want to acknowledge the fact that these sufferings were defective and that there was still something missing for the salvation of men, namely the application of these sufferings in the sacraments, the satisfactory works and the indulgences. The translators of Mons, in line with Beza and the translators of Geneva, also omitted the word *desunt* and preferred the French *ce qui reste à souffrir à Jesus Christ* (*what is left to suffer in Christ*). Le Tellier⁴⁴ stated that this way they also negated the teachings of the Church concerning the necessity of satisfactory works.

De Witte seemed to have followed the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* when he rendered the French *ce qui reste à souffrir à Jesus Christ* as *het gene aen Christus noch voorder toestaet te lijden*. Verhulst and Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn followed the Vulgate text and translated the Latin *desunt* by *ontbreekt*.

43 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 437–441.

44 Le Tellier, *Avis importants et nécessaires*, 63–65.

5.2.7 2 Thess 2:11

TABLE 29 2 Thess 2:11

Greek New Testament	καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πέμπει αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐνέργειαν πλάνης εἰς τὸ πιστεῦσαι αὐτοὺς τῷ ψεύδει,
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Ideo mittet illis Deus operationem erroris ut credant mendacio.
Moerentorf translation (1599)	Daerom sal henlieden Godt toe seynden d'werc der dolingen dat sy gelooven sullen der logenen.
Statenvertaling (1637)	Ende daerom sal haer Godt senden eene kracht der dwalinge, dat sy de leugen souden gelooven.
NTM (1667)	C'est pourquoy Dieu leur enuoiara ⁷ un esprit d'erreur si efficace qu'ils croiront au mensonge; ⁷ L. une efficace d'erreur pour.
DW (1696)	Daerom sal hun Godt een soo krachtige doline toesenden, dat sy de logentael sullen gelooven;
VH (1717)	Daerom zal Godt hen eene uytwerkinge van bedriegery toezenden, zoo dat sy de leugentael gelooven zullen.
VDS-VR (1732)	^h Daerom zal Godt hen een kragt van dwaeling zenden, ⁱ zoo dat zy de leugen gelooven zullen. ^h Rom. 1,28 / ⁱ 1 Tim. 4,1.

According to Mallet⁴⁵ and Le Tellier,⁴⁶ the heretics had previously used this passage to support the blasphemy that God was the author of sin and they referred in this regard to the works of Beza, the translators of Geneva and Calvin. Mallet advanced that the translators of Mons had approved these erroneous

45 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 301–304.

46 Le Tellier, *Observations sur la nouvelle défense de la version française du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons*, 239–249.

and heretical translations and that they thus affirmed that God would send a such efficacious spirit of error to the people so that they would believe a lie. In addition, by adding the word *efficace*, the translators had turned God into the author of an efficacious operation of error that the people could not resist. Mallet stated that Paul had inserted the words *operationem erroris* (*an operation of error*) in order to designate the Antichrist and his effect on the people. However, Mallet also affirmed that the annotation of the Mons translators containing the words *une efficace d'erreur pour* (*an efficaciousness of error for*) insinuated too clearly that God had intended to seduce the people by sending the Antichrist so that the people would believe the lie that the Antichrist would tell them.⁴⁷ In other words, the Mons translators considered God as the author of sin and this was a serious blasphemy.

De Bukentop⁴⁸ and Steyaert⁴⁹ affirmed that De Witte had followed the Mons translation by translating the French *un esprit d'erreur si efficace* as *een soo krachtige dolinge*. Verhulst and Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn took the Vulgate as the starting point of their translation when they translated *operationem erroris* respectively as *eene uytwerkinge van bedriegery* and *een kragt van dwaeling*.

5.2.8 Ap 3:20

According to Mallet⁵⁰ and Le Tellier,⁵¹ this passage, often quoted by theologians and Church fathers, was an outstanding proof of the *gratia sufficiens* and could be considered as a Catholic truth.⁵² They explained it the following way: God stands at the door of our heart and knocks, but he will only enter if we are willing to open the door. The faithful had been bestowed with the ability to

47 "L'annotation même que les Traducteurs de Mons ont mise ici à la marge, en ces paroles, *une efficace d'erreur pour*, insinue trop clairement que l'intention de Dieu en envoyant au monde cet esprit trompeur, sera, que les hommes soient seduits, & qu'ils croyent au mensonge; ce qui est un horrible blasphème." See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 304.

48 De Bukentop, *Examen translationis Flandricae Novi Testamenti*, 12.206. He also refers to other passages in which De Witte added the words *krachtigh* or *krachtelijck* in the text or the annotations of his translations, following the translation of Mons, for instance 1 Cor 12:6, 2 Cor 1:6 or Gal 5:6.

49 Steyaert, *Declamatio in versionem Belgicam novissimam Novi Testamenti*, 4.

50 Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 355–359.

51 Le Tellier, *Observations sur la nouvelle defense de la version française du Nouveau Testament imprimée a Mons*, 84–93; Le Tellier, *Avis importants et necessaires*, 48–51.

52 "De tous les passages de l'Ecriture sainte qui établissent la grâce suffisante donnée à tout le monde, il n'y en a pas de plus commun, ny dont les saint Peres, & les Theologiens se servent plus souvent, que celui-cy, & ordinairement nous exprimons cette verité catholique, avec des termes, qui marquent que nous faisons allusion à ces paroles." See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 356.

TABLE 30 Ap 3:20

Greek New Testament	ἰδοὺ ἔστηκα ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν καὶ κρούω: ἐάν τις ἀκούσῃ τῆς φωνῆς μου καὶ ἀνοίξῃ τὴν θύραν, [καὶ] εἰσελεύσομαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δεῖπνήσω μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς μετ' ἐμοῦ.
Vulgata Clementina (1592)	Ecce sto ad ostium, et pulso : si quis audierit vocem meam, et aperuerit mihi januam, intrabo ad illum, et cœnabo cum illo, et ipse mecum.
Moerentorf translation (1599)	Siet ic stae aen de dore ende cloppe ist dat yemandt mijn stemme hoort ende de dore open doet, tot dien sal ic ingaen, ende ic sal met dien het avondtmael eten ende hy met my.
Statenvertaling (1637)	Siet, ick stae aen de deure, ende ick cloppe: indien yemandt mijne stemme sal hooren, ende de deure open doen, ick sal tot hem incomen, ende ick sal met hem avontmael houden, ende hy met my.
NTM (1667)	Car je seray bientost à la porte, & je frapperay: Si quelqu'un entend ma voix & m'ouvre la porte j'entreray chez luy, & je souperay avec luy & luy avec moy.
DW (1696)	Siet ick stae aen de deure, en ick kloppe. Indien iemandt mijne stemme aenhoort, en my de deure opent, soo sa lick tot hem binnen gaen, en met hem avontmael houden, en hy met my.
VH (1717)	Ziet, ik stae aen de deure, en ik kloppe. Zoo iemand myne stemme hoort, en my de deure opent, ik zal tot hem binnen gaen, en met hem het avontmael houden, en hy met my.
VDS-VR (1732)	Zie ik stae * aen de deure, en ik klop. Zoo iemand mijne stemme hoort, en my de deure opent, ik zal tot hem binnen gaen, en met hem maeltijdt houden, en hy met my. * v. 20 <i>Ik stae</i> : Aen de deure uws herte.

open the door, in other words to be saved, through Christ's passion and resurrection. The Greek verb ἔστηκα, meaning *I stand, I am standing or I stood*, expressed the resistance of the human will against grace. Grace was knocking at the door of our heart, but since we were not always willing to open God was not able to enter, but kept standing outside.

However, Mallet and Le Tellier affirmed that the translators of Mons had an aversion to the *gratia sufficiens* and therefore had changed the meaning of Scripture in their translation by adding the word *bientost* (*soon*) and by changing the time of the verbs ἔστηκα (*sto*) and κρούω (*pulso*) into a future tense instead of a present tense. Their translation was neither based on the Greek text, nor on the Latin Vulgate. According to Mallet and Le Tellier, the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* referred to the last judgment or the hour of our death when Jesus would come to judge us, instead of to the *gratia sufficiens* by which God touched our heart.⁵³ Arnauld refuted the interpretation of Mallet and particularly questioned the fact whether this pericope had to be considered as a Catholic truth since it formed part of the Apocalypse. He considered this passage as an example of Christ's message that the faithful should always be on their guard.⁵⁴

De Witte and Verhulst did not follow the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, but provided a faithful rendering of the Vulgate. The translation of Van der Schuur-Verhulst, however, bore some close resemblance to the interpretation related to the *gratia sufficiens* of Mallet and Le Tellier because of the annotation *Aen de deure uws herte* (*At the door of thy heart*).

5.2.9 Concluding Remarks

Although a more in-depth comparative study of Bible passages is necessary, this case study seems to confirm the assumption that De Witte frequently based himself on the condemned *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and took over its emphasis on the *gratia efficax*, considered as a Jansenist topic *par excellence*. The translation of Verhulst and the Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn translation appeared to be more faithful to the Vulgate and it seems that they have used the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* to a lesser degree as their renderings only

53 "[...] par ces deux faussetez ils ont expliqué ce passage du temps à venir, c'est-à-dire, si on le veut, du jugement dernier, qui doit venir bientôt, & non pas du temps present, auquel effectivement Dieu frappe à la porte de nôtre coeur par les impulsions de sa grâce." See Mallet, *Examen de quelques passages*, 359. "[...] ils prétendent qu'on les doive entendre non pas la grace par laquelle Dieu touche nôtre coeur, mais de l'heure de nôtre mort, en laquelle Jesus-Christ viendra pour nous juger."

54 Arnauld, *Continuation de la nouvelle défense de la traduction du Nouveau Testament imprimée à Mons*, 277–291.

contained a few traces of the French translation. However, this does not imply that the translations of Verhulst and Van der Schuur-Van Rhijn are one and the same. Both translations related differently to the Latin Vulgate.

To conclude, this case-study has shown that it is not surprising that the 1696 New Testament translation of De Witte was condemned and considered as a Jansenist translation, while the other two translations were never condemned and even integrated in a Catholic book of pericopes, as already stated.⁵⁵ De Witte even went one step further in his 1717 complete Bible translation, which contained some crypto-Calvinist traces.

55 See p. 292 and p. 339–340.

The Bible Translation of Wilhelm Smits and Petrus van Hove, an Unfinished Project

Wilhelm Smits was born on 27 January 1704 in Kevelaer, in what was then the Duchy of Gelre.¹ On 9 June 1722, at the age of eighteen, he joined the Franciscans. He studied theology but also concentrated on oriental and biblical studies. In 1728 Smits was named lector of philosophy in the Franciscan college in Tienen. Four years later, in 1732, he was appointed lector of Sacred Scripture in Mechlin and on 13 September of the following year, he was appointed for the same job in Antwerp. Smits is generally known as Bible commentator and Bible translator, but also published a Dutch Office of Mary in 1746.

On 22 March 1733, Smits and his confrar Hermannus Janssens (1685–1762) received the order of cardinal-Archbishop D'Alsace to compile a new Catholic Bible based on the Clementine Vulgate in the version of 1598 of which D'Alsace probably possessed a unique copy.² Janssens, who was professor of Sacred Scripture and a notorious opponent of the Jansenist biblical movement in the Northern Low Countries, had already written two works in which he aimed at demonstrating that the Jansenist Bibles did not meet with the rules of translation that he proposed. In 1729, he wrote his *Methodus observanda in translatione S. Scripturae in linguas vernaculas* (*The Method that has to be Observed in*

- 1 This epilogue is based on: Els Agten, “De bijbelvertaling van Wilhelm Smits en Petrus van Hove: een onafgewerkt project.” In *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen. Elf eeuwen van vertalen*, ed. Paul Gillaerts, Henri Bloemen, Youri Desplenter, Wim François, and August A. den Hollander (Heerenveen: Jongbloed, 2015), 480–489. For biographical information on Wilhelm Smits, see: Johannes Madey, “Smits, Wilhelm,” in *BBKL* 10 (Hamm: Traugott Bautz, 1995), 704; De Boer, “De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior,” 15–35; Joseph Molitor, *Smits, Wilhelm*, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 9 (Freiburg: Herder, 1964), 839; Adruinus Kleinhans, *Smits, Willem*, in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 9 (Citta del Vaticano: Ente per l'enciclopedia e per il libro cattolico, 1953), 823; Paul Bergmans, “Smits, Guillaume,” in *BN* vol. 22 (Brussels, Bruylant, 1914–1920) 852–854; Stephanus Schoutens, *Martyrologium minoritico-Belgicum sive breves biographiae virorum illustrium qui in ordine minorum ex Belgio et Hollandia Oriundi vel in Belgio et Hollandia* (Hoogstraten: Van Hoof-Roelans, 1902), 204–205; Servatius Dirks, *Histoire littéraire et bibliographique des Frères Mineurs de l'Observance de Saint-François en Belgique et dans les Pays-Bas* (Antwerp, 1886), 386–390. For information on Smits's correspondance, see Charles De Clercq, “La ‘Versio Belgica’ de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits,” *Gulden Passer* 53 (1955), 67–72; Jérôme Goyens, “Une école biblique fondée à Anvers en 1768. Historique et documents,” *Archivum Franciscanum historicum* 12 (1919), 3–21.
- 2 De Clercq, “La ‘Versio Belgica’ de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits,” 50.

the Translation of the Holy Scriptures in the Vernacular)³ and two years later appeared his *Prodromus sacer* (*A Holy Forerunner*).⁴ In this last work, Janssens provided a number of rules for vernacular Bible translation. His main rule stated that the Latin Vulgate, the so-called *Vulgata Clementina*, should be the starting point for every translation or Latin edition of Scripture. By order of pope Clement VIII, three editions of the official Vulgate had appeared in Rome, namely in 1592, 1593 and 1598, each with several mistakes. The last edition of the *Vulgata Clementina* therefore contained three lists with corrections for the last three editions.⁵ Janssens blamed the Jansenists, and particularly the 1717 translation of De Witte, for dealing too freely with the Vulgate by integrating insertions, changes and omissions. Janssens also had objections to the *Leuvense Bijbel* of Van Winghe that had appeared 50 years before the last edition of the *Vulgata Clementina*. In addition, the 1599 Moerentorf Bible did not meet with Janssens's consent because of the similarities with the Van Winghe–edition. The Dutch Catholic Bible editions dating from 1657, 1690 and 1714 were rejected because they were adapted and corrected versions of the Moerentorf Bible.⁶ In the final part of his *Prodromus*, Janssens appealed to the authorities with the request to revise finally the *Leuvense Bijbel* of Van Winghe.

Thereupon, D'Alsace ordered Janssens to investigate whether the 1732 Bible translation of Andreas van der Schuur and Hendrick van Rhijn, which had been send to him, could be taken into account for a Catholic revision. Janssens concluded that the translation contained too many deviations, although this translation had never been officially condemned. The cardinal-Archbishop subsequently issued a decree on 22 March 1733 in which he summoned Smits and Janssens to compile a new Catholic Bible translation.⁷ One year before, however, Janssens had been appointed secretary of the Franciscan province of *Germania Inferior* and even became provincial in 1738. It is therefore not surprising that only Smits got in on the translation project. In the period 1744–1767, he translated roughly one third of the Old Testament. Thanks to this achievement, he later received the nickname “Belgian Jerome.”⁸

3 Hermannus Janssens, *Methodus observanda in translatione S. Scripturae in linguas vernaculas, cum regulis* (Antwerp, 1729).

4 Hermannus Janssens, *Prodromus sacer rectam praeparans semitam ad varia Biblia Sacra Belgico idiomate impressa utiliter emendanda, atque de novo juxta mentem & Decretum Clementis VIII tuto et rite imprimenda* (Antwerp, 1731).

5 De Boer, “De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior,” 23–24.

6 Janssens, *Prodromus sacer*, 47–55.

7 See De Clercq, “La ‘Versio Belgica’ de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits,” 75–76 for the text of this decree.

8 De Boer, “De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior,” 22–25.

On 6 September 1767, Smits was elected member of the provincial council of his order. When the Franciscans finally took the decision in 1768 to establish a school for biblical philology in Antwerp, an appeal was made to Smits to become prefect of this institute. Starting from 1753, Smits had already repeatedly insisted on the creation of such an institution to ensure his succession. He had addressed himself not only to the provincial authorities of his order, but later, in 1765, also to the then Minister General Pierre Joannetius de Molina. Finally, Smits received the necessary approvals for his project, not only from his provincial superiors and the Minister General, but also from the Austrian authorities in Brussels. Charles Alexander of Lorraine (1712–1780), governor and sovereign of the Austrian Netherlands at that time, approved the initiative in an imperial resolution on 7 September 1768. The school was named *Musaeum philologicum Biblicum* and was oriented towards, on the one hand, the teaching of the biblical languages Hebrew, Chaldean and Greek, and, on the other hand, towards the auxiliary sciences necessary for the literal and critical interpretation of the Bible, for instance history and geography. Unfortunately, Smits had a stroke in 1769 and died on 1 December 1770 in Antwerp without completing his life's work. The translation project was carried on by Petrus Van Hove, Smits's student and his later successor as prefect of the *Musaeum philologicum Biblicum*.⁹

Petrus Van Hove was born on 25 August 1726 in Retie.¹⁰ He joined the Franciscans in Louvain on 26 September 1745 and studied theology in Antwerp. In 1759, he became lector of Sacred Scripture in Brussels, and later also lector of theology. His main preceptors were his above-mentioned confraters Hermanus Janssens and Wilhelm Smits. In 1766, Van Hove was appointed collaborator of Smits whom he later succeeded as prefect of the *Musaeum philologicum Biblicum* and as responsible for the Bible translation project. Van Hove wrote a laudatory necrology of Smits in which he described his preceptor as the glory of the Franciscan Order and praised him for his moral integrity, his purity of spirit and his knowledge of the literary world.¹¹ Van Hove neither could finish the translation project and he died on 21 September 1790 in the Franciscan

9 De Clercq, "La 'Versio Belgica' de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits," 67–72; Goyens, "Une école biblique fondée à Anvers en 1768," 3–21; Dirks, *Histoire littéraire et bibliographique des Frères Mineurs*, 318–319.

10 For biographical information on Petrus Van Hove, see Schoutens, *Martyrologium minoritico-Belgicum*, 160–161; François-Xavier De Feller, "Hove (Pierre van)," in *Biographie universelle ou dictionnaire historique*, vol. 4 (Besançon, 1838), 455–456; Delvenne, *Biographie du royaume des Pays-Bas*, 1:536.

11 "Virum, ordinis minorum decus, morum probitate, animi candore, omnigena eruditione orbi litterato [...]." See Wilhelmus Smits and Petrus Van Hove, *Biblia sacra vulgatae*

monastery in Antwerp. Joannes van Wesel (t. 1792–1796) and Mathias Leonard Weckhauff (t. 1796–1809), the later prefects of the *Musaeum philologicum Biblicum*, received the order to carry on the project. However, on 17 January 1796 the French troops dislodged the Franciscans from their monastery in Antwerp. This also meant the end of the biblical institute and the translation project of Smits.¹² The Franciscans had managed to save their library and sold the book collection on 5 October 1810 in Antwerp.¹³

The Bible translation of Smits and Van Hove, also called the *Versio Belgica*, contained the so-called “Flemish” translation of fifteen books of the Old Testament. Because some of the Bible books were split up into different parts, the translation consisted of 21 volumes. Every volume had its own title page with the title of the Bible book in question. If more Bible books were included in one and the same volume, like in the case of volume 18, every Bible book received its own title page. Volumes 10 to 13 also integrated a supplementary title page with the deviant title *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Versione belgica*. The beginning of every Bible book contained an engraving that referred to a pericope of the Bible book in question. The engraving from the book Genesis for instance showed Noah’s Ark (Gen 6:14). All books were printed in octavo format. The entire translation consisted of approximately 12.000 pages of which 9.500 were composed by Smitss (see table 31).¹⁴

De Boer states that almost right from the beginning this Bible translation was on a dead end.¹⁵ The commission of Louvain professors that had been composed by order of D’Alsace to examine the translation, was very demanding with regard to Smits and a few times, it came to strained relations between both groups.¹⁶ The first members of this commission were the Louvain professors Pierre-Louis Danes (1684–1736) and Gisbert-Jozef Hagen (1689–1750). In 1742, Andreas Henckuysen (1699–1748) joined the commission. In the period 1733–1737, canon Hoyneck van Papendrecht, the secretary of D’Alsace, acted as a mediator between Smits and the commission. His task was later over by Michel Holvoet (1710–1753), the new secretary of the cardinal-Archbishop. Smits was

editionis versione Belgica, notis grammaticalibus, literalibus, criticis &c. elucidata per FF. Minores relectos musei philologico-sacri Antverpiensis, vol. 9 (Antwerp, 1772), 1.

12 De Boer, “De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior,” 34; De Clercq, “La ‘Versio Belgica’ de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits,” 74–75.

13 Auguste Voisin, *Bibliotheca Hulthemiana ou Catalogue méthodique de la riche et précieuse collection de livres et des manuscrits délaissés par Ch. Van Hulthem*, vol. 6 (Ghent, 1837), 12.

14 De Clercq, “La ‘Versio Belgica’ de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits,” 89–91.

15 De Boer, “De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior,” 26.

16 De Boer, “De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior,” 26; C. De Clercq, “La ‘Versio Belgica’ de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits,” 55.

reproached, among others, that he did not translated literally enough and the revisions of the commission were long in coming.¹⁷ While D'Alsace had taken up the idea of publishing the complete translation at once, Smits advocated a separate edition of the individual Bible books. After endless discussions, Smits was able to publish this Psalter translation in two separate volumes with the explicit approval of D'Alsace in 1744 in Antwerp in the house of the widow of Pierre Jouret.¹⁸ That same year, the cardinal-Archbishop heard two priests from the *Missio Hollandica* on the format, the structure and the language of the new translation. Their suggestions corresponded largely with D'Alsace's original idea to publish the complete translation at once in a folio edition. Thereupon, D'Alsace invited both Smits and the correction commission for a discussion in January 1745, the result being that Smits no longer received permission to edit separate Bible books. However, he insisted and on 14 June 1745, he obtained the permission to publish certain Bible books separately at his own risk.

On 23 August 1745, Smits wrote that he had finished six books of the translation, namely Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Wisdom and Sirach. Only the book of Job had been presented to the correction commission; for the remaining books Smits planned to make an appeal to the Antwerp book censors and in a later stadium to the Louvain professors. D'Alsace was surprised by this turn, but he gave his approval for this procedure on 18 September 1745, as a result of which Smits could continue his work. In 1746, however, appeared a separate "Flemish" translation of the Psalms based on Smits's text. This work had been printed without Smits's knowledge by the widow of Pierre Jouret and could not count on his approval because of the inferior quality of the edition. Therefore, Smits decided to appeal to another printer for the remaining parts of his translation.¹⁹ With some delay, this time caused by publishers, Smits's translations of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs appeared in 1746, followed by Wisdom and Sirach in 1749. In 1750, Tobit, Judith and Esther came of the press and a year later the book of Job. Henceforth, Smits collaborated with

17 The correspondance of Smits testifies of these tensions. He wrote the following to a Dutch acquaintance on the occasion of the publication of his psalter in 1743: "Gaarne had ik u een exemplaar van het psalterium toegestuurd, als het werk maar niet zo vertraagd werd door de schuld van de Leuvense professoren" ("I would have love to send you a copy of the Psalter, if the work had not been delayed through the guilt of the Louvain professors"). See De Boer, "De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior," 28.

18 De Clercq, "La 'Versio Belgica' de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits," 56–58.

19 De Boer, "De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior," 27–29; De Clercq, "La 'Versio Belgica' de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits," 60–62.

printer Alexander Everaerts from Antwerp, but also the name of Gerrit Tielenburg from Amsterdam was mentioned on the title pages.²⁰

The relation between Smits and his patron D'Alsace was flagging in that period, among others because of the negative attitude of the members of the correction commission towards Smits. Around 1750 however, the difficulties between Smits and the cardinal-Archbishop were ironed out and D'Alsace resumed his correspondence with Smits, be it with an underlying idea. He had conceived the plan to complete the archiepiscopal library with certain old books that he hoped to acquire through the mediation of Augustinus Smits, bookseller and brother of Willem Smits. D'Alsace also gave permission to print the books of the Pentateuch separately. The first part of Genesis appeared in 1753 and contained not only an elaborate dedicatory letter to the cardinal-Archbishop, but also D'Alsace's letter dating from August 1738 in which he approved the Flemish translation of all historical books of the Old Testament up to 4 Kingdoms. Both Smits and D'Alsace died however before the Pentateuch translation was finalized.²¹

As mentioned above, the translation project was continued by Petrus Van Hove. In the meantime, printer Alexander Everaerts from Antwerp had died in 1768 and Van Hove appealed to his successor Joannes Baptista Carstiaenssens. Although Smits had obtained an *imprimatur* for the entire Pentateuch in 1753, Van Hove asked each time an explicit approbation for the remaining parts of the Pentateuch and he integrated this approbation in the respective volumes. Moreover, he obtained a privilege of the Empress Maria Theresa of Austria that allowed him to find a printer in the Austrian Low Countries who could print the Bible translation. In 1772 appeared the first part of the book Numbers with the translations and the notes of Smits. Three years later, in 1775, the second part was printed and this time Van Hove had taken care of the translation, the notes and the preliminary matter. The translation of Deuteronomy was carried out in three parts and was printed by Carstiaenssens in Antwerp in 1777, 1780 and 1782. The last volume of Deuteronomy consisted of an excursion on Dt 17 in the form of an apologetic treatise, addressed to the unfaithful of the eighteenth century. Van Hove probably referred to the faithful that had been influenced by the Enlightenment. He had the intention to start the translation of the New Testament, but died in 1790.²²

20 De Boer, "De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior," 29; De Clercq, "La 'Versio Belgica' de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits," 62–64.

21 De Boer, "De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior," 29–30; De Clercq, "La 'Versio Belgica' de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits," 65.

22 De Boer, "De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior," 30–31; De Clercq, "La 'Versio Belgica' de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits," 72–75.

TABLE 31 The Bible translation of William Smits (WS) and Peter Van Hove (PVH)

Year	Volume	Bible book	Author	Printer
1744	1	Psalms, part 1	WS	Widow of Pierre Jouret (Antwerp)
	2	Psalms, part 2	WS	idem
1746	3	Proverbs	WS	Alexander Everaerts (Antwerp) & Gerard Tielenburg (Amsterdam)
	3	Ecclesiastes	WS	idem
	3	Song of Songs	WS	idem
1749	4	Wisdom	WS	idem
	5	Sirach	WS	idem
1750	6	Tobit	WS	idem
	6	Judith	WS	idem
	6	Esther	WS	idem
1751	7	Job	WS	idem
1753	8	Genesis, part 1	WS	idem
1755	9	Genesis, part 2,1	WS	idem
	10	Genesis, part 2,2	WS	idem
1757	11	Exodus, part 1	WS	idem
1760	12	Exodus, part 2	WS	idem
	13	Exodus, part 3	WS	idem
1763	14	Leviticus, part 1	WS	idem
	15	Leviticus, part 2	WS	idem
1767	16	Leviticus, part 3	WS	idem
1772	17	Numbers, part 1	WS & PVH	Joannes Baptista Carstiaenssens (Antwerp)

TABLE 31 The Bible translation of William Smits (WS) and Peter Van Hove (PVH) (*cont.*)

Year	Volume	Bible book	Author	Printer
1775	18	Numbers, part 2	PVH	idem
1777	19	Deuteronomy, part 1	PVH	idem
1780	20	Deuteronomy, part 2	PVH	idem
1782	21	Apologismus polemicus, ad Deut. XVII. De Judice Contraversiarum in causis Religionis, [...]	PVH	idem

With regard to the content and the structure of the translation, Smits and Van Hove followed each time the same plan. Every Bible book was preceded by an extensive introductory part in Latin. Subsequently followed the translation of the Bible book with the Latin text of the Vulgate in the left column and the corresponding Dutch translation in the right column. The translation was accompanied with elaborate Latin notes and glosses and, if deemed necessary, every chapter ended with a conclusion in Latin. The translators also added additional scholarly treatises and extensive explanations, all in Latin. Often, these extra commentaries had been based upon the old Hebrew paraphrases.

It is clear that the Dutch translation of the Bible was pushed into the background in the Smits-Van Hove translation since only 50% of the space was actually used for the translation. The Bible translation should therefore be considered as a biblical encyclopaedia showing the erudition of the translators. This attitude fitted in with the eighteenth-century idea that a vernacular Bible was mainly intended for learned Catholics and for clerics as a help in the preparation of their sermons. Both groups knew some Latin, while the common faithful had to limit themselves to pious lecture and the listening of sermons.²³

23 De Boer, "De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior," 26–32; De Clercq, "La 'Versio Belgica' de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits," 89–91.

De Boer thinks to have found an explanation for the presence of the extensive Latin commentaries in Smits's translation: he argues that Smits disposed of extra time because of the slow work of the correction commission and that he dedicated this extra time to the redaction of Latin argumentations in defence of the Pentateuch translation.²⁴ Smits, and later also Van Hove, adopted a middle course between the literal and the free rendering of the Bible text, but they tried not to deviate too much from the Vulgate.²⁵

Various reactions from different angles were directed against the translation project of Smits and Van Hove. Some praised their courage and fearlessness, while others criticized them vehemently.²⁶ As mentioned above, the invasion of the French troupes in Antwerp in 1797 meant the end of the project. The Smits-Van Hove translation was not reprinted, probably because of the size of the various volumes and the changed historical context in the nineteenth century.

24 De Boer, "De Bijbelbeweging van de Germania Inferior," 31.

25 De Clercq, "La 'Versio Belgica' de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits," 50.

26 De Clercq, "La 'Versio Belgica' de la Bible du Franciscain Guillaume Smits," 59–60.

Concluding Remarks

The main aim of this study has been to provide a philological analysis of both the tracts and treatises of three Jansenist-minded Bible translators and three anti-Jansenist opponents of vernacular Bible reading, and the prefaces and dedications of the Jansenist Bibles that were produced in the Northern Netherlands in the period 1667–1733. In addition, this monograph focused on the translation character of the New Testament translations of these Jansenist Bibles. The starting point for this study were the writings and ideas of a network of ten protagonists. Cornelius Hazart (Suivius), Martinus Harney and Martinus Steyaert represented the anti-Jansenist stand in the Southern Low Countries, while the Bible translators Aegidius de Witte, Andreas van de Schuur and Philippus Laurentius Verhulst acted as the defenders of the Jansenists ideas. The ecclesiastical authorities of the North were represented by vicar apostolic Johannes van Neercassel, while Humbert-Guillaume de Precipiano, the anti-Jansenist Archbishop of Mechlin, served as ecclesiastical representative of the South. Antoine Arnauld and Pasquier Quesnel acted as spokespersons of the Jansenist group of Port-Royal. Throughout this study, the various relations between these ten protagonists were traced out and were summarized on a geographical network map.¹

The debates between Roman Catholics and Jansenists were profoundly influenced by the movement of Catholic revival of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of the important issues at stake in the project of Catholic reform was the discussion on the role of the Bible and its reading in the vernacular tongue by the laity. It is therefore not surprising that the issue was put on the agenda of the Council of Trent, which was one of the most important catalysts in the process of Catholic renewal. However, the Catholic Church did not immediately take a stand. During the discussions at the Council of Trent, in the run-up to its Fourth Session (1546), proponents and adversaries of Bible reading in the vernacular kept each other in balance so the Council fathers decided to remain silent on the legitimacy of vernacular Bible translations. This silence was disrupted in 1564 with the publication of a Roman Index of forbidden books, accompanied by ten rules that defined the contours of book censorship. The *Regula Quarta* was not particularly positive with respect to lay reading of vernacular Bibles and authorized the reading of vernacular biblical texts by lay people if they were deemed capable according to the Catholic Tradition and allowed bishops and inquisitors to authorize the reading of these biblical texts

¹ See p. 393.

in the vernacular after advice of the parish priest or the confessor through an explicit, individual and written permission in all cases where they considered that such reading would increase the piety and the devotion of the faithful. However, the interpretation and implementation of this rule gave rise to discussion and debate. In fact, the *Regula Quarta* was not so strictly observed in the Low Countries in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, as has been demonstrated on the basis of an analysis of the decrees of provincial councils and diocesan synods in the three ecclesiastical provinces Cambrai, Mechlin and Utrecht. In spite of the fact that the archdiocese of Cambrai had already implemented the *Regula Quarta* at the end of the sixteenth century in 1586, the stipulation had to be repeated several times, obviously because vernacular Bible translations continued to be read without the necessary permission. In Mechlin, the *Regula Quarta* had been implemented for the first time at the beginning of the seventeenth century and was mentioned on a regular basis in various decrees. No references to the *Regula Quarta* were found in the few decrees that were promulgated in the ecclesiastical province of Utrecht.

Around 1650, the question of vernacular Bible reading was once again placed on the agenda of the Catholic Church of the Low Countries when the Jansenists were stimulating the laity, with the inclusion of women and children, to read the Bible in the vernacular, with no restrictions whatsoever. Their opponents, in contrast, adopted a more wary position, from observance of the *Regula Quarta* to sharp rejection of the laity's right to read the Bible in the vernacular. A milestone in this regard was the publication of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* in 1667. In this translation, the Jansenist *Messieurs* of Port-Royal propagated a new ideal of translation when they affirmed that all faithful had to read the Bible in the vernacular. Moreover, vernacular Bible reading was not a right, but an obligation. It appears from a treatise of Aegidius de Witte that discussions on Bible reading were soon identified with the Jansenist ideas of Port Royal.² In other words, the discussions on the *Regula Quarta* in combination with the new translation ideal of Port-Royal constitute the key for understanding the controversy and the opposing positions of the Jansenists and their anti-Jansenist opponents vis-à-vis vernacular Bible reading.

This study has demonstrated on the basis of Chédozeau's framework that the interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* gave rise to three different positions with regard to vernacular Bible reading and the interpretation of the *Regula Quarta*, of which the last two were directly applicable on the situation in the

2 "Doctor. Ia begint gy oock Jansenist te worden? Over die questie [vernacular Bible reading] en valt niet te disputeren als by Jansenisten." See De Witte, *Tweede Samen-spraak*, 2.

Low Countries.³ The majority of the (anti-Jansenist) Roman Catholics, represented in this study by Archbishop De Precipiano and the three theologians Hazart, Harney and Steyaert were in favour of a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* within the framework of the Tridentine rules. Two important requirements had to be fulfilled before the laity could access the Sacred Books: on the one hand, they had to be deemed capable so that the reading would lead to an increase of faith and piety, and, on the other, they had to receive a written permission by the bishop or the inquisitor on the advice of the pastor or confessor. In other words, it was not forbidden to read the vernacular Bible, but these two prerequisites had to be followed meticulously.

In some cases, however, the *Regula Quarta* was reduced to a blunt prohibition without taking into consideration these two requirements. An example is the decree on Bible reading that De Precipiano had promulgated on 12 January 1685 in the diocese of Bruges after he had learned that some priests encouraged their flock to read the Bible in the vernacular. It appears that this particular decision has given an extra impetus to the controversies between Jansenists and anti-Jansenists on the theme of vernacular Bible reading. Indeed, from 1685 onwards, the discussions between these groups took off. The debates started during De Precipiano's term of office as bishop of Bruges (t. 1683–1690) and continued when he became Archbishop of Mechlin (t. 1690–1711). In the aftermath of the 1685 decree, it seems that many Catholics continued to associate the *Regula Quarta* with a blunt prohibition of vernacular Bible reading in spite of the fact that De Precipiano mitigated his position in later decrees. In his 1691 decree, for instance, the Archbishop had insisted again on a strict observance of the *Regula Quarta*, while taking into account the capacity of the readers and the written permission of the bishop or inquisitor. De Precipiano also explicitly forbade the reading of the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* because of the presence of Jansenist ideas. This 1691 decree caused again commotion, both inside and outside the archdiocese of Mechlin. De Precipiano renewed this stipulation, although sometimes with minor modifications, in his pastoral letters of 1691, 1692 and 1700 and during an episcopal meeting in 1697.

Also the theologians Hazart, Harney and Steyaert sustained De Precipiano's viewpoint and were in favour of a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta*. Harney and Steyaert were first known as Jansenists, but later turned into vehement anti-Jansenists when they realised that an anti-Jansenist viewpoint, similar to that of De Precipiano, would help them climbing the career ladder at Louvain University. From 1685 onwards, the three theologians under consideration reflected their viewpoint and their loyalty towards De Precipiano in

3 See table 9, p. 170.

various writings. Harney dedicated for instance all his works to De Precipiano. In line with the Archbishop, the theologians focussed on the validity of the *Regula Quarta* and reacted against the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*, but they also placed their own emphases on the basis of their respective backgrounds. The 1685 controversy between Hazart and Van Neercassel for instance was dominated by their mutual struggle against Protestantism, but for different reasons. In his capacity of preacher in Antwerp, Hazart had come in contact with Protestantism and was opposed against their practice of translating the Bible into the vernacular languages and permitting all to read it, particularly women. Van Neercassel worked in a Protestant context in the North and considered vernacular Bible reading as an important means to defend the Catholic identity. In addition, both men attributed different meanings to the distinction between reading and explaining Scripture. According to Hazart, the fact that one could read the Bible, did not imply that he understood the biblical message. Therefore, it was better if people did not read the Bible. Van Neercassel, on the contrary, stated that everyone had to be allowed to read the Bible, but that the task of explaining Scripture had to left to preachers and teachers.

Harney and Steyaert dealt in their works with the importance of a good (biblical) education of the clergy, probably with the situation at the Louvain Faculty of Theology at the back of their head. If the clergy were trained as good mediators of God's Word, they could easily discourage the laity from reading the vernacular Bible. Harney explained the theoretical principles of this statement by defending the validity of the *Regula Quarta* and reacting against the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. Steyaert compiled a practically-oriented manual on the basis of Scripture and the Church fathers to help future 'mediators of God's work in their study of the Bible. He particularly aimed at increasing the scriptural knowledge of learned, diligent and pious, in other words the future *doctores* or theologians.

In other words, the adherents of a strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta*, proposed to bring the Bible to the laity through the mediation of well-educated priests and preachers in order to discourage the laity from asking permission to read the vernacular Bible. The laity had to come to the church to learn about Scripture and were not allowed to read Scripture at home. This set of ideas particularly reflected the situation in the Southern Low Countries. In the North, on the contrary, Catholics had a more free access to the Bible, even at home. Indeed, due to the confrontation with the Protestants, the Bible was considered an important means to reinforce the position and the identity of the Catholics. In addition, clear theological and socio-political lines had been drawn between the two present denominations: Reformed Protestantism belonged to the public sphere and Catholicism to private life.

The Jansenist-minded Bible translators De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst, together with vicar apostolic Van Neercassel and the Port-Royal intellectuals Arnould and Quesnel were defenders of the Jansenist position. They acknowledged the reasonability of the *Regula Quarta*, but argued that very specific circumstances had urged the creation of this rule in the course of the sixteenth century, namely the rise of unreliable Protestant vernacular Bible translations. However, they were convinced that the Church had never forbidden vernacular Bible reading and that the *Regula Quarta* only had served as a temporary measure to regulate this practice. Therefore, they stated that, almost 130 years after its promulgation, the *Regula Quarta* was no longer valid because the specific circumstances had disappeared and decent vernacular Bible translations had been published. In addition, the Jansenists stated that bishops and writers had not only pointed out the reliability of these translations, but also had encouraged the faithful to consult them. Moreover, the Jansenists held the opinion that Bible reading was a right and even a moral obligation for every lay person, women (*Bybeljuffrouwen*) and children included, as for instance appears from the 1721 reprint of Van der Schuur's translation of the Gospels, destined for the *Krystelyke Jonkheit* and their parents. This example also demonstrates that the Jansenists emphasized the role and the initiative of the laity in the process of reading Scripture. All had to read the Bible, but Van Neercassel emphasized that the task of explaining Scripture had to be left to the preacher alluding to his discussion with Hazart on the distinction between reading and explaining Scripture. In addition, in cases of doubt and uncertainty, the Jansenists affirmed that it was important to rely on the teachings of mediators, as stated by Van der Schuur. In other words, the Jansenists proposed to bring the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, to the laity, although it should be interpreted with the help of pastors and preachers. It is therefore not surprising that the *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and the Dutch Bible translations under study were reprinted multiple times in different formats and versions, adapted to the various layers of the population, in order to provide nearly every layperson with at least one version of the New Testament. The preface to the 1721 reprint of Van der Schuur's translation of the Gospels stated for instance that every household had to possess at least one edition of the New Testament.⁴

The Bible translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst can be considered as Jansenist to some extent because they were based on the condemned *Nouveau Testament de Mons* and took over its emphasis on the *gratia efficax*,

4 "Ieder huisgezin behoort ten minsten een Nieuw Testament te hebben." See Van der Schuur, *De heilige evangeliën onzes heere Jesus Christus*, 39.

for instance by integrating the French additions *efficacement* and *avec efficace* (*kragtelijk*). De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst also reflected their ideas on vernacular Bible reading in various writings in which they often entered into discussion with their anti-Jansenists opponents, as demonstrated in the network map. It is therefore not surprising that they all had to leave the Southern Low Countries at a given moment in order to continue their translation work precisely because their ideas conflicted with those of the anti-Jansenists. This was especially the case after 1685 when De Precipiano started his 'crusade' against Jansenism by attacking their ideas on vernacular Bible reading. It should be noted, however, that the arguments of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst in favour of vernacular Bible reading should not always be considered as reliable and accurate. Maybe because of a lack of time, some parts of their works consisted in a compilation of facts and dates that did not always correspond with the historical reality as revealed by recent research. Examples are the discussion on the authorship of the *Regula Quarta* or Van der Schuur's description of the situation in Italy.

In the end, the strict interpretation of the *Regula Quarta* seems to have won the argument. Although the later 1757 decree of the Holy Office permitted vernacular Bibles if they had been approved by the apostolic see or if they had been provided with annotations from the Church fathers or other learned and Catholic men,⁵ the Smits-Van Hove translation project (1733–1790) meant a return to a Bible translation that was destined for the clergy because of the preponderance of Latin. The laity was pointed back again to the position of listeners, instead of being active participants to the process of Bible reading.

As already stated at the outset of this study, no attention was paid to the Roman ideas and reactions on this matter. However, the study of the Roman point of view certainly offers perspectives for further research in order to refine and complete the positions and the interactions of the ten protagonists that have been sketched. In addition, the study of the presence of the tracts, treatises and vernacular Bibles under study in the libraries of parishes and priests offers possibilities to examine the impact of the discussions on vernacular Bible reading on the circulation of these works.

To conclude, an important observation should be made with regard to the terminology used in this monograph. As apparent from the title and the introduction, frequent use has been made from the established expressions Jansenist and an anti-Jansenist in order to designate the two opposing factions under study. However, this research has demonstrated that it would be appropriate to consider an alternative, more impartial term in order to emphasize

5 Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, 2:59–60.

the indefinite character of Jansenism. In line with the central theme of this study, it appears that two main groups can be distinguished, namely those who were in favour of the practice of vernacular Bible reading (the six so-called Jansenists in this study, namely De Witte, Van der Schuur, Verhulst, Arnauld, Quesnel and Van Neercassel) and those who were opposed (the four so-called anti-Jansenists Hazart, Harney, Steyaert and De Precipiano). Moreover, right from the beginning, the permissibility of vernacular Bible reading was one of the central points at stake in the debates between the two factions under study, as witnessed by the Port-Royal translation project and the *Nouveau Testament de Mons*. In other words, the position with regard to the practice of vernacular Bible reading could function as a criterion and an alternative for the established expressions Jansenist and anti-Jansenist. However, it remains important to take into consideration the individual position and involvement of the various protagonists in the debates in order to determine their specific position within the spectrum of opponents and advocates of vernacular Bible reading. Some so-called anti-Jansenists for instance shared convictions that were considered Jansenist-minded, for instance Harney and his ideas on penance. In addition, the Jansenists never considered themselves as Jansenists, but advanced that they were in fact good Roman-Catholics.

Appendix 1: Geographical Network Map



ILLUSTRATION 6 Geographical network map. Mutual relationships between ten protagonists of the discussions on vernacular Bible reading in the Low Countries (1667-1733)

Appendix 2: Poem of Andreas van der Schuur

Andreas van der Schuur, Ware afbeelding van het gene nu by sommige fabel-geesten met den naem van jansenist of jansenisterye genoemd word, : zijnde een nadere en ernstige onderrigting, hoognuttig voor alle de genen, welken 't hoofd door die schimme alsnog ontroerd is (Mechlin, 1702).

Luistert toe, gy Fabelisten,
Die niet anders doet dan twisten
Van de Jansenistery:
Zet u daer wat op een rey.
Luistert vry met mond en ooren,
'k Zal u leeren, wilt gy 't hooren,
Of gy 't mooglijk niet en wist,
Wat de naem van Jansenist
By die schrandere Gezellen,
Die u 't hoofd met schimmen quellen,
Thans betekent en beduid.
't Is zoo quaed niet als het luid.
Laet u met geen woorden payen,
Die men regts en slinks kan drayen,
Daer men goed en waued mee dekt,
Elk zoo 't naer zijn doelwit sterkt.
Laet u door geen naem misleiden:
Maer leert zaken onderscheiden.
Dikmaels wierd een quaede naem
By verloop van tijd bequaem
Om niet anders te beduiden
Dan opregte en vroomme luiden
Die 't wel meinen. En zoo is 't
Met den naem van Jansenist.
Want al zoeken u die Mannen,
Die geweld en list inspannen,
Wijs te maken met een schijn
Dat 'er Jansenisten zijn,
Die 't op nieuwe dingen munten,
Die de vijf gedoemde punten
Nog beweerden even sterk

Tegen 't vonnis van de Kerk:
't Zijn maer valsche en sotte droomen,
Die g' in 't minsten niet moet
schroomen:
Al die praet van kettery
Is maert blinde razerny.
't Geen zy van Gods *Gratie* leeren
Is het geen' de Kerk des Heeren
t' Allen tijden heeft geloofd
Naert de lesse van haert Hoofd
Christus, 't gene *Paulus* leerde
En zoo kragtelijk beweerde,
't Geen de Vader Augustijn
En Sint Thomas van Aquyn
(Wie durft zeggen dat z' hier doolen?)
Zoo voor 't volk als in de Schoolen
Preekten als een zaek van pligt,
Als een leerstuk van gewigt.
Met een woord dan, wilt gy weeten
Wie zy Jansenisten heeten?
Jansenist beduid een man
Die voor niemand veinzen kan,
Die niet houd van kunstig liegen
En de wereld te bedreigen,
Maer wiens tong regtzinnig waegt,
't Gene hy in den boezem draegt:
Die de groote Potentaten
Niet weet naer den zin te praten,
Maer die zonder onderscheid
Yder een de waarheid zeit,
Naer den eisch van regt en reden:

Die gestigtig is van zeden
 Die zijn aenbevolen volk
 Als een ware hemeltolk
 Zoo met woorden als met werken
 Tragt te leeren en te sterken,
 En te leiden naer de wet
 By den Heiland ingezet.
 Die geen andre regels kennen,
 Daer zy 't zielgespan op mennen,
 Dan het oud en 't nieuw Verbond,
 't Welk de Heer door *Jesus* mond,
 Door d'apostels en Profeeten,
 Aen de wereld heeft doen weeten,
 En de leere die het merk
 Draegt van *Christus* ware Kerk:
 Die op vaste waerheid doelen,
 En niet voordgaen op 't gevoelen
 Van een nieuwen Kasuist,
 Die zig dikmaels plomp vergist:
 Die zijn 't die men thans betekent
 En voor Jansenisten rekt.
 Noit droeg imand deze naem,
 Of hy wierd ook door de faem
 Voor een eerlijk man geprezen.
 Want wie heeft nog oit gelezen,
 Of gehoord in eenig Land
 Dat een losse of slappe quant,
 Die meer houd van banketeeren
 Dan van bidden en studeeren,
 Wiens geheele letterschat
 In 't Getyboek is bevat,
 Die maer vroolijk zoekt te leven,
 En het lijf den toom te geven,
 Die 't zig naulijks eens bekreunt
 Dat een ander zugt of steunt,
 Die den wagen slegs laet rollen,
 Wil 't niet zagt gaen, zoo mag 't hollen,
 Flouw en zorgloos, met een woord:
 'k Vraag waer heeft men oit gehoord
 Dat men zulke lafgeroemde

Immer Jansenisten noemde?
 Neen, daer 't zoo mee is gesteld,
 Worden 'er niet voor geteld
 Maer die deugd en wijsheid paren,
 En zig openlijk verklaren
 Voor de zuivre zedenleer,
 En 't belang van God den Heer
 Boven eigen baert betragten
 Zonder 's werelds oordeel t' agten,
 Die noemt onze Make twist
 Met den naem van Jansenist.
 Om nog korter uit te leggen
 Wat dat Jansenist wilt zeggen,
 't Is deugdzaam Christe mensch,
 Maer die zig niet naert den wensch
 Van het groote Gild kan dragen,
 En daerom niet kan behagen
 Aen den ruimen Kasuist.
 Zulken hiet men Jansenist.
 Daer 's 't *Mysterie* in beslooten.
 En schoon nog de Bondgenooten
 Stadig zingen 't oude lied,
 Jansenist is anders niet.
 't Is een naem om zwart te maken
 All' de genen die zy laken:
 Wie die Mannen niet en roemt,
 Word straks Jansenist genoemd.
 'k Hoop gy zult het nu wel vatten.
 Of indien gy nog blijf pratten,
 Zoo gy 't nog niet wel verstaet,
 Luystert dan op hoog're maet.
 Gy die zoo veel van Jansenisten
 spreekt,
 Wiens dart'le tong veel twist en onheil
 queekt,
 En stadig blaeft van nieuwe ketteryen,
 Daer gy quansuis de Kerk van zult
 bevrijen,
 Die, zoo gy meint, alleen 't Geloof
 beweert,

Ay hoort eens wat de Jansenist u
 leert,
 Eer g' u dus laet door yverdrift
 verrukken.
 Zijn gansche Leer bestaet in deze
 stukken.
 Ons Opperheer en Vader *is een geest*:
 Daerom behaagt hem ook die Godsdi-
 enst meest
 Die in den geest geschied. *Hy wilt* met
 reden
 Van ons in geest en waarheid zijn
 aanbeden.
 Zoo dat het naer den zin van Augustijn
 Het waer geloof, de hope en liefde zijn
 Die naer Gods wil den mensch Godsdi-
 enstig maken.
 De liefde Gods moet in de zielen blaken:
 Ons werk moet met de liefde zijn
 vercierd.
 De daed des wils die niet en word
 bestierd
 Tot Godes eer door liefde als tot haer
 einde.
 Behaegt hem niet, al schoon men 't
 anders meinde.
 Op onzen grond wast dan geen heilzaam
 kruid
 Nog vrugt, dan die uit dezen wortel
 spruit.
 Een Christen mensch moet al zijn werk
 en zeden
 Bestieren naer 't bevel en naer de reden,
 Niet van een Schrijver van den nieuwen
 trant,
 Maer naer 't bevel en reden door Gods
 hand
 Geschreven in de goddelijke Boeken.
 Hij moet geen schijn, maer vaste
 waarheid zoeken.

De liefde die al 't goed in ons verwekt,
 De waarheid die ons tot een regel
 sterkt,
 't Moet beide door het vuur en door de
 stralen
 Des Heil'gen Geests in onze herten
 dalen.
 Die Geest is 't die door liefde 't hert
 bekeert,
 Die Geest is 't die ons alle waarheid leert:
 Dus moet het al van Gods genade
 koomen.
 Dit leert den mensch met beven en met
 schroomen
 Zijn zaligheid betragten, als hy merkt
 Wie 't willen en 't volbrengen in ons
 werkt,
 Te weeten, God naer eigen welbehagen.
 Zoo leert hy zig voor God ootmoedig
 dragen,
 Hem geven van de deugd den lof en
 d'eer,
 In al zijn werk betrouwen op den Heer,
 Hem onvermoeid om hulpe en bystand
 smeeken.
 Dog laet ons slegs van elks een weinig
 spreken.
 Zeg eens wat boeken dat men doorgaens
 prijst,
 Waer toe de Jansenist gestadig wijst?
 Niet tot den draf van valsche
 Fabelschriften,
 Het heilloos werk der menschelijke
 driften,
 Daer d'onkunde hare vrugt verwaend-
 heid baert:
 Hy wijst ons boeken van een and'ren
 aerd.
 Gods Wetboek word den leerling
 aengeprezen

Hy leert de Wet en 't Evangelie leezen.
 Al wat Profeet ons leerde door Gods
 Geest,
 Al wat men in 's Apostels brieven leest,
 Al wat'er staet in goddelijke Bladers,
 Daer by gevoegd de Schriften van de
 Vaders.
 Dat prijst hy aen, bewust dat *Godes
 Woord*,
Het swaerd des Geest, met kragt de ziel
 doorboort.
 En wel te regt: dit Woord is onze Regel;
 Dit is de Brief gemerkt met 't groote
 zegel,
 Ons afgezonden door den Oppervorst;
 De Spieger daer de ziel of z'is bemorst
 Of rein, haer glans en vlekken kan
 bemerken,
 Het Manna 't welk de ziele omlaeg moet
 sterken,
 Een Waterstroom daer d'Olifant versinkt,
 En daer het Lam door wandelt en uit
 drinkt,
 Te diep van zin voor die den hoogmoed
 voeden,
 Maer niet voor 't volk die 't nederig
 bevroeden;
 Een Voorraad daer men voedsel vind
 voor elk,
 Den kloeken spijs, den kleinen kind'ren
 melk,
 Een moeder die haer kind goedaerdig
 handelt,
 En neffens 't kind met kleine stappen
 wandelt.
 Nu luister al, en hoor ook wat hy zeit
 Van Biegt, berouw en van
 boetvaardigheid.
 Geen enk'le vrees kan Gods genade
 winnen,

De Zondaer moet zijn Heere en God
 beminnen:
 Het Sakrament werkt geen vergiffenis,
 Alwaer geen liefde by de droefheid is.
 Geen Priester kan ontbinden van de
 zonden,
 't En zy die in den hemel word
 ontbonden
 In 't Oordeel Gods. Wat kan een dienaar
 meer
 Dan volgen stipt het vonnis van zijn
 Heer?
 Des moet hy eerst naer aller Vad'ren
 leering
 Wel letten op de tekens van bekeering,
 Niet op de bladers van een woord of
 zugt.
 Men kent den boom veel beter uit de
 vrugt.
 Zoo lang 'er geen bekeering is van leven,
 Zoo helpt geen Biegt nog *Absolutie*
 geven.
 De *Penitentie* of het werk van boet,
 Het welk de mensch voor zijne misdaed
 doet,
 Moet zijn gewoogen naer den eisch der
 zonden:
 Want d'artzeny moet passen op de
 wonden.
 Wat nu belangt den dienst van 't
 Hemelkoor,
 Hier gaet de Jansenist u stigtig voor.
 Hy geeft de Moeder Gods en Heil'gen
 d'eere
 Die hen betaemt, en die de Kerk des
 Heere
 Hen al van ouds door alle d'eeuwen
 gaf.
 Maer hong 't aen hem, gewis hy sneede
 'er af

't Gene eigen zin of baetzugt tegen
 reden,
 Of wangeloof of botte onwetendheden
 Ons baerden: 't welk de Kerk somtijds
 verdraegt
 Door nood geperst, hoewel 't haer noit
 behaegt:
 Want z'is verligt door 's waerheids gulde
 stralen.
 Zoo wie haert hoort en volgt, kan
 nimmer dwalen.
 Zie daer der Jansenisten leere in 't kort,
 Zie daer wie met dien naem getekend
 word.
 Nu vraeg ik of 't niet was met regt en
 reden
 Dat *Bona* Kardinael niet lang geleden

Nog zei en uitriep met een vollen mond:
 Ach of men dog in onze dagen vond
 Al veele van dat slag van Jansenisten.
 Niet dat'er imand is, ô Fabelisten,
 Die zig op 't woord of op dien naemt
 beroemt:
 Maert dat de mannen die uw volk dus
 noemt,
 Veel kragtiger dan zy de Kerk des Heere
 Met zedendeugd en onbesmette leere
 Beschermen, en de dwaling tegengaen.
 Nu hoop ik dat gy t'immers hebt
 verstaen,
 En dat geen yd'le schimme u meer zal
 plagen.
 Zoo ziet men rust en vrede in onze
 dagen.

Appendix 3: The Tridentine Profession of Faith

The text of the Tridentine Profession of Faith is retrieved from DH, 1862–1870.

Ego N. firma fide credo et profiteor omnia et singula, quae continentur in Symbolo, quo Sancta Romana ecclesia utitur, videlicet:

Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium. Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum ante omnia saecula. Deum de Deo, Lumen de Lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri; per quem omnia facta sunt. Qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de caelis. Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est, et resurrexit tertia die, secundum Scripturas, et ascendit in caelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris. Et iterum venturus est cum gloria, iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis. Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur: qui locutus est per prophetas. Et unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum, et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

I, N., with firm faith believe and profess all and everything which is contained in the creed of faith, which the holy Roman Church uses:

I believe in one God the Father almighty, creator of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, and born of the Father before all ages, God of God, light of light, true God of true God, generated not made, one in being with the Father, through whom all things were made; who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and by the power of the Holy Spirit was incarnate from the Virgin Mary, and became man; he was also crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered and was buried; and he rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven; he is seated at the right hand of the Father, and will come again with glory to judge the living and the dead; to his kingdom there will be no end. And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son; who together with the Father and the Son is likewise worshipped glorified; who has spoken through the prophets. And in one holy Catholic and apostolic Church. I acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins. And I await the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come. Amen.

Apostolicas et Ecclesiasticas traditiones reliquasque eiusdem ecclesiae observationes et constitutiones firmissime admitto et amplector. Item sacram Scripturam iuxta eum sensum¹, quem tenuit et tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cuius est iudicare de vero sensu et interpretatione sacrarum Scripturarum, admitto; nec eam umquam nisi iuxta unanimem consensum Patrum, accipiam et interpretabor.

Profiteor quoque septem esse vere et proprie Sacramenta novae legis a Iesu Christo Domino nostro instituta, atque ad salutem humani generis, licet non omnia singulis, necessaria: scilicet Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Paenitentiam, Extremam Unctionem, Ordinem et Matrimonium; illaque gratiam conferre; et ex his Baptismum, Confirmationem et Ordinem sine sacrilegio reiterari non posse. Receptos quoque et approbatos Ecclesiae catholicae ritus in supradictorum omnium Sacramentorum solemnii administratione recipio et admitto. Omnia et singula, quae de peccato originali et de iustificatione in sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo definita et declarata fuerunt, amplector et recipio.

Profiteor pariter, in Missa offerri Deo verum, proprium et propitiatorium sacrificium pro vivis et defunctis. Atque in sanctissimo Eucharistiae Sacramento esse vere, realiter et substantialiter Corpus et Sanguinem, una cum anima et divinitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi, fierique conversionem totius substantiae panis in

I most firmly accept and embrace the apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church. I likewise accept Holy Scripture according to that sense which our holy Mother Church has held and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true meaning and interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures; I shall never accept or interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers

I also profess that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the New Law instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of the human race, though not all are necessary for each individual; (they are) baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, order, and matrimony. And (I profess) that they confer grace and that of these baptism, confirmation, and order cannot be repeated without sacrilege. I also admit and accept the rites received and approved in the Catholic Church for the solemn administration of all the sacraments mentioned above. I embrace and accept each and all the articles defined and declared by the most Holy Council of Trent concerning original sin and justification.

I also profess that in the Mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, and that in the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist the body and blood together with the soul and the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ are truly, really and substantially present and that there takes

Corpus ac totius substantiae vini in Sanguinem, quam conversionem Ecclesia catholica transubstantiationem appellat. Fateor etiam sub altera tantum specie totum atque integrum Christum verumque Sacramentum sumi.

Constanter teneo, Purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis iuari. Similiter et Sanctos, una cum Christo regnantes, venerandos atque invocandos esse, eosque orationes Deo pro nobis offerre, atque eorum reliquias esse venerandas. Firmiter assero, imagines Christi ac Deiparae semper Virginis, necnon aliorum Sanctorum habendas et retinendas esse, atque eis debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam. Indulgentiarum etiam potestatem a Christo in Ecclesia relictam fuisse, illarumque usum Christiano populo maxime salutarem esse affirmo.

Sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam Romanam Ecclesiam omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco, Romanoque Pontifici, beati Petri Apostolorum principis successori, ac Iesu Christi Vicario, veram oboedientiam spondeo ac iuro. Cetera item omnia a sacris canonibus et oecumenicis Conciliis, ac praecipue a sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo, definita et declarata, indubitanter recipio ac profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque haereses quascumque ab Ecclesia damnatas et reiectas et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, reicio, et anathematizo.

place a change of the whole substance of bread into the body and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood; and this change the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation. I also confess that under each species alone the whole and entire Christ and the true sacrament is received.

I steadfastly hold that there is a purgatory and that the souls detained there are helped by the acts of intercession of the faithful; likewise, that the saints reigning together with Christ should be venerated and invoked, that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics should be venerated. I firmly declare that the images of Christ and of the Mother of God ever Virgin and of the other saints as well are to be kept and preserved and that due honor and veneration should be given to them. I also affirm that the power of indulgences has been left by Christ to the Church and that their use is very beneficial to the Christian people.

I acknowledge the holy, catholic, and apostolic Roman Church as the mother and teacher of all Churches, and I promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, successor of blessed Peter, chief of the Apostles and vicar of Christ.

I unhesitatingly accept and profess also all other things transmitted, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and the ecumenical councils, especially by the most holy Council of Trent. At the same time, all contrary propositions and whatever heresies have been condemned, rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I too condemn, reject and anathematize.

Hanc veram Catholicam Fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in praesenti sponte profiteor et veraciter teneo, eandem integram, et immaculatam⁴ usque ad extremum vitae spiritum, constantissime, Deo adiuvante, retinere et confiteri, atque a meis subditis, vel⁵ illis, quorum cura ad me in munere meo spectabit, teneri, doceri et praedicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum, ego idem N. spondeo, voveo ac iuro. Sic me Deus adiuvet et haec sancta Dei Evangelia.

This true Catholic faith, outside of which no one can be saved, which of my own accord I now profess and truly hold, I, N., do promise, vow, and swear that, with the help of God, I shall most faithfully retain and profess entire and inviolate, to my last breath, and that I shall take care, as far as it lies in my power, that it be held, taught, and preached by those under me or those over whom I have charge by virtue of my office. So help me God and these his holy Gospels.

Appendix 4: Pseudonyms, Abbreviations and Alternative Names of the Protagonists of the Jansenists Controversy on Vernacular Bible Reading

TABLE 32 Pseudonyms, abbreviations and alternative names of the protagonists of the Jansenists controversy on vernacular Bible reading

Name	Pseudonyms and variant names ¹
Cornelius Hazart	Antonius Suivius
Martinus Steyaert	le Champion M. St. V.A. M.S. M.S.V.A. (Martinus Steyaert, vicarius apostolicus)
Johannes van Neercassel	Bisschop van Castorie(n) De Man Des Ombres Godefridus Godefroid Jan Goverts Joan Batist Johannes de Castorie Johannes Godefridi M. de la Xene Mannius
Aegidius (Gilles) de Witte	A.A.A. A.A.A. Sacerdos ecclesiae catholicae A.A.A. Theologus Alethopolitanus Aegidius Albanus Aegidius Candidus Albanus Aegidius Alethophilus Alethophilus Onitrama

1 This list is based on Bastiaan Abraham van Kleef, *Schuilnamen, naamvormen en naamletters aangenomen door schrijvers meest voorkomende in de geschiedenis der Gallikaanse en Hollandse Kerk* (n.p.: De Oud-Katholieke Pers, 1955); Willaert, *Bibliotheca Janseniana Belgica*, 3 vols. The aim of this appendix is to provide a non-exhaustive list of the pseudonyms of the protagonists of the Jansenists controversy on vernacular Bible reading.

TABLE 32 Pseudonyms, abbreviations and alternative names of the protagonists of the Jansenists controversy on vernacular Bible reading (*cont.*)

Name	Pseudonyms and variant names ¹
	Alethophilus Urbicus
	Avitus (academicus)
	C. Boon
	C.D.C.
	C.D.C. Theologus Eutopianus
	Catholicus Philalethes
	Christianus Alethophilus
	Christianus Philirenus
	Clarius
	Clarius Eugenius Theologus
	Damat
	Dauval
	Desiderius Palaeophilus
	Didacus van Vreeswijk/Vreeswijck/Wreeswijck
	E. Recht–Hert/Rechtert
	E.A.D.O.D.D.T.M. (Egidius Albanus, deken over de
	Deyle tot Mechelen)
	E.C.P. (Egidius Candidus, Pastor)
	E.D.W.E.B.M.P.D. (Egidius de Witte, ecclesiae Beatae
	Mariae Pastor, decanus)
	E.D.W.E.B.M.T.D.P.D. (Egidius de Witte, ecclesiae
	Beatae Mariae trans Diliam, pastor, decanus)
	Een aanzienlijk Heer
	Egidius Candidus
	Eugenius de Claer (E.C.P.)
	Eugenius de Klaer
	Eusebius Edoxius
	Eusebius Eudoxus
	F.F. (Fabius Fidelis)
	Germanus Loiolophilus
	Germanus Palaeophilus
	Irenaeus Philalethes
	Jansenista Candidus
	Joannes Pal(a)eophilus
	Joannes Pal(a)eopistus
	Johannes Aurelius

TABLE 32 Pseudonyms, abbreviations and alternative names of the protagonists of the Jansenists controversy on vernacular Bible reading (*cont.*)

Name	Pseudonyms and variant names ¹
	Johannes Cantor
	Johannes Rechthert
	Jonas Barcepha
	Liberius Candidus
	Lucius Candidianus
	Nathanaël Regtuyt/Rechtuijt
	Palladius Sancti Augustini discipulus
	Paulus Aurelius
	Petrus Aurelius
	Philaethes Catholicus
	Priscus Censorinus Photiscus
	Rooms–catholijk
	Solitarius Peregrinus
	Theologus Alethophilus
	Urbicus Aletheophilus
	Vincentius Pal(a)eophilus
	Viventius Palaeophilus
Andreas van der Schuur	A * * *
	A.A.P.K.S.G.
	A.A.P.L.D.G.
	A.E.I.O.V.
	A.H.v.G. (Andreas van Gorcum)
	A.V.
	A.V.S.
	A.V.S.
	A.v.S. priester
	A.V.S.L.D.G (Andreas van der Schuur, licentiaat der godgeleerdheid)
	A.V.S.P.E.D.G. (Andreas van der Schuur, priester en doctor der godgeleerdheid)
	A.V.S.P.L.D.G. (Andreas van der Schuur, priester, licentiaat der godgeleerdheid)
	A.V.S. priester L.D.G.
	Andreas Hendrik van Gorcum
	Andreas Schurius
	Christianus Philirenus
	L.D.G. (Licentiaat der godgeleerdheid)

TABLE 32 Pseudonyms, abbreviations and alternative names of the protagonists of the Jansenists controversy on vernacular Bible reading (*cont.*)

Name	Pseudonyms and variant names ¹
Hendrick van Rhijn	H.F.R. H. V. R. Henricus Renanus Henricus van Rhijn Magister artium
Philippus Laurentius Verhulst	L. Zeelander P.H. Vlaming Philippe Lodewijk Verhulst Philippe Louis Verhulst

Appendix 5: The Structure of Van Neercassel’s Latin, French and Dutch Treatise on Vernacular Bible Reading

1 *Tractatus de lectione scripturarum* (Emmerik, Arnold van Eyben, 1677, in 8°)

TABLE 33 Structure of Van Neercassel’s *Tractatus de lectione scripturarum*

o	Engraving of G. Appelmans on the title page depicting a scene from Ac 8:30–31 with the caption: “Putasne intelligis que legis? Et quomodo possum, si non aliquis ostenderit mihi?”		
1	<i>Ad Catholicos Foederati Belgii Epistola Dedicatoria atque Dogmatica</i>	Dedicatory letter to the Catholics of the United Provinces	21 pages
2	<i>Praefatio ad lectorem</i>	Preface to the reader	15 pages
3	<i>Errata typographica Ante Libri Lectionem Corrigenda in Tractatu de Lectione Scripturarum et in Dissertatione</i>	Typographical errors in the <i>Tractatue de Lectione</i> and the <i>Dissertatione</i> that should be corrected before the reading of the books	2 pages
4	<i>Approbatio</i>	Approbation of the Latin work by Judocus Houbraken, Antonius Hoefslagh and Arnoldus Eyben Antwerp, November 11, 1676	1 page
5	<i>Tractatus de lectione Scripturarum</i>	Treatise on the Reading of Sacred Scripture	333 pages
6	<i>Dissertatio de interprete scripturarum</i>	Dissertation of the interpreter of Holy Scripture	145 pages
7	<i>Index capitum</i>	Table of Contents	4 pages

2 *Traité de la lecture de l'écriture sainte* (Cologne, Widow of Balthasar von Egmond, 1680, in 8°)

TABLE 34 Structure of Van Neercassel's *Traité de la lecture de l'écriture sainte*

o	Translated by M.L.R.A.H.F. (Monsieur [=Guillaume] Le Roy, Abbé de Haute-Fontaine) No engraving on the title page		
1	<i>Avis du Traducteur de ce Livre</i>	Notice of the translator of this book	1 page
2	<i>Lettre Pastorale aux Catholiques des Provinces-Unies</i>	Pastoral letter to the Catholics of the United Provinces	68 pages
3	<i>Approbatio</i>	Approbation of the Latin work by Judocus Houbraken, Antonius Hoefslag and Arnoldus Eyben (Antwerp, November 11, 1676)	1 page
4	<i>Témoignage rendu à ce Livre dans Rome par l'Auteur du Journal des Sçavans</i>	French-Italian book review given in Rome by the author of the <i>Journal des Sçavans</i>	9 pages
5	<i>Approbatio</i>	Approbation of the French translation by J.D. Cuyper S.T.L. (Brussels, May 16, 1680)	1 page
6	<i>Traité de la lecture de l'Écriture Sainte</i>	Treatise on the Reading of Sacred Scripture	428 pages
7	<i>Dissertation de l'interprète de l'Écriture Sainte</i>	Dissertation of the interpreter of Holy Scripture	216 pages
8	<i>Table des chapitres et des articles</i>	Table of Contents	20 pages

3 **Verhandeling van ‘t lezen der H. Schriftuure (Antwerp, [= Rotterdam], Francois van Hoogstraeten, 1685, in 8°)**

TABLE 35 Structure of Van Neercassel's *Verhandeling van ‘t lezen der H. Schriftuure*

o	Translated by F.V.H. (= Frans van Hoogstraeten) Engraving of G. Appelmans on the title page depicting a scene from Ac 8:30–31 with the caption: “Putasne intelligis que legis? Et quomodo possum, si non aliquis ostenderit mihi?”		
1	<i>Keure Van ‘t Volgende Werck in ‘t Latijn</i>	Approbation of the Latin work by Judocus Houbraken, Antonius Hoefslagh and Arnoldus Eyben (Antwerp, November 11, 1676)	3 pages
	<i>Keure der Fransche Vertaelinge</i>	Approbation of the French translation by J.D. Kuiper (Cuyper) (Brussels, May 16, 1680)	
	<i>Keure der Nederlantsche Vertaelinge</i>	Approbation of the Dutch version by Jacob van Cats (December 23, 1683)	
2	<i>Bisschoppelijke brief aen de Catholijken der Vereenigde Provincien</i>	Episcopal letter to the Catholics of the United Provinces	44 pages
3	<i>Getuigenis over dit boek gegeven te Rome, door den Schrijver van het Dagboek der Geleerden (Journal des Sçavans)</i>	Dutch book review given in Rome by the author of the <i>Journal des Sçavans</i>	5 pages
4	<i>Op het lezen der H. Schriftuure</i>	Short poem on the Reading of Sacred Scripture	1 page
5	<i>Verhandeling van ‘t lezen der H. Schriftuure</i>	Treatise on the Reading of Sacred Scripture	367 pages
6	<i>Een Verklaringe van den Uitlegger der Heilige Schriftuure</i>	Explanation of the Interpreter of Holy Scripture	181 pages
7	<i>Tafel van de Hooftstucken en Artikelen</i>	Table of Contents	20 pages

Appendix 6: List of Quoted Dutch Bible Translations Other Than the Translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst

TABLE 36 List of quoted Dutch Bible translations other than the translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst

Year	Title	Place of publication and printer	Label
1548	<i>Den gheheelen Bibel, inhoudende het oude ende nieuwe Testament by Nicolas van Winghe</i>	Louvain by Gravius	Catholic: the <i>Leuvense Bijbel</i> of Nicolas van Winghe
1553	<i>Den gheheelen Bibel, inhoudende het oude ende nieuwe Testament</i>	Louvain by Bergaigne	Catholic: reprint of the <i>Leuvense Bijbel</i>
1566	<i>Het Nievwe Testament ons Heeren Iesv Christi</i>	Antwerp by Plantin	Catholic: reprint of the <i>Leuvense Bijbel</i>
1566	<i>Den bibel inhovdende het ovdt ende nieu Testament</i>	Antwerp by Plantin	Cathlic: reprint of the <i>Leuvense Bijbel</i>
1599	<i>Biblia sacra dat is De geheele Heylighe Schrifture bedeylt int oudt ende nieu Testament</i>	Antwerp by Moerentorf	Catholic: Moerentorf edition
1614	<i>Nieu Testament onses Heeren Iesu Christi Met korte uytlegghingen by Franciscus Costerus</i>	Antwerp by Joachim Trognesium	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Costerus)
1622	<i>t' Nieuw Testament ons Salichmakers Iesu Christiby Henricus van den Leemputte</i>	Antwerp by Cornelis Verschueren or Louvain by Henrick van Hastens (?)	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)

TABLE 36 List of quoted Dutch Bible translations other than the translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Place of publication and printer	Label
1630	<i>t Nieuw Testament ons Salichmakers Iesv Christi</i>	Antwerp by Guilliam van Tongheren	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1637	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons Salichmakers Iesv Christi</i>	Antwerp by Hendrick (I) Aertssens	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1643	<i>t' Nieuw Testament ons Salichmakers Iesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by Guilliam van Tongheren	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1646	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons Salichmaekers Iesv Christi</i>	Amsterdam by Pieter Jacobszoon Paets	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1650	<i>Het nieuwe testament ons Salichmakers Jesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by Hendrick (I) or (II) Aertssens	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1653	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament onses heeren Iesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by ?	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1653	<i>Biblia sacra, dat is Alle de Heilige Schriften van het Oude en Nieuwe Testament</i>	Antwerp by Guilliam (I) Lesteens for Jacob Willeboortszoon Heyloo (Alkmaar)	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (NT corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1653	<i>Biblia sacra, dat is Alle de Heilige Schriften van het Oude en Nieuwe Testament</i>	Amsterdam by Joachim van Metelen	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (NT corrected by Van den Leemputte)

TABLE 36 List of quoted Dutch Bible translations other than the translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Place of publication and printer	Label
1657	<i>Biblia Sacra Dat is De Geheeley Heylighe Schrifte</i>	Amsterdam by Pieter Jacobszoon Paets	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (NT corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1663	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons Salichmakers Iesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by Hendrick (II) Aertssens	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1672	<i>Het nieuwe testament ons salichmakers Jesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by Cornelis Woons for Hendrick van Borculo (Utrecht)	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1686	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons salighmaeckers Jesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by Jacobus Woons for Claes Braau (Haarlem)	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1696	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons salighmaeckers Jesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by Hieronimus (v) Verdussen for Nicolaes Braau (Haarlem)	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1704	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons Saligmakers Iesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by Joannes van Soest for Cornelis (II) Stichter (Amsterdam)	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
173?	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons Saligmakers Jesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by Joannes van Soest for the widow of Cornelis (II) Stichter (Amsterdam)	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)

TABLE 36 List of quoted Dutch Bible translations other than the translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Place of publication and printer	Label
after 1750	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons Saligmakers Jesu Christi</i>	Antwerp by Joannes Baptista (II) Verdussen for Hermanus and Johannes Besseling (Utrecht)	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1753?	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons zalighmakers Jesu Christi</i>	Antwerp (= Den Bosch) by Jacobus Scheffers	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1753?	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons zalighmakers Jesu Christi</i>	Antwerp (= Amsterdam) for the widow of Cornelis (II) Stichter	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1754	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament onses heeren Jesus Christus</i>	Louvain (= Amsterdam), for Theodorus Crajenschot	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)
1767	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons Zaligmakers Jesu Christi</i>	Den Bosch by Jacobus Scheffers	Catholic: Moerentorf edition (corrected by Van den Leemputte)

Appendix 7: An Overview of the Bible Translations of De Witte, Van der Schuur and Verhulst

The aim is to provide an as complete as possible list of the Jansenist Bible production of Aegidius de Witte, Andreas van der Schuur and Philippus Laurentius Verhulst on the basis of the overviews previously proposed by the older literature. If possible, references to this older literature are mentioned.¹

1 Bible Translations of Aegidius de Witte

TABLE 37 Bible Translations of Aegidius de Witte

Year	Title	Remark(s)	References
1696	<i>De brieven van den H. Paulus. De algemeyne brieven. De openbaringen van den H. Joannes</i>	– Printed in Emmerik (= Utrecht) by Florentius Abbema according to the title page	STCN, n. 29074508X Willaert, n. 5996
1696	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van Onsen Heere Jesus Christus met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen, een</i>	– First print in Emmerik (= Utrecht) by Florentius Abbema according to the title page	STCN, n. 067186165 Willaert, n. 5989 and n. 6011 ² OK, 131 Schuermans, 102

1 The lists are based on research conducted in the University Library of Utrecht University during a short stay abroad funded by the FWO in February–March 2013 and on the following sources: Willaert, *Bibliotheca Janseniana Belgica*, 3 vols. [Willaert]; Van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, 3:644–653. [Van Druten]; “Uitgaven van den bijbel en gedeelten van den bijbel in den kerk van Holland,” *Oud-Katholiek* 12 (1895), 129–132 [OK]; Johannes Albertus Van Beek, *Lijst van eenige boeken en brochuren uitgegeven in de oud-katholieke kerk van Nederland sedert 1700 tot 1751* (Rotterdam, 1893). [Van Beek]; L.W. Schuermans, “Geschiedenis der vlaemsche Bybelvertalingen,” *De eendracht: veertiendaagsch tijdschrift voor letteren, kunsten en wetenschappen* (1860), 81–82, 86–87, 89–91, 94–96, 94–99, 101–103. [Schuermans]; Goethals, *Histoire des lettres, des sciences et des arts*, vol. 1. [Goethals]; Isaac le Long, *Boek-zaal der Nederduitsche bybels, geopent, in een historische verhandeling van de overzettinge der Heilige Schriftuure in de Nederduitsche Taale, sedert dezelve eerst wierd onder-nomen* (Hoorn, 1764). [Le Long]; Le Clerc, *Idée de la vie et des écrits de M. G. de Witte* [Le Clerc].

2 Willaert erroneously mentions two editions of the New Testament in 1696 of which he attributes one to De Witte (n. 5989) and one to Van der Schuur (n. 6011). Research in the University Library of Utrecht University had demonstrated that there exists only one 1696 edition of

TABLE 37 Bible Translations of Aegidius de Witte (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark(s)	References
	<i>chronycke van het leven Onses Saligmakers en van de wercken der Apostelen, landt-kaertjens, en een tafel der rycken, landtschappen, steden &c. die in 't Nieuwe Testament bekent staen</i>		Goethals, 1: 283 Le Long, 659 Le Clerc, 66 (nr. 56)
1697	<i>Davids harp-sangen, of het Boeck der Psalmen met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen</i>	– First print in Emmerik (= Utrecht) by Florentius Abbema according to the title page	STCN, n. 840006551 OK, 130 Goethals, 1: 295 Le Long, 657
1698	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van Onsen Heere Jesus Christus met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen, een chronycke van het leven Onses Saligmakers en van de wercken der Apostelen, landt-kaertjens, en een tafel der rycken, landtschappen, steden &c. die in 't Nieuwe Testament bekent staen</i>	– Second print in Emmerik (= Utrecht) by Florentius Abbema according to the title page	Willaert, n. 6107 ³ OK, 131 Schuermans, 102 Goethals, 1: 283 Le Long, 659

the New Testament, compiled by De Witte. Besides, Van der Schuur published his first complete translation of the New Testament in 1698.

³ Willaert dates this work in 1697.

TABLE 37 Bible Translations of Aegidius de Witte (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark(s)	References
1699	<i>Davids harp–sangen, of het Boeck der Psalmen met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen</i>	– Second print by Hendrick van Rhijn in Delft according to the title page	STCN, n. 840005563 OK, 130 Goethals, 1: 295
1702	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van Onsen Heere Jesus Christus met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen, een chronycke van het leven Onses Salighmakers en van den handel der Apostelen landt–kaertjens, en een tafel der rycken, landtschappen, steden &c. die in 't Nieuwe Testament bekend staen</i>	– Third print in Antwerp (= Amsterdam) by Jan Stichter according to the title page – Another version was printed that same year in Brussels by Joseph t' Serstevens – Contains only the Gospels – Often erroneously attributed to Van der Schuur	Willaert, n. 6824 OK, 131 Goethals, 1: 283 Le Long, 659
1702	<i>Het Boek der Spreuken, Ecclesiastes, Hoog Gesang Salomons, Boek der Wysheit en Ecclesiasticus, vertaalt volgens de Vulgata</i>	– Printed in Brussels (= Utrecht)	Willaert, n. 6823 Schuermans, 102 Goethals, 1: 296 Le Long, 657
1703	<i>Davids harp–sangen, of het Boeck der Psalmen met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen</i>	– Third reprint in Delft by Hendrick van Rhijn and sold by the widow of Foppens in Brussels according to the title page – A convolute with the <i>Ghebeden door de geheele weke verdeylt voor verscheyde tyden van elcken dagh</i>	STCN, n. 273377612 Willaert, n. 6968 OK, 130 Van Beek, 1: 7

TABLE 37 Bible Translations of Aegidius de Witte (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark(s)	References
1706	<i>Het boeck Tobias. Met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen</i>	– Sold in Brussels by the Compagnie according to the title page – Possibly printed by François (II) Foppens (printer's monogramme F F on title–page) – Also contains the translation of the books Judith, Esther and Job	STCN, n. 34057349X Willaert, n. 7379 Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 657
1708	<i>Het boeck Tobias. Met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen</i>	– Sold in Brussels by the Compagnie according to the title page – Possibly printed by François (II) Foppens (printer's monogramme F F on title–page) – Also contains the books Judith, Esther and Job in the translation of Andreas van der Schuur	STCN, 35520410X OK, 130
1709	<i>Het pentateuchum, dat is de vyf boecken van Moyses, te weten Genesis, Exodus, Levitici, Numeri, en Deuteronomis</i>	– Printed in Brussels for the compaignie according to the title page – Based on the French translation of Le Maistre de Sacy	Willaert, n. 7713 OK, 131 Schuermans, 102 Goethals, 1: 296 Le Long, 657

TABLE 37 Bible Translations of Aegidius de Witte (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark(s)	References
		– Second title page mentioning <i>Het boeck der geslachten over-geset in de neder-duytsche tale</i>	
1715	<i>Davids harp-sangen, of het Boeck der Psalmen met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaatsen</i>	– Fourth reprint in Delft by Hendrick van Rhijn and sold in Antwerp by Petrus Grangé according to the title page – A convolute with <i>Ghebeden door de geheele weke verdeylt voor verscheyde tyden van elcken dagh</i>	STCN, n. 292695101 Willaert, n. 6968 OK, 131 Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 658
1717	<i>De geheele H. Schriftuur behelsende alle de boeken, dewelke in 't algemeyn Concilie van Trenten voor canonycke zyn goetd-gekeurdt nieuwe overzettinge in de nederlandsche tael; met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaatsen</i>	– Printed in Utrecht by Theodorus vanden Eynden according to the title page – Pseudonym E.C.P. – Probably without the deuterocanonical books	STCN, n. 190734728 Willaert, n. 8614 and n. 8628 OK, 130 Van Beek, 1: 63 Schuermans, 102 Goethals, 1: 295–296 Le Long, 656–657 Le Clerc, 227
1718	<i>Davids harp-sangen: ofte Het boek der psalmen</i>	– Fifth reprint in Utrecht by Theodorus vanden Eynden according to the title page	STCN, n. 037708937 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 65 Le Long, 658

TABLE 37 Bible Translations of Aegidius de Witte (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark(s)	References
		– A convolute with <i>Het boek Tobias : met korte verklaringen op de duystere plaetsen, Lof-sangen die volgens de ordre van den roomschen brevier weekelijks in de getijden ... gelezen worden and Tafel der plaetsen van 't Nieuw Testament en de psalmen, voor de Christenen die zig op zee begeven</i>	
1719	<i>Davids Harp-sangen: of Het boeck der psalmen met korte verklaeringen op de duystere plaetsen</i>	– Sixth reprint in Delft by Hendrick van Rhijn and sold in Ghent by Cornelis Meyer according to the title page	STCN, n. 270790985 OK, 131 Schuermans, 102 Goethals, 1: 295 Le Long, 658
1725	<i>De Psalmen van David, met korte Bemerkingen op den Historischen, Geestlyken en Sedelyken Zin... De psalmen van David, met korte bemerkingen op den historischen, geestelijken en zedelijken zin; benevens eenige lof-zangen der H. Schriftuur, voornamentlijk de gene die</i>	– Printed in Ghent by Franciscus and Dominicus vander Ween according to the title page – De Witte translation published by Willem van Roost – Condemned in 1728	STCN, n. 339904178 Willaert, n. 9512 OK, 131 Van Beek 1,79 Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 658

TABLE 37 Bible Translations of Aegidius de Witte (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark(s)	References
	<i>volgens de order van den Roomschen brevier wekelyks in de getyden der H. Kerke gelezen worden</i>		
1734	<i>Het boek van Tobias met korte verklaerin- gen op de duistere plaetzen</i>	– Printed in Antwerp (= Amsterdam) by Frans Ryswyck	OK, 131 Van Druten, vol. 3, 664

2 Bible Translations of Andreas van der Schuur

TABLE 38 Bible Translations of Andreas van der Schuur

Year	Title	Remark	References
1689	<i>De heilige evangelien onzes Heere Jesus Christus. Met korte aentekeningen ter verklaringe van den Tekst.</i>	– Printed in Utrecht by Arnold van den Eynden according to the title page – First part of the 1698–translation	STCN, n. 833596632 OK, 130 Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 658
1691	<i>De Werken of Handelin- gen der apostelen</i>	– Printed in Leiden by Govert vander Sterre	STCN, n. 317722913
1692	<i>De Werken der Apostelen</i>	– Printed in Emmerik (= Utrecht)	Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 658
1692	<i>De Brieven der Apostelen en de Openbaring van Johannes.</i>	– Printed in Emmerik (= Utrecht)	Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 658
1692	<i>Dauids psalmen met korte aant. tot verklaringe van den text</i>	– Printed in Luyk (= Utrecht) by Hendrik Hoyoux according to the title page – Contains 50 psalm translations	OK, 131 Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 657

TABLE 38 Bible Translations of Andreas van der Schuur (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark	References
1698	<i>De werken, of handeligen der apostelen. De Brieven der apostelen en d'Openbaring van Joannes</i>	– Printed in Utrecht by Theodorus van den Eynden according to the title page	STCN, n. 181967340
1698	<i>Het nieuw testament onzes Heere Jesus Christus met korte aant. tot verklaringe van den text</i>	– Printed in Utrecht by Arnold van den Eynden according to the title page – First print in one volume with an engraved title page consisting of two parts with separate title pages: (1) De heilige evangeliën onzes Heere Jesus Christus (1689); (2) De werken of handeligen der apostelen, de brieven der apostelen en de openbaring van Joannes (1698)	STCN, n. 308198298 Le Long, 658
1708	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament ons Zalighmaeckers Jesu Christi</i>	– Printed in Antwerp (= Amsterdam) for J. Stichter – Engraved title page: <i>Het Nieuwe Testament onses Heeren Iesu Christi. Oversien na den laesten Roomschen text</i>	STCN, n. 381327868
1700	<i>De werken, of handeligen der apostelen. De brieven der apostelen–en d'Openbaring van Joannes</i>	– Printed in Delft by Hendrick van Rhijn – Reprint of the 1698 edition	STCN, n. 297116185
1700	<i>De heilige evangeliën onses Heere Jesus Christus</i>	– Printed in Delft by Hendrick van Rhijn according to the title page – Reprint of the 1689 edition – Contains the engraved title page of the 1689 edition of the New Testament	STCN, n. 296993409

TABLE 38 Bible Translations of Andreas van der Schuur (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark	References
1702	<i>Den handel der apostelen. De brieven van den H. Paulus. De algemeyne brieven. De openbaringen van den H. Joannes</i>	– Sold in Brussels by the Compagnie according to the title page – Possibly printed by François (II) Foppens (printer's monogramme F F on title–page)	STCN, n. 189090065
1702	<i>Het Boek der Psalmen, of de goddelyke harpzingen met verklaringen</i>	– Second print in Luyk (= Utrecht) by Hendrik Hoyoux according to the title page – Complete translation of 150 Psalms	STCN, n. 372474292 OK, 130 Le Long, 657
1705	<i>Het Nieuw Testament onzes Heeren Jesus Christus in 't Nederduitsch vertaeld</i>	– Second print in Utrecht by Hendrick van Rhijn according to the title page	Willaert, n. 7302 Van Beek, 1: 28
1709	<i>Het Nieuw Testament onzes Heere Jesus Christus in 't Nederduitsch vert. als vooren. Duydsche Letter.</i>	– Third print in Antwerp (= Utrecht?) by Frederik van Metelen and Albert Clumper according to the title page – The engraved title page mentions the year 1705 – Includes the prayer book <i>Onderrechtingen ende gebeden</i>	STCN 267804997 Willaert, n. 7769 OK, 130 Van Beek, 1: 48 Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 659
1715– 1717	<i>Biblia sacra. Dat is, De Heilige Schriftuer, van het oude, en 't nieuwe Testament. Naar de laatste Roomsche Keure der gemeine Latijnsche Overzettinge, in Nederduitsch.</i>	– Printed in Utrecht by Theodorus vanden Einden – One volume with a separate title page (1717) consisting of two parts with separate title pages: (1) Pentateuch (1715); (2) Joshua–4 Kings (1717).	STCN, n. 186037457 Willaert, n. 8356 OK, 130 Van Beek, 1: 61 Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 657

TABLE 38 Bible Translations of Andreas van der Schuur (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark	References
		– The approbation of the second part dates from 1718.	
1718	<i>Het Nieuw Testament onzes Heere Jesus Christus in 't Nederduitsch vertaeld. Met Korte Aentekeningen, tot verklaeringe van den Text</i>	– Fourth print in Utrecht by Theodorus vanden Eynden	STCN n. 191605018 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 65 Schuermans, 102
1720	<i>Het Nieuw Testament onzes Heere Jesus Christus met nauwkeurige landkaarten verrykt</i>	– Fifth print in Amsterdam by the widow of Albert Klumper and Jan Kalverum – Edition of the Amsterdam priest Lucas Ahuys with a printing mistake in Jas 5, 8 – Published with various editons of <i>Beknopt gebedeboekje vervattende verscheide godvrugtige oeffeningen, onderregtingen en gebeden</i>	STCN, n. 185942385 Willaert, n. 9096 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 68 Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 659
1721	<i>De heilige evangelien onzes heere Jesus Christus</i>	– Printed in Antwerp for the widow of Albert Klumper in Amsterdam according to the title page – Only the gospels and destined for the <i>Krystelyke Jonkheit</i> (<i>Christian youth</i>) with an elaborated preface	STCN, n. 293041601 and 293040478 Willaert, n. 9199 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 69 Schuermans, 102
1722	<i>Het boek der psalmen, of De goddeleyke harpzangen</i>	– Third print in Luyk by Hendrik Hoyoux according to the title page – Another version was printed that same year in Antwerp by Johannes Soest	STCN, n. 343394014 Willaert, n. 9272 and n. 9273 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 71 Schuermans, 102

TABLE 38 Bible Translations of Andreas van der Schuur (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark	References
		– Some copies include a prayer book – Some sources attribute this work to Aegidius de Witte (DW)	Goethals, 1: 296 (DW)
1724	<i>Het boek der psalmen, of De goddelyke harpsangen</i>	– Fourth print in Antwerp for Jan Beernink, book-seller in Amsterdam according to the title page	STCN, n. 395123119 Willaert, n. 9349 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 73
1724	<i>Het Nieuw Testament onzes Heere Jesus–Christus in 't nederduitsche vertaeld</i>	– Seventh reprint in Utrecht by Theodorus vanden Eynden according to the title page	Willaert, n. 9403 Van Beek, 1: 73
[1724]	<i>Het boek der psalmen, of De goddelyke harpsangen</i>	– Printed in Antwerp for Nicolaas Potgieter – Includes: <i>Beknopt gebedeboekje</i> – Another issue of the edition Antwerpen, J. Beernink, 1724	STCN, n. 395123119
[17XX]	<i>Het boek der psalmen, of De goddelyke harpsangen</i>	– Printed in Antwerp (= Amsterdam) for Nicolaas Potgieter – Includes prayer book and Psalmen van de vesperen in Latin and Dutch	STCN, n. 292645058
1730	<i>Het boek der psalmen, of De goddelyke harpsangen. Met verklaringen.</i>	– Printed in Utrecht by Cornelius Guilielmus Le Febvre according to the title page	STCN, n. 193441187 Willaert, n. 9935 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 93 Le Long, 658
1732	<i>Het Nieuw Testament onses Heeren Jesus Christus</i>	– Ninth reprint in Utrecht by Cornelius Guilielmus Le Febvre according to the title page	STCN, n. 292349459 Willaert, n. 10061 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 96 Schuermans, 102

TABLE 38 Bible Translations of Andreas van der Schuur (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark	References
1732	<i>Biblia Sacra, dat is, de H. Schriftuer van het Oude, en het Nieuwe Testament naer de laetste Roomsche keure der gemeine</i>	– Printed in Utrecht by Cornelius Guilielmus Le Febvre according to the title page	STCN, n. 193441470 Willaert, n. 10083 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 96
	<i>Latijnsche overzettinge, in Nederduitsch vert. ; met korte verklaringen op de duistere plaetzen</i>	– Translated by Andreas van der Schuur and Hendrick van Rhijn – One volume consisting of two parts	
1736	<i>Het boek der psalmen, of de goddelijke harpzangen</i>	– Printed in Amsterdam by Frans Ryswyk according to the title page – Includes <i>Beknopt gebedeboekje</i> and <i>Gebéden voor de zielen der gelovigen die overleeden zijn</i>	STCN, n. 191530220 Van Druten, vol. 3, 664 OK, 131 Van Beek, 1: 100
1739	<i>Het leven van Jesus Christus volgens de vier Evangelisten</i>	– Translation of the Gospels taken from Van der Schuur's translation – Printed in Amsterdam by Frans Ryswyk	STCN, n. 185948464
1743	<i>Biblia Sacra, dat is de H. Schriftuer van het Oude, en het Nieuwe Testament, naer de laetste roomsche keure der gemeine</i>	– Printed in Utrecht by Hermanus Besseling according to the title page – Reprint of the 1732 edition of Van der Schuur and Van Rhijn	STCN, n. 193443708 Poortman, 1: 243
	<i>Latijnsche overzettinge in Nederduitsch vert. met korte verklaringen op de duistere plaetzen</i>		
1756	<i>Het Nieuw Testament onzes Heeren Jezus Christus</i>	– Last print in Antwerp for Jan Ryswyk (= Amsterdam) and Willem van der Weyde (= Utrecht) according to the title page – Includes <i>Beknopt gebedenboekje</i>	STCN, n. 192370480 OK, 131 Van Druten, vol. 3, 664

TABLE 38 Bible Translations of Andreas van der Schuur (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark	References
1767	<i>Het Nieuw Testament onzes Heeren Jesus Christus.</i>	– Printed in Amsterdam by Jan van Stendel and Pieter van Ryn	STCN, n. 293044376
1768	<i>Het Nieuw Testament onzes Heeren Jesus Christus</i>	– Printed in Utrecht by Willem van der Weiden – Partly a reissue of reissue of the edition Antwerpen, J. Ryswyk and W. van der Weyde, 1756 – Partly a reissue of the edition Amsterdam, J. van Stendel and P. van Ryn, 1767	STCN, n. 190743239
[1770?]	[<i>Biblia sacra. Dat is, De heilige Schriftuer</i>]	– Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht dates this work ca. 1770. – Place and name are not stated.	STCN, n. 245606726

3 New Testament Translations of Verhulst

TABLE 39 Bible Translations of Philippus Verhulst

Year	Title	Remark	References
1717	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van onzen heere Jesus Christus</i>	– Printed in Antwerp by F. Muller according to the title page. – Sold in Ghent by Franciscus and Dominicus vander Ween – One volume consisting of two parts – Often ascribed to De Witte or Van der Schuur	STCN, n. 330810383 OK, 130 Van Beek, 1: 63 Schuermans, 102 Le Long, 659–660

TABLE 39 Bible Translations of Philippus Verhulst (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark	References
1721	<i>Het Nieuw Testament van Onzen Heere Jesus Christus vert. volgens de gemeene Latynsche overzettinge, verzien met korte aent., en behoorlijke tafels en landt-kaertjens</i>	– Second print in Ghent by Franciscus and Dominicus vander Ween and in Antwerp (= Amsterdam) by the widow of Albert Clumper according to the title page	STCN, n. 343044439 Willaert, n. 9204 Van Beek, 1: 49 Schuermans, 103 Goethals, 1: 283 Le Long, 660
1825	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van onzen heere Jesus Christus, vertaelt volgens de gemeyne latynsche overzettinge ...</i>	– Printed in Brussels by J.B. Dupont according to the title page	
1836	<i>Het nieuwe testament van onzen heere Jesus Christus Vertaelt volgens de gemeyne latijnsche overzettinge</i>	– Printed in Brussels by Ode en Woden according to the title page	
1837	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van onzen heere Jesus Christus vert. volgens de gemeyne latynsche overzettinge; bevattende de vier Evangelien, de Werken der apostelen, de XIV brieven van Paulus, de VII Catholyke brieven, en het Boek der veropenbaringen van Joannes</i>	– Printed in Brussels by Meline, Cans en co according to the information on the title page	Willaert, n. 9204 (vgl.)
1838	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van Onsen Heere Jesus Christus vertaelt volgens de gemeyne Latijnsche overzettinge, verzien met Korte Aenteekeningen en behoorlijke Tafels en Landtkaertjens</i>	– Printed in Brussels by Meline, Cans en co according to the information on the title page	OK, 131 Van Druten, vol. 3, 664

TABLE 39 Bible Translations of Philippus Verhulst (*cont.*)

Year	Title	Remark	References
1854	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van Onzen Heere Jezus Christus vert. volgens de gemeene Latijnsche overzetting</i>	– Printed in Brussels by the British and Foreign Bible Society according to the title page	
1865	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van Onzen Heere Jezus Christus vert. volgens de gemeene Latijnsche overzetting</i>	– Printed in Brussels by the British and Foreign Bible Society according to the title page	
1868	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van Onzen Heere Jezus Christus vert. volgens de gemeene Latijnsche overzetting</i>	– Printed in Brussels by J.B. Schilders according to the title page	
1877	<i>Het Nieuwe Testament van onzen Heere Jezus Christus : vertaald volgens de gemeene latijnsche overzetting</i>	– Printed in Brussels by Jules Combe according to the title page	

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